



934

Judica



# SUB-COMMITTEE No. III (MINORITIES).

		(16th	and	19th	Jan.	, 198	(1.)				
											PAGE.
Report .				*		*	*	+	*	14	315-319
Discussion,	paras. 1-	-13	y	16		ř.	-	*		*	320
32	39	14			*			×		*	320-336
22	,, 15	-18		×				*	*		336
33	33	14	(cont	d.)	*					10	337
	~~~~		# TWO CONTROLS				****	E 63			
	SUB-C	OMA	HTT	M SE	0. 1	A (B	URD	LA).			
		(	16th	Jan.	1931	(.)					
Report .	, .			*	*		N	4			338-340
General dis	scussion	4	4		0		*	*		,	341-346
Discussion,	paras.	1		, "	· A	,	4	*	4	1	B46-357
33	,, 2-	-3								-	357
31	13	4						16.			357
93:	13	5	-		·			*	4		358-359
37	11	6					16		*		859
**	6.0										
				Cuman T	TAX TAX CO.	and I would	~~~	TTO IN	25.75	OT: I	NYPETEN
SUB-COMM	ITTIDE N						KUN	LIER	FR	OAT	NUE).
			(16th	Jan.	, 193	1.)					000 000
Report .			14				1				360-362
Discussion	* *	-	+	×	W.			*	*	181	363-366
	omn dos	exern	1/11/11/11/11/1/1/1/1/1/1/1/1/1/1/1/1/	Mai	WI	TO D	ONTO	orie T	1		
	SUB-COL	INILI	TEE	140.	AT (	E IXI	TIACI	LLIDE	17 -		
		(	16th	Jan.	, 193.	1.)					
Report .			·	-6						*	367-370
Discussion		*	4		Gr.	+	4	8	*	*	371 - 372
					100000000000000000000000000000000000000						
	SUB-CO	MMI	TTEI	No	. VII	(D)	EFE	NOE)			
		(	(16th	Jan.	. 193	1.)					10
Report .	12 1						-				373 - 376
Discussion,											377
	35 4 (										377-382
3.2	,, 5—										383
2.9	11	•	*	1							10000
	SUB-COI	MMI	TTEE	No.	VII	(S)	ERV	TOES	).		
		(	16th	Jan	130	Lal					004 000
Report .			*		-50	*	*		3		384-389
Discussion,	-		+					2-	4-		390
3.3.	12	4	*		*	4	+	+			390-391
35		5		(4)		-	*	20	-	-	391-392
11 7	, ,, 6—	-7	-	+		E	*	*	*	*	392

# SUB-COMMITTEE No. IX (SIND).

(16th Jan., 1931.)

	(16th	Jan	15	131.)					Dian
Report									PAGE.
				*					
Discussion			*	*	+		1		395-396
7th Plenary Meeting	(Gener	al R	eview	of V	Vork	of C	confe	rence	).
	(16th	Jan	., 19	31.)					
Draft Resolution .						4.			598
H.H. Maharaja of Rewa									399-402
Mr. J. N. Basu									100 100
Khan Bahadur Hafiz H	idavat	Hus	sain						403-404
H.H. Maharaja of Dho.									
Lt,-Col. H. A. J. Gidney							*		406-407
Mr. T. F. Gavin Jones									
Dr. Shafa'at Ahmed Kl								4	411-413
Mr. Shiva Rao									413-414
Diwan Bahadur Ramach	andra								414-417
Sardar Ujjal Singh .				-					
Sardar Sampuran Sing	h .	W							419-420
									-10 120
8th Plenary					AIGM	)00	ntd.		
H H Maharaia at Dati	(19t)								120-00
H.H. Maharaja of Pati	ana			*		*	*	- 8	
Mrs. Subbarayan .	*	*		*			*	-	423 - 425
H. H. Mahanaja at Al-				*	3	×	*	- 14	425-428
H.H. Maharaja of Alw	ar .	*		3		*		*	428-438
Dr. Ambedkar		*		*	*	*		3	438-441
Rao Bahadar A. T. Pan	uir Sei	lvam	-	A	*	-			141-442
Mr. H. P. Mody			*	*			*		442443
Dr. Narendra Nath Law					40	2	*		413
Sir Hubert Carr H.H. Chief of Sangli	1	*	*	*	x		*		443-445
Sir Manubhai Mehta	187		*			+			445-448
Col. K. N. Haksar	*	4	*	-			*		416-450
Raja of Parlakimedi						*	*		550-452
				*					452 - 453
Raja Narendra Nath Mr. B. V. Jadhav							+	*	455-454
	*	*	+					*	454-456
Sir Cowasji Jehangir			+			+	*		456-457
Sir Mirza M. Ismail .		*	*	*	+		7		457—459
Sir Akbar Hydari		7.0	*				**	- 1	459-460
Srijut Chandradhar Baro	oah	+	* 1	3 -	+	*	-41	. 3	460-463
Lord Reading		-		*	*				463-465
H.H. Maharaja of Gaekv	var of	Bar	abc	*	*	*	×.		465-467
Mr. Zafrullah Khan .		3							487—469
Diwan Bahadur Ramaswa	imi M	udali	yar		+			4	469-470
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru	-34 -				*	*	*	*	470-473
Resolution by Conference			V	6	-				473
Loyal Message to His Ma	jestv t	he R	ing-	Empe	ror				474
2 for all 25 - 17			-						114

<sup>\*</sup> Including question of the creation of an Oriya Province.

	Fu	mal Sesi	sion.						Page.
Mr. Ramsay MacDonald	+						*		475-485
Manufaction and design		(Statem				lf.	01	His	482-485
Mr. Rainsay MacDonald Majesty's Government						-		•	485
H.H. Maharaja of Patiala		*		*	*		*		486
THE INC. LEADING THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY O								-	486-487
Mr. Sriniyasa Sastri .	-		+			+	*		487-488
Penly from H.M. King-El	mp	eror to	Loys	IN	lessag	0	from	the	488-489
Conference	ia.	-6		+		·	*	*	ROD AD



# INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

1. The Indian Round Table Conference was inaugurated by His Majesty the King-Emperor, at a public session in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, on 12th November, 1930.

The full proceedings at this session are printed on pages 11 to 19.

2. After the opening ceremony, the Conference decided, on the advice of the Business Committee (appointed at the close of the first session), to proceed to a general discussion in Plenary Session "On the question whether the future constitution of India should be on a federal or unitary basis." The Chairman stated that he would put a liberal interpretation on the subject thus placed before the Conference, and would allow reference to cognate questions and to questions which the Conference might think were involved in the decision between a constitution of the federal or unitary type. The Conference did not intend that any conclusions should be reached in this general discussion, but it was expected that the general trend of it would enable the Conference to frame its programme for further discussion in Committee.

The general discussion, which lasted for five days, is contained in pages 21 to 175.

The debate ranged over a wide field, but its most striking feature was declarations from Delegates from the Indian States opening the way to the consideration of a new federal constitution for India, embracing both British India and Indian States.

3. On the conclusion of the general discussion the Conference, on the advice of the Business Committee, decided to set up a "Federal Relations Committee to consider the structure of a federal system of government in India as regards relations between Indian States and British India, and relations between Provinces of British India and the Centre, including the question of responsibility at the Centre, and to recommend the main principles to be applied".

The Lord Chancellor framed the following Heads of Discussion for the Federal Relations Committee:—

1

The component elements of the Federation.

2.

The type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist.

3.

The powers of the Federal Legislature.

The number of members composing the Federal Legislature, and if the Legislature is of more than one Chamber, of each Chamber, and their distribution among the federating units.

The method whereby representatives from British India and from the Indian States are to be chosen.

6.

The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.

7.

The powers of the Provincial Legislatures.

The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Provincial Executives.

The provision to be made to secure the willing co-operation of the minorities and the special interests.

10.

The question of establishing a Supreme Court and its jurisdiction.

The Defence Forces.

12.

The relation of the Federal Executive and of the Provincial Executives to the Crown.

4. It was, however, found more convenient to work through a Committee of the Whole Conference, instead of through the Federal Relations Committee, and the Committee of the Whole set up nine sub-Committees to consider the following questions:-

Name of sub-No. Committee.

Subject or terms of Reference.

Page in this vol.

Federal Structure . 1. The Component elements of 188-Federation. 286

2. The type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist.

3. The powers of the Federal Legislature. 4. The number of members composing the Federal Legislature, and if the Legislature is of more than one Chamber, of each Chamber and their distribution among the federating units.

5. The method whereby representatives from British India and from the Indian States are to be chosen.

6. The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.

AT.	Name 0	f sub-		ge in vol.
No.	Commi Provincial tion.			287 <del>-</del> 314
ш	Minorities		The provision to be made to secure the willing co-operation of the minorities and the special interests.	315
IV	Burma .		To consider the nature of the conditions which would enable Burma to be separated from British India on equitable terms and to recommend the best way of securing this end.	338—
V	North-Wes		and the state of the state of the court	360 <del>-</del> 366
V	Franchise		On what main principles is the Fran- chise to be based for men and women.	367 <u> </u>
VI	I Defence		To consider questions of political principle relating to Defence, other than strictly constitutional aspects to be considered under Heads 6 (Powers of Executive) and 12 (Relations with the Crown).	223
VII	I Services	*	. The relations of the Services to the new political structures.	384-
1	X Sind		. The question of constituting Sind as a separate Province.	393—
	5. It will h	e seen th	at the first six of the Lord Chancellor's	Heads

5. It will be seen that the first six of the Lord Chancellor's Heads were referred to the Federal Structure sub-Committee, Heads 7 and 8 to the Provincial Constitution sub-Committee, Head 9 to the Minorities sub-Committee and Head 11 (so far as it is separable from Heads 6 and 12) to the Defence sub-Committee. It was agreed that Head 10 should also be examined by the Federal Structure sub-Committee. Lack of time prevented this being done, but the Lord Chancellor made a statement on the subject in the closing Plenary Sessions (see page 398). Head 12 was not formally discussed as a separate subject by the Federal Structure sub-Committee (or Provincial Constitution sub-Committee), but was considered in relation to the discussions which took place on Head 6.

It will also be seen that sub-Committees IV, V, VI, VIII and IX dealt with subjects outside the range of the original Federal

Relations Committee.

6. The Committee of the Whole Conference, in remitting the above subjects to its sub-Committees, did not hold any previous discussion in Committee of the Whole on the subject matter so referred, except in the case of the question of the separation of Burma. The discussion in the Committee of the Whole which preceded the setting up of sub-Committee IV is contained in pages 176 to 186 of this Volume.

7. The Reports of the sub-Committees were received by the Committee of the Whole and noted by it after observations had been made on each. The Chairman gave a ruling on the procedure of the Committee of the Whole Conference with regard to the Reports of sub-Committees, namely, that the Committee would not proceed to pass the Reports as decisions of the Committee, but would note them as presented by the various sub-Committees; observations made on the sub-Committees' reports in the Committee of the Whole Conference were also to be noted and used for the guidance of those who would be finally responsible for taking account of the proceedings of the Conference.

The text of the Report of each sub-Committee, immediately followed by the proceedings in Committee of the Whole Conference when it was presented, is printed in the section of this volume comprised in pages 188 to 397.

- 8. The Conference in Plenary Session received and noted the Reports of the nine sub-Committees submitted by the Committee of the Whole Conference, with the comments thereon, and a final debate in Plenary Session took place on 16th and 19th Jan., 1931, ranging over the whole of the work of the Conference, at the close of which the Conference unanimously adopted the Resolution printed on page 473 accepting the Reports of the sub-Committees (and comments thereon in Committee of the Whole) as "material of the highest value for use in the framing of a constitution for India, embodying as they do a substantial measure of agreement on the main ground-plan".
- 9. The Prime Minister's closing speech on 19th January contained a declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government. The full proceedings of the final Plenary Sessions are contained on pages 398 to 489.
- 10. As stated above, the opening session was held in public. The press were also admitted to the last session of the Conference, at which the Prime Minister's speech was made. Neither press nor public were admitted to other sessions, but information as to the proceedings was given to the press by the Information Officers of the Conference acting under the general control of a Committee, appointed by the Conference, consisting of Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Rushbrook Williams.
- 11. A supplementary Volume will be made available, in due course, containing proceedings in the sub-Committees and the memoranda circulated to the Conference or its Committees.

(The Reports of the sub-Committees, the Conference Resolution of 19th January, and the Prime Minister's closing speech—which are contained in this Volume—have already been presented to Parliament in the preliminary Command Paper Cmd. 3772 of 1931.)

27th January, 1931.

# INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

#### LIST OF DELEGATES.

## BRITISH DELEGATIONS.

THE RIGHT HON. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD SANKEY, G.B.E.

THE RIGHT HON. WEDGWOOD BENN, D.S.O., D.F.C., M.P.

THE RIGHT HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

THE RIGHT HON. J. H. THOMAS, M.P.

SIR WILLIAM JOWITT, K.C., M.P.

Mus H. B. LEES SMITH, M.P.

THE RIGHT HON. EARL RUSSELL.

FIRE RIGHT HON. EARL PEEL, G.B.E.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

THE RIGHT HON. SIE SAMUEL HOARE, BART., G.B.E., C.M.G., M.P.

MAJOR THE HON. OLIVER STANLEY, M.C., M.P.

G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O. THE MARQUESS OF READING, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, C.H.

SIE ROBERT HAMILTON, M.P.

MR. ISAAC FOOT, M.P.

# INDIAN STATES DELEGATION.

COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF ALWAR, G.C.S.I., G.C.L.E.

\*HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

SLIEUTENANT-COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O.

SLIEUTENANT-GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIRANER, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C.

Rao Bahadur Krishnama Chari, C.I.E., acted as a Delegate when H.H. the Maharaja of Gaekwar of Baroda was absent.

† Elected President of the Conference at Plenary Session of 12th Nov.,

‡ Elected Deputy President of the Conference at Plenary Session of 17th Nov., 1930.

5 Elected " Chairmen " of the Conference at Plenary Session of 17th Nov.,

LIFTHNAMI-CORNIL HIS HIGHNISS THE MARKON RANGOF DROLPEP, C.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.

G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.

L. NI NINI-CORON, E. HIS HIGHNISS THE MARKETA OF NAWAN-AGAR, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

Motor G. Nicke, Less Herrins Tell Manifelds of Patiala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.D.C.

II & HERENESS THE MARKATATA OF REWA, G.C.L.E., K.C.S.L.

HIS HIGHNESS THE CHIEF SAHIB OF SANGLI, K.O.I.E.

SIR PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI, K.C.I.E.

SI MANTENIA M HES, C.S.I.

SARDAR SAHIBZADA SULTAN AHMED KHAN, C.I.E.

Janes .. Merenno Arbas Habar.

SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL, C.I.E., O.B.E.

\*COLONEL K. N. HARSAR, C.I.E.

#### BRITISH INDIA DELEGATION.

Millian Niss the Acar Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.I.E.

#MALLINA MEHAMMAD AIR.

DR. B. R. AMBEDRAR.

C Acro Ems, K.S.M.

U BA PE

STATE CLASSPADING BAROOLD.

MR. J. N. BASU.

SIR SHAH NAWAZ KHAN BHETTO, C.I.E., O.B.E.

SIR HUBERT CARR.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

Y B I

Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga.

CAPTAIN RAJA SHER MUHAMMAD KHAN.

MR. FAZE-UL-HUQ.

M. M. M. Oux GHENE.

MR. A. H. GHUZNAVI.

Also a terras "Secc 'ary General" to the Indian States Deferation

<sup>+</sup> Died 4th January 1931.

Nov., 1930.

Lifti.-Cen. H. A. J. Gidney, I.M.S. (Retired).

SIR O. DE GLANVILLE, C.I.E., O.B.E.

SIR GHULMU HUSSAIN HIPAYATULLAIL.

KHAN BAHADUR HAFIZ HIDAYAI HUSAIN.

Mr. B. V. Japhay.

Mr. M. R JAYARAR.

SER COWNER JEHANGIE, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. M. A. JINNIH.

M. T. F. GEVIN JONES.

Mr. N. M. Josep.

Dr. Nalindra Nath Law.

S. B. N. Miller, K.C.S. I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E.

SH P. V. METTIE, C.I.E.

Mr. H. P. Mony.

D. B. S. MOCNE.

DISTEN BEHADER RAMISWAMI MUDICIYAR.

DIN IN BUREOUS RUIS NULL NATH.

ROO BAHADIDE A. T. PANNIR SILVAM.

RATA C. PARLADIMEDI.

Reo Banare Sir A. P. Patro.

Mr. K. T. Path, O.B.E.

NAMES AND PARTY OF THE REAL PROPERTY.

D. B. P. M. R. ROMACHANDRA RAG.

Mr. B. Shiya Rao.

STATE STATES ABOVED.

S. L. BREADER SAPRU. E.C.S.I.

SIR MILLIMMAD SHALL, R.C.S.I., C.I.E.

SCHOOL SOUPCRAS SINGH.

FIRE RECORD HON. SHINIVASA SONERI, C.H.

SI CHUMBER SEPREVOD, K.C.I.E.

R T BEHADT? KUNDAR BISHLSHWAR DATAL SETH.

SET PRIVER SETHING, O.B.E.

D. Sundan Andan Kinin.

I .. .. S.131 NAVAZ.

M. R. Ra. Rao Bander S. inivasas.

Mrs. Strbbrilly

M. S. B. Taylor.

STED OF STEEL STATE THE SINGH.

No. 1 ... Comment's a tro Contention of Planary Session of 17th

MR. ZAFRULLAH KHAN.

# OFFICIALS ATTEXDING IN A CONFILIATIVE CAPACITY.

Sir W. M. Hear, to C. D. R. C. J. 1 C. S.

SIR C. A. INNES, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., 1423.

SIR A. C. MACWATTERS, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Mr. H. G. Haig, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

MR. L. W. REYNOLDS, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.C.

## INDIAN STATES ADVISERS.

Advisors to the Delegate for Hyderabad.

Little-Cer St Radio Constant in St. C.I.E., O.B.D.

NAWAR MARDI YAR JUNG.

Sir Airred Hessis, Ams Jos. R.C.L.F., C.S.I.

SIR REGINALD GLANCY, K.C.I.E., C.S.J.

Adviser to the Delegate for the S. Indian States. Diwan Bahabur T. Raghaviah, C.S.I.

RAO BAHADUR KRISHNAMA CHARI, C.I.E.

Adviser for the Orissa States. Mr. K. C. Neogy, M.L.A.

MR. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.

QAZI ALI HAIDAR ABBASI.

SIRDAR JARMANI DAS, O.B.E.

DIWAN BAHADUR A. B. LATTHE.

RAO SAHIB D. A. SURVE.

# SECRETARIATS.

### Green ment.

Mr. S. K. B. own, C.T.O.

Mr. V. Diwson, C.I.E.

Mr. K. S. Fitze, I.C.S.

Mr. W. H. L'wis, C.I.E., I.C.S.

### Converenters.

Mr. R. J. St pr ab.

## L'heral.

PROF., J. COATMAN, C.I.E.

# Irdian States.

MR. M. PICKIHALI.

Mr. K. M. PINIKEAR.

Ma, N. S. Still R. R. 20.

# But he Inda Integration.

SIR GESTERET C PETER, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Mr. A. Larmi, O.B.E., I.C.S.

Mr. G. S. Baifal, C.I.L., C.B.E., I.C.S.

# SECRETARIAT-GENERAL.

MR. R. H. A. CARTER, C.B., Secretary-General.

KHAN BUREDER MIAN APDEL AZIZ, C.B.E., PENIABC, S.

Mr. W. D. C. II

Mr. G. E. J. GINI, D.S.O., M.C.

MR. B. G. HOLDSWORTH, I.C.S.

Mr. R. F. Medie, O.B.E., I.C.S.

Mr. G. S. RUMDHYMSHA, I.C.S.

Secretories

# PUBLICITY OFFICERS.

Mr. HUGH Mactingon.

Mr. G. F. Shward, C.B.E.

Mr. A. H. JOYCE.

POPAR TOTT

IJ



# INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE:

# Opening Speeches, 12th November, 1930.

## SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR.

It allords Me much satisfaction to welcome in the Capital of My Empire the representatives of the Princes, Chiefs and People of India, and to inaugurate their Conterence with My Ministers and with representatives of the other Parties composing the Parliament in whose precincts we are assembled.

More than once the Sovereign has summoned historic assemblies on the soil of India, but never before have British and Indian Statesmen and Rulers of Indian States met, as you now meet, in one place and round me table, to discuss the fiture system of g vernment in India and seek agreement for the guidance of My Parliament as to the foundations upon which it must stand.

Nearly ten years ago, in a message to My Indian Legislature, I dwelt upon the significance of its establishment in the constitutional progress of India. Ten years is but a brief span in the life of any Nation, but this decade has witnessed, not only in India but throughout all the Nations forming the British Commonwealth, a qui kening and growth in ideals and aspirations of Nationhood which defy the customary measurement of time. It should therefore le no matter of surprise to the men of this generation that, as was then contemplated, it should have become necessary to estimate and review the results of what was begun ten years ago and to make turther provision for the future. Such a review has been lately carried out by the Statutory Commission appointed by Me for that purpose and you will have before you the outcome of their labours, tegether with other contributions which have been or can be made to the solution of the great problem confronting you.

No works of Mine are needed to bring home to you the momentrus character of the task to which you have set your hands. Each one of you will, with Me, be profoundly conscious how much depends, for the whole of the British Commonwealth, on the issue of your consultations. This community of interest leads Me to count it as of happy augury that there should be present to-day the representatives of My Governments in all the Sister States of that Commonwealth.

I shall follow the course of your proceedings with the closest . nd most sympathetic interest, not indeed without anxiety but with a greater confidence. The material conditions which surround the lives of My subjects in India affect Me nearly, and will be ever preserve thoughts during your forthcoming deliberations. I have also it is little just claims of majorities and numerities, of man, and which, of town dwellers and tullers of the soil, of land-leads and tenants, of the strong and the weak, of the rich and the poir, of the races, castes and creeds of which the body politic is composed. I'm these theraps I cans deeply. I cannot doubt that the true is in latter of side-government is in the fusion of such divergent chairs into mound obligations and in their reorganism and adult eat. It is My hope that the future government of India based on these countration will give expression to her nonourable a pirations.

May your discussions point the way to the sare a lilevement of this error, a may your names go down to history as those of men who served had well, and whose endeavours any most the happiness and prosperity of all My beloved People.

I pray that Providence may grant you in bounteers measure, wisdom, patience and goodwill.

1 steriles May by hallest the Rosen Galler ford after the Congrey had second their seats. HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA (Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes) stal:—

The gracious Address which it is Molesty. The King-Lapperer has just believe I to like a report we cheed to correct the art in we can succeed in a low against lead which he has given as, I teel consident that are delined with an elementary with success. In preposing that the Proce Minister of Giest Briton. The Rt. Hen. Mr. James Ramsay Ma Derald, should be appointed the tomat to preside ever the believe minister the Conference. I know I am veicing the wish et all present. I can assure you. Mr. Perus Minister, that all effus, whether we are Princes of Mr. et al., who represent the Indian States, will adequate most heart as with the problems which british India a working for the solution of the problems which jointly continuous. As Charceller of the Chamber of Princes I have the honour to propose that the Prime Minister should be appointed as Chairman of the Continuous to prose that the Prime Minister should be appointed as Chairman of the Continuous to prose that the Prime Minister should be appointed as Chairman of the Continuous to prose that the Prime Minister should be appointed as Chairman of the Continuous to prose that the Prime Minister should be appointed.

#### HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN.

the Maharaja of Patiala.

The motion was carried with acclamation.

T' Che a selencitenty T. P. ne Maisters

# SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

His Highest he Ala Klur for the very generous and hearty way in which they reveal the proposition which has been carried so unanimously.

My first duty as Change, at this Conference is to ask your consent—and I know it will be forthcoming in full measure—that I hould convey our humble duty to His Majesty, and an expression take loyal gratitude with which we have welconed his gracious results here and of the inspiration which his words have given us. I know also that you would have me include in your message our loyal and gratiful appreciation of the kindly solicitude of Her Monesty that Queer which my Indian triends have been privileged acceptance already. Nor are we unmindful that it is to His Majesty's gracious permission that we one the honour of holding our matring in this Changer to-day and hereafter in the Royal Palace of St. James's. We are deeply sensible of these signal marks of Their Majesties' sympathy and favour.

I am very conscious of the responsibility you have put upon me. But esponsibility lies leavily on us all at this Conference. Tor we are the very buth of a new history. The declarations made It fitish Socreigns and Statesmen from time to time that Great Patana work a India was to prepare her for self-government Lave ben plan. It some say that they have been applied with woeful tardaress. I reply that he permatent evolution has seemed to anyone and the partial of the distinction of the state of the st ly pe planter and I have not tulfilled my pledges, provided I am . We have not to try and negister by agreement a I canifer of the fact that India has reached a distinctive point in for constitutional evolution. Whatever that agreement may be, the will be so se who will say that it is not good enough or that it and the late. Let them say so. We must beldly come out and appel to an irrelligent and informed public epimon. The men The conquents are the preneers of progress. Civil disorder is the way of reaction. It destroys the social mentality from which all A stitutional development derives its source and upon which all stable internal administration is based.

The task that lies ahead of us is leset by difficulties for the slution of which the past affords no ready-made guide; there are stubborn liversities of view that have still to be brought together, at bounditting interests that have hitherto proved interest ilable.

Could any issues be more momentous that those we are facing this in roing? Could any, at the same time, be more enticing to her who have to make the rough places smooth? We must bring to us tast all the resources of mutual trust, of practical sagacity, of statesmanship, which we can command.

This is not the fine even for reciting, to say acthing of preinlying, on problems. We shall meet them as we proceed. Let us
there is men betermined to su mount them. Why not? What
problems of growth and of development in liberty and institutions
become of growth and of development in liberty and institutions
becomes of our skirl in homomous differences by reaincluded account adapted. Proof of that is that very got bly
that of distinguished Prime Ministers who have been with us for
the fast lew weeks consulting about Dominion of the con-

His Mapsty's presence at the opening of our deliberations et abled us tounderstand both the sterigth and the dexibility of the land which linds our whole Commonwealth of Nations together in loxalix are devotion to the Grayn. The attendance of representatives of the Dormion Covernnents is an earnest of the interest and go dwall with which the sater-States in the Commenwealth of Nations will follow our labours. The association of the Princes for the nest trace in joint conclave with representatives of the people of British lith is symbolical of the gradial moulding together of India into one whole. And when I turn to the representatives of Brush India from mindral, it struc, of India's different com aunitics and languages and interests, but I am reminded still more of the quakering and unitying reliences which are grown up irresstibly from her corta t with Great Britain, and also, and still deven, of the epiratous for a united India which were in the minds of bet philosophers and her rulers before the first English. tr to set that on lar shares. Nor is it without significance that we who though not of India, also seek India's honour, are drawn from all three Parties in this Parliament, on the inter-play of whose rivalues, no less than ideals, is bailt up our British system of G senament. But apart from these things, sarely, the simple fact that we have our chere to sit at one table with the set and sole purpose of Irdae's advancement within the companionship of the Comno ownlith is is, itself an undeniable sign of progress towards that end, and also an inspiring challenge to reach agreement.

We this now begin our libours. Things have been said in the past, whether in anger, in blindness or for mischief, which we had better torget at this table. Whatever be the story that is to be written of this Corference, he assured a story will be written. Let us story to taske it worthy of the best political genius or our peoples and to add by it to the respect paid by the world to both our nations.

# SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA.

On this monartous creasion in the history of India and the Lopice, it is not privilege to address to you a few words on behalf of the Indian States Delegation here assembled to take part in the Conformer which His Majesty the Kingele permiss to-day been graciously pleased to open.

We are deeply beholden to His Majesty to whom I beg you, Mr. Prince Minister, to convey our scriments of Loy, Ity to his Throne and Person.

These historic precincts have witnessed many Conferences fraught with import; but I doubt it ever before they have been the scene at such a one as this, when the issues at stake involve the prospective and contenting at of India's millions and the greatness of the British Empire.

By the corresponding generous registre of the aspirations of the Prioris and Poples of Italia of by that alone, can realisation

le given to the noble words at Victorie, the great Queer, as expressed in a famous Proclamation:-

They are these:-

ment Our security; in their gratitude Our best reward."

May we all below whole-heartedly, with material trust and good-will, for the attainment of so great an end.

# SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MÄHARAJA OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR (Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes).

I must express our deep gratitude to His Most Gracious Malesty to be could divelope to dered to us, and I pray that Providence may grant to us the vision and the will to realise the hopes expressed in those inspiring words uttered this maning by our beloved King-Emperor.

This sthe first occasion on which the Princes of India in person sit at the Conference Table along with representatives of Bruish India and of His Majesty's Government to discuss the political future of India. Allied by freaty with the Bruish Crown and within the territories in leperdent rulers, we have conceive within full sets of responsibility to can States and to all India. As allies of Brutan we find of My by the British connexion. As Indians and high to the Land whence we derive our birth and input muture, we stard is solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our Land's enjoyage total position of Lonour and equality in the British Commonwellth of Nations. Our desire to co-operate to the best of our ability with all sections of this Conference is a genuine desire; so too is grunting our determination to base our or operation upon the realities of the present situation.

Neither Ingland nor In lia can afford to see this Centerence end in talling. We must applied hour task less dved to succeed and to overcome all difficulties. We all will have to exercise much patience, tot and forbeatance; we must be inspired by much in de standing and good-will. We needs must give and take. If we succeed, it is lingland no less than India which gains of the roll, it is lingland no less than England which loses. We are not assembled to dictate or accept terms; we are mot together to adjust mutual interests for the common benefit.

The task confronting this Conference is a gigantic one. In the case of no people would such an aim as ours be easy of accomplishment. In the case of India, the complexity of the factors in unique. But we believe that difficulties exist only to be some ounted, and, by the Grace of God, with good-will and sympathy on loth sides, surmounted they shall be.

With the noble words of the King-Emperor's spec h still ringing in our cars, we Princes affirm that this Conference shall not fail through any fault of ours.

## SPEECH DELIVERED BY SIR MUHAMMAD AKBAR HYDARI.

The andress which we have been privileged to hear to-day from the lips of His Majesty The King Lippener, full as it is of that less mad sympathy to which every Indian heart readily responds, will prove an inspiration and a guide for all of us.

His Exalted Highness the Nizara, whose representative on the Indian States Delegation I have the horour to be, counts member his proudest titles that of "Faithful Ally of the Blick Government." For 150 years the Nizara have held steadfast to this allience "an allience in papernaty." as the treaties proudly proclaim it to be.

As with Hyderated, so with all States; and I can assure the peoples of the Linguis and the world at large that no hand shall sever the ties which bind the Princes to the Crown.

At the same time the States, automorous within their own borders, can fully sympathise with the aims and ideals of the peoples of British India and are ready to work to harmony with them for the Greater and United India, which we all hope may be the outcome of our deliberations.

It is in this spirit we extend the Contenence, and in this spirit we shall do all that lies in our power to assist in the schution of the problems of our country and the satisfaction of her aspirations.

Every race, creed and regio. It is its own distinct contribution to make to the common weal, or lave at the States for our part brings with us no mean inheritance—the traditions and culture handed down from spacious days, when in politics, cits and science India stood and est the train stipe ples of the world.

We approach our task, which is beset with so many d'fheulties, in all hum, it y, trustueg her in the own power, but in the guiding hand of the Divine Providence.

### SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. Y. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

We all feel lear med to in the apprecions and inspiring words of His Map 13. They certain besons which we must practise i' we we del succeed is the Greenise about to begin. S.r. under The Cour is the s a loll le l. of pever and et may rule dans in he its i, willing has also and reverence. It is note. It is the localitain of justice, t dianilequality and the various peoples of the Commercia wealth. Livelts, trainer te pins the trithful and unceasing provides these ile Is and as shall be failing in our dury to the Caun it we know a gly relevated, any where under the British flag, e ad tons the profect inner e. in pulliy or under restrictions the grown to the contraction. The tentered will enable all 1 Itt surposted in Prancto Franciscopether than phason the subis to the to the transfer of a formation and the entire the fill illustration her destry Beld and condid speech sequired, latalso modern-1 h. that terminations I appearate ditering views Above

Il the vision or India as a whole must share brightly in our leasts. and her strength and prosperity must be the sovereign considerathen governing all our plans. You will hear, Sir, many claims and counsels, and some of them may be in partial conflict. Our united prayer is that somehow, through the magic of your personality, these discordant chius will be recenciled and these fragmentary our els may le gather d'into che complete scheme so that this tille, whitever its exact physical shape, may be hereafter remembered in L story as the table of rounded wis long and statesman-- rip. Through all the clouds of prejudice and misunderstanding that darken the problem two statements or policy shine like bright was by whose Light we can guide ourselves. They both have the Ladisputable mathority of His Majesty's Government. One was in the by His Excellence the Vicerov just a year ago: it was to the effect that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as contemplated in the declaration of August, 1917, is the attainment of Dominion Status. The other was made by him in July this year. It provised India the enjoyment or as large a degree of management . Let can amis as could be shown to be compatible with the threes ty of harbing places on for those matters in regard to which she was not yet me a position to assume responsibility. Our allotted task is to literpret these statements liberally and franslate them courage usly into concrete proposals for the benefit of India and the increased glory of the Commonwealth.

#### SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. M. A. JINNAH.

May I, at the very outset, say that we appreciate greatly the signal marks of sympathy and kindness on the part of Their Majesties reterred to by you and I am sure we all consent in full measure that you should convey our grateful acknowledgments as proposed by you.

This is not an occasion for long speeches nor can I here at this moment discuss some of the vital issues which are uppermost in our minds; but every one here will agree with me when I say that it is very fortunate indeed that a Statesman of your calibre and experience. Sir, has honoured us by agreeing to preside over our deliberations, notwithstanding your other multifarious and responsible duties; and I sincerely pray that your expression of confidence in the ultimate success of this Conference may prove true.

I am glad. Mr. President, that you referred to the fact that "the declarations made by British Sovereigns and Statesmen from time to time that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare her for self government have been plain ", and may I point out further, that the amouncement made as recently as 31st October, 1929, by His Excellency the Vicerov on behalf of His Majesty's Government, declared that in their judgment it was implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there outcomplated is the attainment of Deminion Status.

But I must emphasise that India new expense tour slation and rulfill out of these declar constitute, cut in these declar constitute, cut in the

Here rever was a more fact cat us or grave issue is the history of our two natives than the one we are called upon to tace to-day and upon the solution of which hargs the fate of rearly one-fifth of the population of the world.

We we do see the association of the Princes with the representatives at the people of British India and I share the hope with you. Mr. Prince Manister, that all parties and interests and communities due inclived bring to bear upon the task before us to use your words. If the resources of mutual trust, practical sagacity and statesmanship which they can command.

In court sion, I must express my phasure at the presence of the D mirio. Prince Ministers and Representatives. I am glad that they are here to vitness the birth of a new Deminion of India which will be ready to march along with them within the Bruish Commonwealth of Nations.

#### SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. BA PE.

The Burness Delegates are deeply sensible of the signal honour which has been done to Burna by the selection of a Burnan to speak on this nonentous and historic occasion. It is an horour which will cause genuine pleasure and satisfaction to our country-men, and on their behelf I wish to say how grateful we are to His Mapsty The King for the gracious words he has spoken to us to-day; and I have any long leave to assure him of our lovalty to him and his Royal Consert. It has caused us heartfull satisfaction to see him test red to health and we pray that he may live large to preside over the destinies of this great Empire.

The people of Burn care very grateful to His Majesty's Government for the analysis Round Table Contents, and we believe the care in a calcult and the adity discussion can only result in good. both for the people of Britain and of Burma. We believe that his ally discussion will remove obstacles and solve problems that, viewed from one standpoint, only appear insurmountable or insoluble.

We desire to thank His Maiesty's Government, the political Parties and bedies in I the people of England for the hearty well-care they have chountenus and for the generous hospitality they have extended to us,

The case of Banna is in some ways a special one, but we bring to the Conservation the fullest reasons goodwill and co-operation, and out that the result of our joint deliberations will promote the political progress of Burna and satisfy the aspirations of its people and increase their prosperity and happiness. We have come to the Conference with high hopes that, if I may be permitted to adopt the words that you, Sir, used on another occasion only two days are, and in the same Crown, enjoying that free lom in self-government which is evertial for national self-respect and conference, As Burnars we have Burnar an country. We believe in it and in the

greatness that lies before it. We look to England with friendship and affection and hape that we shall soon take our place with other Descinions as equal partners in the great British Empire.

Chairman: Your Highness, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen: We have a little piece of business to do which will only keep us in this sitting for a few minutes. I understand that, as a result of the exchange of views privately, an agreement has been come to which enables me to propose this resolution:—

"That a Committee to advise the Conference on the conduct of business shall be constituted, composed of the following sixteen Delegates, each of whom shall have the right to nominate another Delegate to take his place in his absence:

His Highness The Maharaja of Alwar.

Mr. Benn.

His Highness The Maharaja of Bikaner.

Sir Hubert Carr.

Colonel Haksar.

Sir Samuel Hoare.

Sir Akbar Hydari.

Sir Mirza Muhammad Ismail.

Mr. Jayakar.

Mr. Jinnah.

Sir Bhujendra Nath Mitra.

The Marquess of Reading.

Sir Tej Bahedur Sapru.

Sir Muhammad Shafi.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.

Sardar Sahib Ujjal Singh."

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

will now adjourn. The first sitting of the Committee that has just been appointed will be held at 3-30 this atternoon at St. James's Palace, and this Contenence itself is adjourned until Monday, the 17th N vember, at 10-3) v.m., at St. James's Palace.

# Plenary Session, 17th November, 1930.

Commical as and brown of the line to decrease commical average fluor of the committee of the vice of the v

The King has recived the Pune Minister's submission of the message of yester'ry from the Indian Round Table Conference expressing and that to Hi Mapor the andertaking the operate container and east of plang the Queen too the kindty's horizon which He. Marcs'y has displayed towards the Delegaes. The container of march has been received with purch sitisfaction by Than Majesties."

There is nothing for me to say to be except to we house you in at leastly to the statement of Macronics, there are two things that we will, keep it in the line of all, we are going to occupend a telephon; secondly, every or a tour in as the amounted by the letermination to showed.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The text of the was as full to -- -

The Holeg to to the Irde a Reard Table Centererie at their rist meeting and as then it straticial, it desire to present heir rispectful duty to the King. The Delegates, in in loyal grantade to His Majes when having because the opening of the Centererie with His grants present a and for the rispination which the words of His Special Paragraph Center They are nost sensible of the kindly solvitude which Her Majesty The Queen has displayed pread then to the beson which, by these and other roughs of the yeard the beson which, by these and other roughs of they are to the Conterence.

# THE GENERAL DISCUSSION."

with his local cast upon my horiders in presenting the case it will be strong to case it in a part, but the parties of a great and confined by it may debeate is an earning not only India but the all time of India to England.

Let me tell you at the bistory of the relations of Lugical and India.

Mr. Prime Manster you and other British statesmen have, in the long course of your political experience and daties been accustomed to preside over, or to be associated with, so many Conferences of an international character that it ill becomes a humble politician. The me from accoss the seas to tell you that so many hopes are bound up with the success of this Conference. An anxious, restless India as watching you. May I also add that the eyes of the whole world are on you. Not only are we Indians on our trial, but, it I may respectfully say so, and if I may beg you not to misuallers stend me, the whole of British statesmanship is an its trial

This is alsolutely the first time in the history of the counce tion of India with England that such a big gesture has been made by Ingland towards India. It is a gesture which means that Indians at Hinglishmen should sit found the table, not to enter merely into a clash of ideas, but, if possible, to evolve a constitution for the cautry, which may settle our difficulties for all time to come, and which may enable us to settle down to constructive work.

Mr. Chairman, I will only ask you to be ir with me when L remind you of the dicumstances under which this Conference has Leer, called. Last year I believe it was on the 31st October, 1929 -Il's Excellency Lord Irwin, for whom, let me tell you frankly, I have a geraine admiration a Viceroy who is very nucle taisunderstood, to my surprise, it his country, and let me say also in a country, but where least i with us I feel assured the ut r-1, ice that through announcement. The secret history is to In that allowerself carre to be made as yet to be written, by we trust take that amountement is an eo plished but. You plodged yourself there to certain ideas, to a certain policy. and this Contesence has been convened to implement that policy. It is special which Land Invited Diversed on the 9th July last t the Indian Legislature, he again referred to that ratter in ties, words, that the purpose of this Conference was that the speake note of Great Britain and India would take free coursel the upon the measures which his Gevenument would later present to Parliament, and if I may be permitted to reter to a letter which Lord Irwin addressed to my distinguished friend,

<sup>\*</sup> See paragraph 2 of Introductory Note (p. 1).

Mr. Jayakar, and myself when we started on a mission which uncontamately has tailed, His Excellency wrote as follows:

"It remains my earnest desire, as it is that of my Government and, I have no doubt, also that of His Majesty's Government to do everything that we can in our respective spheres to assist the people of In hat robtain as large a degree of management of their own affairs as can be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they are not at present in a position to assume responsibility. What these measures may be, and what provisions may be made for them, will engage the attention of the Conference; but I have never believed that, with mutual confidence on both sides, it should be impossible to reach agreement."

It is in that spi it and for that purpose that we have come; and let me tell you. Sir, that we have come here across the seas in the milst of the gibes had ridicule of our own countrymen. We have already been described, in our country, as traitors to the cause. We have come here in the midst of that opposition, but we have brought with us a determination to argue with you, to discuss with you frankly and freely, to make our contribution to the solution of the problem, to make ourselves heard, but also to hear you, to invite you to make your contribution, so that in the end we may say that those who have already forecast the future were really false prophets.

It is in that spirit that I wish to present my case before you. Let me tell you that no greater mistake can be made by British statesmen and by my British friends and I claim that I do possess some friends among the British than to imagine that India stands to day where she did even ten years ago. I think the idea of the progress that India has made during the last ten years could not have been better described than in the gracious words of our Severeign on that opening day of this Conference. We have travelled a very long distance. Let that be realised. Let this timewern theory that we are only a handful of men be abdished for good Mr. Jax dar and I. during the months of July. August and September, were constably travelling from one end of the country to the other, and we saw with our own eves, we heard with our ewn ers, signs and tries which it would have been impossible for me or for him to imagine. When I read in the English Press descriptions of the signation in India my heart sake. I am not making reference test things with the object of frightening you. I am not holdingent are threat. I am simple stating fiels. I and encorfessien, or the durely here steen fession, that, so far as I am concerned. I we maked from the beginning the grave dargers of the Civil Disclosing country of the property of the Prop the priva direct of that movement. There idea real's differ reportance of pheirg a fine interpretation on what it really reprewith I beg of you on this measion to use superior to the small educinistrative view of this operation and to take a broad and st desmendike view and measure of the unrest that you find in

India. I beg of you to think like this. Never before in the history of India, never before even in the Mogul period of history, Las India been governed by agents and sub-agents. The Moguls or the Mulanmadans might have come as invaders, but they settled down and became men of the same country, became part and parcel of our social system. What is the system that you have established? It is the system of Parliamentary Sovereignty, sovereignty exercised by some 600 odd members of Parliament on behalf of a population of forty-five millions-you will correct me I hope if I have got the wrong figures of that population -... and you are attempting to exercase that sovereignty over 320 million people living 6,000 miles away from the centre of your political power. I speak with the utmost deterence in the presence of the Secretary of State, but I do say that the ordinary Member of Parliament has neither the necessary time, Lor the necessary capacity, nor the necessary vision to understand the mind or the feelings of India, and, if Mr. Wedgwood Benn will excuse me. I will say that the Secretary of State, however distinguished he may be, is one of those 600 men. Necessarily he has to depend upon the advice of men in the India Office. Let me tell you coite frankly that, while I have great admiration for the Civil Service -whether it is your Civil Service or the Civil Service of my with our tax -I cannot forget that while Civil Servants can be very good servants they are very bad masters. Therefore I say that ul'mately is comes down not to Parliamentary Sovereignty. But to the sovereignty of half a dozen men in England and half a dozen men in India. That is low the theory of Parliamentary Sovereignly works out. Can you expect a country like mine, brought into contact with Western ideas, vibrating with the new movement of the List, to remain content with that sort of government? Certainly not I say, therefore, that it is perfectly natural that we should seek freedom, freedom within our own borders as an integral part of the British Commenwealth of Nations. You will ask me what is it exactly that you want. When I have talked to my British friendsand some of them are very highly placed statesmen - when I have used in the course of conversation that forbidden place "Dominion Status ", some of them have asked me " What does it all mean? " I have been asked that question in fact by one of your biggest statesmen I shall not name him in private. When we talk thout Dominion Status the average Englishman stands up in the middle of the road and asks "What does it all mean?" I would respectfully ask whether in 1865, when you had to tackle the question of Carada, or in 1900, when you had to takke the problem of Australia, or in 1909, when you were face to face with the problem of South Africa after that terrille war, whether the average Englishman stood up in the middle of the read and asked "What does it all mean? " When you ask me what are the implications of Dominion Status. I am ready to give an answer to that question, but let me tell you what we want before I proceed further. Avoiding that expression which is impleasant to some ears. I will put my case like this: India wants, and is determined to achieve, a status of equality—equality with the other three members of the

British Commonwealth, an equality which will give it a Giventment not married responsive to, but responsible to the popular voice. Speaking for myself, I say and I say it will. Il tre conviction I possess, conviction based not merely on theory but in experience brived, if I may respectfully say set to a new off all life, however brice it may have been that it will not do for you to take a provincial view and offer provincial autonomy or acything or that kind, tadess you couple with it a decided and clear change in the constitution of the Central Covernment. You rent marke that reponsible to the Legislacure. At this stage you may ash me, " As uming that India wants a responsible Central Governament, what is going to be the relation of that responsible Central Government to the Previnces, and what is go for to be the relation of the responsible Central General to the State ? That at once gives rise to the question whether on a astitution should be of a federal character.

Sir, before I express any views roly I make a very respectful appeal to some of my illustrious countrymen who are patriots first and Princes afterwards? It will not do for Their Highnesses- and I know that they are for frem conceiving such a thing to say that they are here only for the protection of their rights. Let me respectfully fell them that they are Indians first and Indian Princes next, and that they owe as much duty to the common Motherland as we do. I arrive one of those who have a horier of Indian Princes. I make that confession publicly. I think the Indian Prince is every meh as patib tie as any one of its, and I take an earnest appeal to there act to confine their vi ion merely to what is called "One third India.' I ask them to say whether at any time in Listary India was so arbitrarily giviled as it is now geographically—British India or Indon India. I say we are one India. Let them nove rerward with the vision of an India which will be one single whele, each part of which may be autonomous and may enjoy absolute in lependence within its own borders, regulated by proper relations with the rest. I therefore ask them to come forth on this occasion and say whether they are prepared to join an All-India Federation. I express no definite opinion; I will not commit this Conference to any particular usue on this point. These issues have to be examined carefully and minutely. I do suggest, however, that, so far as we are concerned, we have a vision of a united India, and not merely of an India divided into so many compartments. I have no coubt that when H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner addresses this Conference he will advert to these questions and that he will take us now into his confidence.

It shows to me that if your gree itset there has got to be responsibility in the Centre, it is inevitable that you must ask yourself the question in itary or federal. Speaking for myself—and I speak in my relate this matter in my individual capacity—I am a very strong believer in the federal form of given mucht. I believe that therem has the solution of the difficulty and the salvation of India; and it I were to express my opinion freely I would well me the

ters is. I see that the well runish a status in the cur ters is a latter say that the process of an indication will be and the say that the process of an indication will be and the say that the process of district will be and the say that the process of district will be and the say that the process of district which is equal to the say that the first say that the process of district which is provided by the British India.

I'm all these reasons I invite then to join this bigg i Poderaton. The decide of that have to be worked ont. They were not
present to the mind of the Government of India when they wrote
then Decided. The Government of India in their Despatch vaguethen Decided. The Government of India in their Despatch vaguethe speak of a tar-off disting Federation. With their is a real live
that they are to a come to some solution of that. I fankly
that the refer platter can be achieved at this University.

hay a dall time have yet will be at healt will be the it was a fite torm at 2 settle ent. I may be readily . . it is a list in the intely attest, tol more colle - · : 1.1 · E / T / ( ) in 1 · Ti ti present 1 de en anjon-si ilit). I . . I a middle tet there is the present of the stall order to a least to tem mied that then are fillion in taken at-..... 1; '...' to be it the entire system of commonce involved; il, the term of the life is the least of the last the las My . 1 v v . v . v . In these are difficulties, by all mouth then; to las has a retthern. But you ought not, indy a cannot, med the as its recritable difficulties-liberalties which take it I per town it unto say " No, gentlemen, we shall not admit your claim to reponsibility at the Centre, because these are dimenties t which our combined statesmanship is analle to find any solt-" . I do not want my releads of the British Delegations to take that position. No one can be more interested in the maintenance of I wand order than we Indians. I admit there may be difficulties; eat what has been your history during the last 25 years ever since the partition of Bengal? Every five years there has spring up an agitation it an acute character, and we have had and by " we " I work the hungens and the Indians-cither to reort to extraendinary privers or to shut up the sends of men, and to put up with grave breaches of the law. Is this what you call the maintenance of lin and order? Surely in Indian Minister could have it de graver blur bers than have been made in dealing with a situatick of this character. I do say that that is a position which has . t to be fairly faced, and you will never be able to maintain law and order so long as you do not satisfy political aspirations, so leng as the puestion of minorities is not settled, so long as the un-· 2 haldes and the Depressed Classes do not feel they have a definite - - iti n of henceral le equality. Solve these problems and then the the publican of law and order becomes very much simpler.

I come new to ecometee. What is the trouble about comported I are chits aware that there is a copy large emount of fact, a copital invested in India, but let us tell you that I can the copy of the I have the contract the contract to the order. would like to have any exprepriatory legislation. We do not wont acrobatic lumpests of their capital. On the contrary, we are thost accounts that our mends the lumpeans, who have settled down in It has or who carry on their business there, should red that they have the same rights and privileges which genuine born Indians has a They are quite welcome to suggest any sateguards for their rights and interests, and we shall be note than willing to meet that a

You talk it finince, Sir, as being at obstacle, and you talk of the absence it a Reserve Bank. My answer to that is, by all means establish a Reserve Bank a Bank based not on a political basis, but or a purely in incial and comomic basis. When we know that the constitution is going to be ours, that the government is going to be ours, why should we adopt a non-possinious attitude?

It seems to me that there is not very much reree in the argument that the credit of India will disappear in the London market it mance comes into Indian hands. I know of instances in which private individuals have raised money in London. I know that your country has advanced big leans to small countries which are not within your Empare. Surely after 170 years of association with theat Britain, after having enjoyed a system of government which has established stability in the country, deven mean to say that the credit of India in the London market will disappear simply because our finances pass into other hands? Did you ever raise this question in the case of other countries? I therefore ask you, if you teel that there is any your certaine difficulty with regard to these matters, please do not use them as obstacles in our way but as difficulties to be surmounted.

I now cone to the question of the Aunx. My I remind you of exact driking speed, which the late Mr. Montagu for whean or range of as here are not reply respect but a deer, go, nine the tien - in which he said " llaving kept Indians out it commis--i ned ranks for 70 or 86 years laving deprived them of the opporthe ity to build up their own Army and to receive fraining, does it in fairness lie in your mouth to say Low 'Inlia must not get while over him has been anser it cannot cetend its own beiders; it cannot i. it's noits own peace '? " The argument is reither tain nor. Her a past al point of view, can it be maintained. As macheal polite, we realise that there is a difficulty about the Array. We to ise that we have got to train a sufficient nur her of our mer. nd we lave to be patient about that; but all we say is " Give us is a quitality to their our own men; give us the freedom to estabha! 'obstrations'. So for as your Amy is concerned, by all the meskeep it in the Lands of the Viceroy. Let him exercise contion over the Army through the Commander-in-Chief or through a Minister whom he may appoint, and we on our part are willing to provide the rands and to agree to statutory charges in respect of the Arr. v. These are matters which have get to be finally adjusted and examined. I have been told privately, and I have read it in documents—and it causes me some despair—that no British'

Minister will agree to transfer the British Army to the control of Indian Ministers. That question to my mind is not of immediate importance, but I do hope that people who talk like that do not mean to imply that no British officer will be willing to serve under any Indian fellow subject. At the present moment it so happens and it has happened repeatedly during the last few years - that Indians hold the highest offices under the Crown, and I have not vet known a single instance in which a member of the Indian Civil Service or of any other Service has declined to take orders from his Indian superior on the ground that he is an Indian. I appeal to my late chief, Lord Reading. I had the Lonour at one time, if I may be permitted to say so, to be a Member of his Government, and I appeal to him to say whether the relations between the European Members of the Executive Council and the Indian Members of the Executive Council on the one hand, and between the Indian Members of the Executive Council and the Secretaries, most of whom were members of the Indian Civil Service, were cordial or otherwise. I should like to refer to a remarkable case which exists in India at the present moment. In Lahore the Chief Justice of the High Court happens to be a distinguished countryman of mine, Sir S. Lall, one of the most striking personalities in India. I have never heard a single Judge of the High Court say that he feels it a matter of disgrace that he should be presided over by an Indian Chief Justice.

I say, therefore, let us put it on the practical ground, but do not introduce the racial element into it. After all, the point of view that we take is this: You and we are subjects of the same King-Emperor; you and we belong to the same Commonwealth of Nations; and there ought not to be any feeling of superiority or inferiority, because so long as there is that feeling of superiority or inferiority India can never be happy and can never be contented.

Let us deal with the problem of the Army, therefore, in the manner in which practical statesmanship requires it to be done; but do not say to us that, because of these obstacles, we ought to go back to our own countrymen and say the utmost that we have been able to achieve by going six thousand miles and by talking to British statesmen of all the three Parties, is provincial autonomy.

Let me ask you only one thing. I would make a personal appeal to Lord Reading on this matter, because I believe, if there is one man in this assembly who understands the constitution of India tron, the legal and political point of view, it is my late chief, Lord Reading. I would ask him to consider this. Do you really think that it will make for peace and harmonious action if you give the Provinces provincial autonomy, which means responsible government and on the top of that have an irresponsible Central Government? Quite apart from questions of sentiment, quite apart from questions of a political character. I say that that machinery will heak down in the course of a week. It will give rise to so many leadlocks, it will cause so many occasions of friction, that the machinery will break down.

The position is therefore plant and sorph, and to sthis. Take your certaige in your hards; it vales, is, it years grants as you run, so long a theory is provided to the stroy the vite provided and then go also divide an expect, and do not destroy the with the certains series of the proper of India, will cause to your rescue. Their whole future is at stake. But do not say "You shall march so many paces". The time has long since passed by when India and Iddicted by labeled its soul in patient and to match to that it soft idea, theory at the age of you to change your outlook on the whole situation.

I intended, but better I resame my scat I leuld like to express the hope that you and we may work in the closest possible co-operator and that we may speck without mental reservation, because I believe there can be no greater crime against England or India than to speak with mental reservations on at orasion like this. I hope that you and we may succeed in evolving a constitution which will bring perceand contentiuent to my country which will make the youth of my country look on their country with pride, with consider e and with assurance, and which will make your effice and your name in my tal in the history of India and of England.

II II The Maharaja of Bhame . Mr. Chairman, we meet in no or linery times to attempt no ordinary task. In our immediate tencers is the peace happiness and good poverticent of three hardred and nineteer mall one of people, bolding to whatever povernment may be established for some relief from their present distresses, who I vertue once again to assert—cer ala 11 happy architistatices more allestanding one loval to the one. What then would be the results it from any irresolution on our part -from universely on a relief a react, and the other, from timulity in one party and a refusal to be ograss the essentials of consitutional Love the store the another -we henched from the work and failed valuation to seeme the greater to destinent of India . It goes without saying that a very heavy responsibility rests on each and every one of is taking part in this Contererce, and that the issues is velved are really tremendous. It is in passible to minimise the In gratile of the tass that les before ustrict do I desire to under-Into the complexity of some of the problems involved. I am ar eptimist but there is no use in shutting encis eyes to facts. I have seer in Bomb, y and classifiere during my travels in British India hew detrasses in the dastricts ore being after ted. I wish I could the notely express the gravity of the situation. I have dways declared to be moved by threa sof dire of sequences, nor have I sulported to lear distated to at the muzzl- of the pistel Bur and to real the precent elived ideas and talse actions of prestige a exaggerated fear of some possible consequences have. I feel in Ell be agreed, also to be guarded agents; and I, for one-and here I feel that I speak for my Order as well as for the representatives

to both he did to the difficulties about this arrived he li-notase to be made tearful to the difficulties about that is no net that in the part of the the uncernost that is no net to a splitter combined and of compare. The very numeristy of the ways

makes it worth doing well.

His Maristy the Kirg-Emperor was pleasand to let it has at the in the total Content of that "the last deside has vitte seed ... a webstirg at legrowth in ideals and aspirations of Nationheel which lets the customaly measurements of time " I value t of ealth con Prine Min ster and other Members of His Maio tr's Given the ent, and to our colleagues here representing the British. Political Parties, to take their courage is leth hards, to throw their had somethe breezed follow boldly ofter, in the caryatten that the greater our vision and determination, the greater is our sure. It, It is be and the meher in consequence the harvest which we all British India and the Indian States, and Great Britain and the Lopve shall reap. The altimate attainment of D minion Status under the Cawa is inherent in the declaration of policy is 1917, and he has be eatly received authoritative endorsement. Let us betcheam wagon to that star, fully realising that our sister States lid not reach the end at one stride, but after exclution based on experience, that in the intervening stage certain safeguar is and 2 . d. Cos are map and vely recessary for the security of the bely police and all parts thereof but looking straight on. Nothing veril having our le atteined without faring some risks. These were taker wher. Lord Durham laid the foundations for the proud si i which Canada enjoys to-day as the premier Dona Lion in ou great Commonwealth, to the mutual benefit of Great Britain. and Caracla. Similar risks were run when Sir Henry Campbell-Boneman secured Dominion Status ter South Africa with the happiest results, for which we had every reason to be grateful during the firest War only some five years later. I am equally convinced that if this Conference will but do the right thing by India, pistly ad magnarine usly, my country will be a willing and contented prince in the Commasseald. She will then be only too glal, side by side with the benefits of an lenourable and independent political freezeally, to have all the power and rounces of our raplity Empire always at her back. No hall-hearted measures. . rate bakerig with the constitution will. They wanto believe be thed the situation. Many of our troubles in the past, and our to present, here arisem trunchese causes. Moreover with, in response to irresistible demands, some constitutional altar a are made, it was often too late; and it wore the appearance ci laying been conceded with a had grace and wrested from the But in factor ment. So there never was a time in the list in at India and of the Empire when courage—courage is thought, is ann, in a netructive statesmanship-was more readed than new, where the great ambitions stirring India are struggling for constitut al expression. It is in the spirit of comage, confidence, imignation and liberal statesmanskip, that I provious deliberations may be guided.

Preser what standpoint their hower of the States approach this g cat task? I speak principle for no self though [ Indexe I shall have the general sorrement of the Princes and the Musisters representing our Irdia States at this historic gathering. We are here spe filly to present the policies of the Indian States. First and toronest in these polices is an inflicting and mequalited levilly to the Throne and Person of His Majesty the Kingshaper of of It lie. With the traditions of ce turie of kingship and with the ustingts and responsibilities of booding rule obgrened in our being, the kingly idea and the monric ital system are bore of our beise, flesh of our flesh. Even if we were tempfed to waken from this principle which is impossible the thought of the interse devotion of the Imperial House of Windson to the interests of India would tekindle our taith. Three retable and encouraging messages from His Majesty still ring in our cars -the carriest plea for sympathy in dealing with Indian problems made at the close of the Ird an tour as Prime of Wales; the watchward of Tope given six years later at Calcutta; and the pledge that the Princes' privileges. ughts and I go thes are inviolate and inviolable renewed when the Chamber at Princes was inaugurated. In this threshold spirit of sympathy, hope and justice, encouraged by the grae ous words a ldressed to this Conference when it was inaugurated on Wednesday, we lend with the greater optimism to the work that lies before us.

Li dæd with this devotion to the Crewn is an unfaltering adhesion to the British Commonwealth of Nations The old idea of Enapire as signifying "doncin on over palm and pine" has vanished; the concept of Expire as overloadship hand in force was rever true ord row has not even the pale stadow of reality. The unity of the Empire was signally youds ated in the Great Wer. The besis of that unity was rechapsed at the Importal Conference of 1926, when it was declared that the constituent States are autonomous comrunities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way substitute one to snother in any respect of their donn stir or external adairs, though united by a consuma allegiance to the Crewn. Our attachment to the Dispire or Commonwealth, call it what we may, - to mere matter of sentiment. It is based on the per found conviction that not enly constituent State reach its full expression within these books and under the Crwn, but a hale development, politically and commically, than it could attain as an isolated independent unit.

The fly, we stand without compromise on our freaty rights at all that they involve. Those Tre for any with the British Crown, a latitionally contact be transferred to any other authority without any treaty contact be transferred to any other authority without that I are agree that and assent. But to no contact be from this that I are estates expected who this killer things rever elarge. The States rightly a circumstant that Treaties concluded in behour and trendship are lardup until they may be amended, and they can alvo be amended by regoliation and beacons decapement on both subs. Nor must it be an cluded that we of the Indian States are at lartup belief that charges in British India will have no reflex to the controllers at lartup car relations with our own subjects.

The territories of the Indian States are so interviven with British India, so many of the more enterprising of our traders have business in the new commercial centres on the seaboard, which have grown up under the Pax Britannica and the opening of the Suez Canal, that we must be influenced by the development of political ideas and institutions beyond our frontiers. But this is our affair. We know our States and our people; we live amongst our own tolk and are in the most intimate contact with their needs and possibilities. We shall know how and when to adjust our system to any changing conditions; but we will do it in our own time and in our own way, free from all external interference.

Is there anything in adherence to these principles either opposed to, or inconsistent with, the fullest development of India until she takes her equal place as a constituent State in the British Commonwealth with the other Dominions, welded into an indivisible whole under the segis of the Crown? I say, "No-a thousand times No." It is sometimes said that there are two Indias, British India and the India under the rule of her own Princes. That is true in a political sense; but India is a single geographical unit and we are all members one of another. We, the Princes, are Indians-we have our roots deep down in her historic past, we are racy of the soil. Everythirg which tends to the honour and prosperity of India has for us a vital concern. Everything which retards her prosperity and shakes the stability of her institutions retards our own growth and lowers our stature. We claim that we are on the side of progress. One of the most welcome signs of the times is the material weakening of the idea that the Princes are opposed to the political growth of British India, and would range themselves or allow themselves to be arrayel against the realisation of the just Lopes of their fellowcountrymen in British India. We have, therefore, watched with the most sympathetic interest the rise of that passion for an equal position in the eyes of the world, expressed in the desire for Dominion Status, which is the dominant force amongst all thinking Indians to-day. These of us who have grown grey under the responsibilities of rule and the practical work of administration-and thirty-two years have passed since I assumed the active governance of the State of Bikaner-deplore some of the expressions of this unge. We appreciate the fact that when contracts are broken under the impulse of revolutionary fervour, they have to be re-knit in blood and tears, and a weary path of suffering and loss trodden before society marches forward again. But behind these untoward developments, which we hope and pray is only a passing phase, lies the struggle for equality springing from our ancient culture and quickened by years of contact with the liberty-loving and constitutionally minded British people.

It is, I submit, our duty to bend our energies to the task of satisfying this righteous demand without impairing the majestic fabric of law. How best can this be achieved? My own conviction is that if we are to build well and truly, we must recognise that associated with this geographical unity India is a land of some diversity. Our starting point, therefore, must be a recognition of this diversity;

, gets to a the lead to an impossible it is not a first as elimed days say. For these reasons, the est in house of this State, with a severem publisher sitting Delhi towl, he excoler pleanable he is, small hims as in Lie, struck and in possible. There would be ro from in such a constitution in the Indian States; moreover, such a government world thank under its own importered flity. Would it not mean the force sing of the most revanced to the charlot wheels of the least developed, and the sloving lown of the general fice of progreen. We of the Indian States are willing to take our part in, and nake our contribution to, the greater prosperity and contentment at field a as a whole. I am convinced that we can best make that correbution through a faderal system of general action posed of the State of British India. These two parts as are of different stars. The Indian States are alleady sovereign and autonomous t ight, laving the honour of being linked with the Crown by I expect Treaties of "perpetual alliance and mierdship" and unity er attenests; British India derives what you reasone of authority it var prosest devolution. But it will not be beyond the wealth to proper ce available at this Table to devise a means of linking the editoring units into a powerful tederal idministration.

As to the question whether, if a tederal government is levised for In La. the Princes and States will enter into association with it, the mid answer must obviously depend on the structure of the govern-", ar in licated and on other points involved, such, for instance, as etdir recently safenards—constitutional and fiscal in the restration of the rights and interests of the States and their subjects. Federalism is an elastic term: there are several forms or reteral government. Conditions in India me maque. We have rollistorical precedents to guide us: and the position of the Indian States . I believe I am correct in saying, alcolately without har dlel. All these and many other grave questions of policy and of on I will have to be examined and defined and settled first in the ratio of him internal discussions. But, speaking broadly, the Processed States realise that an All-India Federation is likely to , ever the only satisfactory solution of India's problem. A Federat ... the large I have attempted to sketch on other eccasions, has, s I have previously said, no terrors for the Princes and Govern-1 - 1.15 of the Ir Lan States. We, however, recognise that a period t trassition will necessarily intervene before the Federal Governno it is fully constituted, and that foleration cannot be achieved by one con of the States in any form. The Indian Princes will e ly come it to the l'ederation of their owr free will, and on terms who havill sector the just rights of their States and subjects.

I would not yet the or the impertinence of even suggesting what course so test for Brutish India. As we demand freedom from intersion to the control of the intersection of the state of the sound of the arrangements to were the Central and Provincial Covernments in British India, are not to the order of the Indian State of the control of the Indian State of the Central of the Sanday of the Indian State of the Central of the Sanday of the Indian State of the Central of the Sanday of the Indian State of the Central of the Sanday of the Indian State of the In

and freely and hencely given. Our duty is to catallette so far as we can to the evolution of a system of government which will lead to the close and elective association of the Indian States with British India whose constitution is to be han mered out here. At the same time the rights in certain directions of the Rulers of the Indian States arising from their Treaties require to be more precisely defined. The Princes and States naturally want to know where they stand. However sincerely desirons of making their contribution to a hoppy either eat, they will obviously find it difficult to enter into new hords so long as their rights are left tottering on the shifting sands of expediency deemed paramount at the moment. I think I can best clucidate what is referred to by quoting from a speech I hade in the Chamber of Princes on behalf of my Order, on the 27th February last:—

" New-langled theories about the ultimate powers regard ng Para sountry, and such matters, before the appointment of the Butler Committee, and the extravagand and evaggerated imperialist chims, inconsistent with the plighted word and good faith of tireat Britain, or sound statesmanship, advan et er, behalt of the Pararioust Pewer-chous more wide, more trend to mere its stem and. I respectfully subseit to based on varied and not infrequently untenable grounds and opposed to constitut onal and historical facts and to the provisions of cur l'isdies and otler Engagements, and in direct contradiction of the scleum and clear pledges and assurances in the famous 21a ous Proclimation of Queen Victoria, repeatedly refresated or I affirmed by successive British Severeigns in numerous Proclamations—laye not belped to ease the situation of to alloy the auxieties of the States or their Rulers, Governments or people."

The Princes and States fortified by the legal opinion of trined from s har of the most on ment Counsel in Great Britain have found tion selves unable particularly to accept such claims on the principles et theinted it this connection by the Ind an States Committee. and have already taken up the natter with the Viceroy and British Conventional. Stutie, with the base recognition that our Treaty Right exist at land the respect d; that they me with the Crows. a least be transmed to any other authority without our Size for trand that they can be wonlified only with our men associate there levelopus its of the existing administrative machinery are essential for the Smooth weak. Le of the Len System, and indeed of and system : It is an open matter of camplaint that it Treaty Rult love been intringed. I need not stress this populate to these lest publicly desired by to less or entionity that the Viceray and trove not-treveral or India that the Tresty Rights of the States have been encreached upot, and that in some cares an arbitrary body of isage and political practice les concerto being. The time has pass d when issues of this in postance can be deeded or parte by any perentient. We therefore aftern the almost inputative to the establishment of a Supercros Court, with full process to

entertar and adjudicate anomall depotes of a justiciable nature as to a reglats and obligations guaranteed under our Treaties. This is cretized point which I meet not labour, for the a principle to which the leaders of political thought in British India have, I believe I am right in saying, best their tall support. Next, we claim. That is the questions which arise concerning the purely internal affairs of the States their case should not go by default. That will be of still greater importance in the future. The King's Vergerert in India is ever, now burdened with many and grievons responsibilities which will be weighted unter the new system of governor and the I would once again like to be associated in a respectful to bate to, and to express our leep admin tion and gratitule but that great Viceroy, Lord liver. We think that it will be impossible for each note however able, and these grave presonne put ons, to give adequate personal attention to those questions the trig the States which cone up for day to day decision, and for which he will be directly responsible to the Crown. For these Teasons some on us press for the appointment of an Indian States Conneil, to work with the Political Secretary and to advise the Vicincy of the day. Thirdly, there will be the need for the classifactor of thise; diministrative questions with me of common Cororn to British Lidicard the Indian States. This classification will require the previous consent of the States. As we advance further on the road to Febration there are other issues which will need saleguarding: as they are in the lature of defails they are not our main concern to-day.

With this contribution to the common task before us I have done. Before I six down, may I as a forgiveness it, as an old soldier, I have moverably given ettence to anyone by any blantness of speech? I are aspired by one thought—service to my beloved King-Emperor and devetor to my Methorland. Akbar, the greatest of the M guls, when he set out on the crowning adventure of his newled life placed his tect in the stimp of opportunity and his hards on the reas of confidence in God. I would commend to you at the threshold of an great enterprise, the concuest of anarchy and machon in Hindustan and the assurance of our contentment and projective a a cose nell particular our great Commonwealth the words of Abraham Lincoln in commistances not altogether remote from these:—

"With malice towards none; with charity for all; with framess in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work that we are in."

Mr. Japiers I did not expect to be called upon at such an early stage of the disarte, and I was under the impression that representing as I to the younger generation. I was to be the last of the three spectars on behalf of the British India Delegation. However, Su, as you have committed me to speak at this stage I shall accept your invitation in the sense that I shall put before your two winterests from the point of view of the younger near India who are backing in the Round Table Conference. You have

be a toll by my esteemed friend, Sar Tej Bahadur Sapru, under what or countries the Round Table Conference has been convened. I . cr em er the distate in the Legislative Assembly i., 1924, when the most important political party in India, over which by esteemed trend Pandit Motilal Nektu presided, passed a resolution in 1924 and 1925, two specessive years calling the attention of British states in to the desirability of holding a found table conference. It may surprise British statesmanship that the very men whe then desired the holding of a round table conference are to-day averse to attending the session of that round table conference. To me it is no wonder, and it is one instance of what an esteen ed countrytrance to mine, the late Mr. Gokhale, said many years ago very puthay: "On all the portals of the Government of India is written in large letters the works 'Too late'. What would have satisfied The in the year 1924 is not satisfying India to-day, and, if I may say se, what will sat sty India to-day will not satisfy India a year herce. That is the lesson that I wish to put before this assembly. august as it is: and I can say with perfect confidence that we must proceed fast with our work, because time is, as the lawyers say, of the essence of the contract." I repeat, without giving it as a throat, that time is of the utmost importance, because if India gets to-le what sac wants she will be satisfied with many things which will hot sat sty her six months hence.

St., I come from a Province where as possibly you have heard, the greatest act vity of the Congress is going on. I have seen many things which very few have been privileged to see in the course of their political experience. I say with great confidence that the choice before your Government in India is a choice between constitutional government and chaos and disorder. How you will accept this choice it is for you to decide, but it is not duty to place before you the extreme gravity of the situation in India. As Sir Tei Bahalur Sapiu has stated, to-lay we are standing on the threshold of great events it India. Whether you make them great in the constitutional field, or whether you make them great in the field of revolution and anarchy, it is for this Conference to decide. I can only say that great events are going to take place in India. wilether they are great in the field of responsibility, constructive work and cornadeship, or whether they are great in the field of Ollow ton, bitterness, hatred and aranchy that will depend very La geli i pote what we achieve at this Round Table Conference.

Since coming him I have had frequent talks with friends. I used to be a student in this city, many years ago, and I still retain most pleasant impressions of my days as a pupil in the rooms of one of your foremost Judges in the Court of Appeal to-day. I carried back with me 25 years ago pleasant memories of my experience as a pupil sitting cheek by jowl with my English triends, one or two of whom have since become great Judges of your Courts. A rew have died. One or two have become eminent King's Coursel, and others have become great Englishmen. I therefore claim to have a few ir ends in England, and talking with then I have discovered that

the plant of the bound of the part and take at let like per tier bewlo av: "Il wear I la Less Doran, on status when short I solve or mer with the Largire, rol clems trapper breez' Mary of rev English times neve specient etter tens stillens; "I we wo you the had instalprotectile order to yellow in State, or wheat a not - British is the state of the first of the state of the s . . I be not to want of the error of indeed the opposite sole in whom is deather that is in ejecation: I can only say, Liowing as I do not Congress riends introately-and I was in I cray at their orly a normanth and it was give India Der rich State, et adar, or the em solet a ten merth the error - Upon long on Il the fittell. It, or the there has been been the · prolabolition car labours not selected to will be the · · · · vay I has again where and in interestrate and for independence.

I say, with they becomes they town, in India, that the cry trape, let constant despite latist, dataparen. It is a on it is a the a whole the viscoul a coal to a land the . The there spoke and the fight didnes but become to turn less properties. We accepted second pair ess time after time. that the taller account extense consules the above the year their was the harris in the latter, and some the telegraphical districted The content of the streeting that in presentatives · white I are problem almost. Then the great her that hope The state of the s " ne second contrate contrate entrates de costants. As I say, the Victor's declaration at that one created great eathusiasm in the site to when a libe one, but materiunatly one damper after is the care on that enthis asia. Many of my political miends v 5 l to kr w the purposed r wasch this Round Table Conterence As also The great Vietoy, whose name we will always cherish, " and a case, and addiculty. He said, " I am not an liberty to meet, in what is the purpose of this Round Table Conference. Go to the Rough Talle Conference, tare the facilibers and ask them to let no the purpose of these labours by being present at the Round The Caterance." I crean old cucketer. I believe it playing the game. I have therefore accepted the chritation and I have the Lere; but I would emphas se that, before we proceed with our Le cuts, it is recessary for is to dec le that India might teel sat to be saturable to the purpose of the Royal Table Corperere, It has some and illuminate the propose is to reake it possible · In. the trade But's's Commonwealth. If that is done Il. we may and it is a super the sure of t all the crist the erleres at one. The tisa slogan manch, in to blancase the bagainer, you a knew boar as in order that la annas may come to you. All business men know it. The cry of The feet of the reality of the term of the first and the feet the lead when the Dorinion Status I who very to tall, or the above here her left that Domnier Status might come.

The second of stacle which has been put before me by my friends ". England is the Army: Low can Indians manage the Army? As Sa Tel Bahadar Sapin mentioned in his memorable words, we are quite agreeable to listen to any saleguards that may be suggested. luring the period of transition, in order that such transition may be made a tre casy and more safe for both sides. I am surprised that this talk about the Army arises in connection with a country in which there is all the fighting material for which one could wish. My Muhat readan friends, the Indian States, my own community, the Malnottes, and the Sikhs, are all fighting people. India is a country which possesses traditional fighting talent which has conthreel over centuries, and which is quite capalle of furlishing the Lapue, it ever the time comes, with all the fighting material she may wart that tack of India as wonting in righting talent—as walting ' zhrag talent even in defending herself. I am surprised il to healk should take pl. e. It reminds me of a little episode which happeted when Mr Gokhale came here for the great Coronain, and which be was never thed of it iting to me. He was taken the right of the Sikh and Malitaria s Il as-ar I beam and, tall and stalwart men they were. They matched post to the administion of all the Englishmen and With the present and they were chapped. Mr Gokhale retused to dal. At Inglish then standing near said, "Why don't you the ". Mr. Goddade replied. " I reserve my admiration for that tuchty people who have turned these schliers into their hirelings. That site sertifient of the younger men in the country. There is I leaded material in the land which you could harness, if you could nly mst I a little scutiment, patriotism, courage and self-government into their midst.

The third difficulty which was mentioned to me was " You are so Livided amongst yourselves. You have your minorities-Muslims, Depressed Classes, Brakmins and non-Brahmins." With regard to that I wish to mention one circumstance. I do not know whether Lay English triends will appreciate it, because possibly you have no minorities problem among you. Certainly you have not lad that problem with a the last 30 or to years. My solution of this minortties question is this give them opportunities of common endeavour tor their country, and then much of this difficulty will disappear. Give them opportunities of feeling hat side by side they are working for their one country, that they have a common patriotism, a common patrix, for which they can all work together. Do that, and a great deal or the difficulty will disappear. That is my solution. and the reason I suggest it is this; under the present system of government we very raiely get any chances of working together in the serse of working for our common country. Create that feeling. It can be created only by giving India complete freedom in the toria et Dom nion Status. Harress all flese minorities together, and I have no doubt that a great deal of the discort int which arises at present will disappear. That is the solution for the question of minuities.

Lastly. I come to an obstacle which has been mentioned to me. It is said, "Suppose India is given Dominion Status: what about the Indian States? Do they feel like you? Are they prepared to come into a Federation? Are they patriotic? Do they feel that they are Indians?" The answer to that has just been given by the noble scion of the house of Bikaner, who spoke before me. As Sir Tej Bal adur Sipru rightly remarked, the Indian Princes are first Indians and then Princes. Our del berations during the next tew days will make it perfectly clear that a common patriotism actuates them, as it actuates British Indians.

Let use say that we are quite ready to do this in order to create a toothold for the Indian States: we will not insist on impossible terms of Federation. I do not wish to go into the reved question of Federation or a unitary form of government; although that question has been stated as the subject-matter of discussion, you. Sir, have very wisely ruled that we may speak on any constitutional question. Therefore I do not wish to go into that question because that is for the experts to decide in Committee. I can only say, speaking for those whom I represent in this Conference, and speaking with great confidence and assurance, that we will not insist on impossible terms of Federation so far as the Indian States are concerned. We shall insist only on such terms as most of the Indian States are prepared to a cept at present. We have no desire to intagere unduly at all in the internal affairs of the Indian States; we are quite prepared to wait until they of themselves come into line with our ways.

I remember a characteristic paragraph in that memorable Montagu-Chelmsford Report, as we called it in India, where, ten years ago, this problem was anticipated, and in a memorable paragraph almost poetic like an epic, the authors of that Report stated what is eternally found time, and what has certainly been found true in India. They said that when you create these processes of reformation in one part of India you cannot have any barriers or frontiers beyond which they will not go. Create these forces of refort ation set these processes to work, and the Indian States will not remain in none from their progress for long. It is impossible to conceive of a free British India without conceiving of free Indian States in the course of the next ten, fifteen or twenty years. We are content to wait, so that these slow processes may operate, and so that in the course of time Their Highnesses can think of an Assembly in their own territory and of handing over responsibility to their own subjects. That is a question of time. We are a very fatient set of politicians in British India, and we are content to wait.

We shall therefore not insist on impossible terms, and all that we say to the Itolian States is this: "There are concerns of a common character; sit alongside us and thrash them out. We have tothing to do with your internal affairs." If they will accept a supreme tubunal, a supreme court of justice, and if all matters which are in dispute between the Indian States and British India

It between there and their subjects, can be referred to this supreme and of justice—over which I hope in course of time a man of the extended addition of Lord Sankey will preside as long as the Inlan States agree to this mode of arbitrament between then selves at their subjects and with British India and say: "We voluntarly subjects and with British India and say: "We voluntarly subjects and with British India and say: "We voluntarly subjects and with British India and say: "We voluntarly subjects and with this purisdiction of this tribunal." by what name is called is immaterial—as soon as that is admitted, then, to a politician of nyminh, the question is solved. I will therefore not this cut takening with their internal administration; I leave that the processes of time, and I have no doubt that in the course of the, when the just of India is progressive, is free, is democratic, and has ideas of right and wrong based on human dignity and personal rights, the same processes will go beyond the frontiers of British India, because these processes recognise no frontiers and admit no barriers.

has is at invitation which I am privileged to make to the States, and let me give them an assurance that so far as we are commend, we will raise no obstacles. I wish to give a similar . Sametice to these friends in front of me who represent British transts in Inda I am aware, Sir, that a great many commercial "It lests the at stake in British India. I have a few friends in on marrial circles who have invested millions and millions of supees in But shittude. There is no desire at all that there should be any kind of impost upon the rights of the commercial people at all. All that they wish to do they can do as citizens of India. We may valude them in a definition of the law so that they become domicited believe. That is a matter merely of phrasing, a matter of definition. But I can assure them that we are quite willing to sit dewn and accept sateguards which will give them an equal chance with British Indians. Let me, however, give them one warning that they will not enjoy the monopoly they have enjoyed, so far as it was enjoyed, on the simple ground that in their skin there is less I great than in mine. Monopolies they have enjoyed on that ground they will find very difficult to maintain, but any other rights they have as estizens of India will remain. We are quite prepared tracept any safeguards, and I think there is enough intelligence in this gathering to devise safeguards to protect all legitimate interests. I say that England's main interest in India is commercal. I think there are five hundred or one thousand farillies who send their younger sons to India to make a career for themselves, but that is a problem affecting only a few families. The problem of the ordinary man in dealing with India is mainly commercial. If you exclude these families to whom I have alluded, who are only a handful compared with the rest of the population, then I say your man problem in India is commercial. You want your productions to be sold in that country, and the consuming power of 330 million people is a powerful asset in our hands. It is a country in which your products can be sold. You have just ended a Conference at which haperial Preference was discussed. May I say that I believe that, from the point of view of the commer fal man, a contented continuity is a much better customer than a discontented one?

Already your trade is in great japandy. In one city only, vic., Bonday, there are British goals worth five crores lying in the watchouses. Those goals cannot be moved, much less sold. Do you want this state of things to be intensified? Your interests are mainly commercial, and therefore it is surely better for you to have a contented customer, a rich customer, who can put his hand in his pockets and bring out pounds with which to buy your goals, rather than a poor and discontented customer. I submit that prosperity is necessary for the improvement of your trade. I am not speaking of the other moral forces, like friendliness, like comradeship—because they come under the terms of psychology of the mind—but even from the point of view simply of material interests, you should give absolute Dominion freedom. Dominion Status, to India in order that your trade might prosper.

## THE GENERAL DISCUSSION-(continued).

## Plenary Session, 18th November, 1930.

II. II. The Mihamja of Alwar: The longest night seems to be passing away at the screet trouble seems to be coming to and end at last. The seeming corpse appears to be awakening, and a voice is coming to us away back where history and even tradition fails to perform the global of the past, coming down from there—reflected as a weter non-peak to peak of the minute Himplaya of knowledge, of love and of work.

From India, this Metherland et ours, a voice is coming unto us, goods, first and yet monistabable in its utterances, and is gaining volume as it passes by, and behold! the sleeper is awakened. Like the breeze trem the meantains it is bringing life into the almost dead brows and a iscles. The lethning is passing away, and only the blaid carnot see, or the perverted will not see, that she is an leting, this Mother of ours, from her deep, long sleep.

None can test her any more; never is she going to sleep any more. No outstaid powers can hold her back any more, for the infinite giant is rising to her feet.

Mr. Chaire, c., Members of His Majesty's Parliaments and Fellow Sussefair great Motherland, I greet you in these words.

I make the highest blessing of Providence, that wisdom, strength, again, and co-operation may guide our deliberations for the service of our country. Remember that this Conference at which we have assembled, has to some extent the destinies of 300 bul'i as -che-fittle of the population of the human race-in its Lands. This India is the ancient land where philosophy and spiriin ity rounded their first home. It is here that they dared to peep into the very mysteries of Heaven. It is the same India, which, through its inherent structure being on true and solid foundations, has withstood the shocks of centuries, of hundreds of evils, of nameers and customs. It is the same land which has been firmer than any rock in the world vith its indestructible life. Many times is one told that looking into the past only degenerates and leads to nothing; but smely it is cut of the past, it is on the past, that the future must be built. Lock back, therefore, as far as you can: I ink deep of the eternal foundations of Divine Love and Spiritual to that are behind and, after that, look forward with heads held elect and march onward to make India brighter, greater and much higher than she has ever been. Remember the blood that ourses it our veins. We must have taith in that blood that we build an India yet greater than she was.

The problems in India are more complicated, more momentous than the problems in any other country. Rare, Religion, Language, Government, all these together make a nation. We see how in Asia, and especially in India, tace difficulties, linguistic difficulties, social difficulties, and rational difficulties all melt away before the

malying concert spirituality. Therefore, for the well-long of our national cause we norst give up all or clittle quartels and differences. Remarkable alove a lith mes that our arre to slook down upon us, and trey all deso with contript on their child en it they quartel about nor its differences. It is when the rad anal body is weal that the diserve germs in a physical, social or political state, a even r an vaelle tual state -crowd into the system. To remedy it, theretore, we must go to the roots of the disease, and the me terderry will be to sucngifies the man, the mind and the body. It is culture that withstands shocks, not a simple wass of knowbedge. Ticrefrie, my triends, let us do rething that will divide us, by divisions will weaken as and degrade as all the more. You all at ow that at this psychological moment the whole world is watching 1. The solution will not be obtained by dragging down the higher, but by raising the lower up to a higher evel. To make a great It has therefore, the secret has in organisation, administron of power, but bove all in the co-ordination of wills. Have that faith in on selves, in that eterral power, tast lodged in our soul, and then we shall revive the whole of India. Let this be our determination, and may He the Lord Was comes again and again to the salvation et His own people as is described by many of the different Scriptures of the world—lead as all to the fulfilment of our an the uplift of India, the good of the Empire.

We must now come down to name abairs, and Federation is the question before us. I am not enchanted with that word as a more form of expression; to be "the United States of India" sounds note grand. Here are the representatives of two Indias, to-day such possessing different (digious but united in the count on bond of patrictism which permeats thoughout our respective territories and previnces. We are united in the service of our country; united in our comperation with the British Empire, of which we torm a part the highest syn bol of whose political link is the Kirg-Emperor. The two Indias are pol treally separate in their a iministrator, and in order to understand the source of their existence we must but for only a few brief noments -peop into history. The East India Corpary, towards the downfall of the Mogul Empure, corsal dated its organisation and marched torward. conquering territories that in those cays were divided between the decaying central sovereignty and States, some of which lad existed for a long time, and others which had come into being through new opportunities. It s in such conditions that this Company carved out for itself territories which, excluding Burma, now amount to or chall of India- called British India. This Company, on the o ber hand, instructed by its line tors, entered upon Treaty Allia ces. Ligagements, Sanads and Agreements with Indian States, which still exist, as the result of which at the present day the other hall is a filled Indian States. With regard to the India of the States, when app Runati's come we shall put followed on pourts of view in greater letail, but here I will content to self with stating that we were no vew territories; we well no new pewers but the practical application of our Treaties and Alliettes consecrated by several

Proplanators and spendors from Queen Victoria and all the succeedure Sovereigns of England, the British Parliament and Vicerous to the present day. I will conclude this statement in two senterces. Usage, staictance and political practice have, ast diverse reasons, encrouched upon these signed domains of or Treaties and what we desire is that such extra rights outsigk en Trates, assumed without our consent, and sometimes without the frostelle, may be trankly and openly discussed, and should be decided only by matter consent; otherwise our Treaties between the Crown and ourselves have no meaning. We know 'are sarred the Crown and the Buttsi, people respect their photoel word and so we have town that when the British peoples recognise the simple toth that ve wart a more than that those scleand Treaties with is should be observed in practice also, they will, we feel sure, appreciate that we make no new centards but disinct lat the simple truth should be recognised and practised.

I now turn to Brit sh Itelia. Those who be its representatives are perhaps or a able to speak on the subject but there are two alternative, which I can best define by the test at Lastern and Western "conceptions Tilking of the first, there are morey who bold the view-however prosais or antiquated it mas sound-that British India may be formed again into Indian States. I will not or upy your time in discussing the details of the problem, however logica, and merest og they may be, because I have not the time on the first day except to state (a) that it brings true Swaraj as a living reality emsiderably nearer: (b) that it perpetrates the lak with the Crown thingh is representative, the Vicerov of India. With Hindu, Manametaclan, Sikh and other States so reimed it would set at rest communal prestions. Above all, it maintains in strong bonds commercial and made relations with England. It necessitates an Imperial Army to safeguard the Crown's obligations and to protect the ports and trantiers, with the internal army of the States maintained for so unity and assistance in emergencies. It ensures religious liberties to every section of India's population, and it carries on the tradition of India's rale according to her past history of hundreds of continues. And finally, coming to Federation, or what I mere to call "The United States of India." it immediately simplifies the problem of the Rulers uniting in a common body to work out the problems of India. Here is the shortest and the quickest way to Dominion Status. This is what would be an indigenous growth.

The alternative to this had its first seeds sown in a little known Despatch by Sur Charles Wood, the grandfather of the present Viceroy, who was then Secretary of State, and who initiated the idea of the English Luguage being the medium of education and government. This was followed by Lord Macaulay, who strengthened this theory. Gradually this system has grown, which culminated first in the Minto-Morley Reforms, where the latter statesman, however, was opposed to the introduction of democratic organisations in India. It is from the time of Mr. Montagu, that passionate

lover of India-my country-that events took a definite turn towards responsible self-government. Here the irony of fate exhibits itself, for as we learn from Lord Ronaldshay's book, this term was devised by Lord Curzon, who was no less opposed than Lord Morley to democratic institutions for India. This I am sure will be generally acknowledged to be a Western system of rule and, therefore, in India not a growth but a graft. But having said so much I now come to my main point, that, if this system is now accepted by British India as the best method for her advance, if that is, as declared also, the final policy of the British peoples towards India, what do I conceive to be the opinion of the States? We realise all that this innovation implies in an Eastern country. We know that one word, "Franchise," alone has originated communal friction. We are not oblivious how it has created complexities of adjusting the future relations of a democratic India with the Indian States. There is, further, the proposition of this ideal truly permeding down to the masses and grasping them in its hold for the good of all.

May I frankly state with all good-will that when I first began to know of the path that was chalked out before British India on these lines, I was reluctantly reminded of an old Irish tune "It's a long. long way to Tipperary." However, when I have said this I have said enough. I have deliberately done so: for how else could I reconcile myself with the statements that I am going to make regarding British India's future, and the other India of the States, a ministered on ancient and traditional lives? I have certainly sought in doing so no popularity or favours. Now, if, as I have said, this is the goal that British India chooses, and if this is the goal which the British people have decided to place definitely and perpetually before British India, let a coverqually truthfully that I wish British India God speed. I wish and most carnestly wish that the goal of India's freedom within the Empire, as a self-governing Dominion may be reached as early as possible. Personally speaking, the sooner that goal is achieved, the happier I shall be; for who is there of India that does not wish our Motherland to achieve her nightful place alongside the other sister Dominions? Understand me: why I emphatically state this is because I have the inherent conviction that the sooner British India has freedom within these boundaries, the sooner will India be able to have her own constitution through which it can revitalise into a frue and traditional India. I go so far as to say, without any besitationand I would not be true to myself or to the land of my birth could I fold opinions to the contrary—that India should achieve her position on a feotium of equality with her sister Dominions within the Empire, and arrive at the situation of a fully blossomed Desirion Status as early as possible. My aim in saving so is no other than that the larger Empire may find a grateful India, an Italia co-operating whole-hearfedly in making this Empire, to which we are proud to belong, something even greater.

A united India will be the finest and truest jewel and the stronger torce at the cause of our l'impire. Under this system I come again to the proposition, called at present by the name of Federation, where my ideal is the "United States of India" within the Empire. We are assembled at this table to devise means and ways in order to achieve this end by co-operation, and I am sure you will not find our States lagging behind in joining hands in order to arrive at a happy solution.

We are quite conscious of what it means. We know what all lightness imply. It may necessitate at first a little more injustice. It may mean a little less efficiency at first. It must mean larger sacrifices on everyone's part—the States, and, perhaps, some of the majorities and minorities. But for our country's cause, for the cause of India, for the cause of the Empire, shall we stop short for personal, communal or narrow-viewed considerations? Our lives will pass away, but our country will remain. Then at least let it be said we were the true Sons of our Motherland, India.

I will conclude this statement with these words. When British Ind'a and Indian Princes came together on the first occasion within the memory to discuss problems of the Empire, it was during the War, at a Conference, where Lord Chelmstord invited representatives from both Indias to discuss questions regarding the performance by India of her duties towards the great cause that in those momentous days hung in the balance. I stated then that there would be people standing outside the doors of that house to ask what we had gained in this War Conference. I further stated that my reply would be that we had come at a time when the Empire was in need, and that was no occasion for demands or gains. We can e with the will to give whole-heartedly of what key in our power for the Empire's cause, and we asked for nothing. Indeed, that was the time when it was our duty to give—however great or small cur capacity—of what lay in us to the British Government.

Mr Chairman—and through you I speak to England—to-day has come the hour of India's need, and to-day British India and the Indian States have assembled together for the second time at another Conference in the centre of the Empire. Mr. MacDonald is the first Prime Minister, in my time, who has visited India. He knows her more intimately than many of his colleagues. We can appreciate that he may not have a very large majority in Parliament. But we know he has a tender corner in his heart for my land as we, many of us, have for his. We have no desire to take the bit between our teeth and to run away, which means going astray. Nay, we are with you, with England, but it is now England's turn to cone to our assistance and to help India to reach that position beyond which we have no desire to go—India a sister Dominion within the Empire.

We are grateful to the Prime Minister for what he has already clearly stated in his Guildhall speech, when he said, "With the representatives of India and with the Princes we shall be engaged in the same task of broadening liberty, so that we may live with them under the same Crown, they enjoying the freedom in self-government which is essential to national self-respect and contentment,"

This will not be not ear grateful India that will be England's graces: storigth. Then we will prove to the world that our control is to a large that the West, that came through Desiry, has writed a trine in a problem on line in harmony. Surely then we shall exclosively sation which may well be the envy of the world. This me divides a large that the glory of Britain and India. The Oal India, had but a as God's great children, unite in that an another than confirm to the design of Providence to preduce that is drawn that a drawn had been design of the world as the purpose of God, carrely, service of His Creation Humanay.

Oh! It look is a show your inmediate political or inche interest to be? It lie's hand in her hour of reed and make India great that he believe be preater; and, O'! India, subscripe all your communal or political discourses and embrace the land of the lie's and the land of the lie's and the land of the lie's and the may be greater. It is the last the last of mits and transact points that destinate the last of the last the l

## Deputy President, Lord Sankey, took the Chair.)

· W. i. / Size My Lord Characeller, when, on his network to be I de l'en vilondi livit, made the history announceter, or ilst October 1921, is not a none precise definition of the ich contribute the service of the street of In all constitutions of 20th Argust, 1917. and the time William State verment intended to prairie the I per med veces Brish India and Indian India to a Rund Table Comment of the land of the lan control of the children is the two great organisas been suggested in the III of the Aller In agree and the tall the territory welcomed that and other territor is the term to the area of the first plant time realisable at single to serve et al d'en en placet a rettailes avec continued test to the state of the state the first the state of the stat e the to remember that have a bill and thank exclusive of Venez to to break the first of the transferred to t it at the second place. that take the training of the training to the so state as it is it process in laber. The rest of the collection of the control table enterer estate en enterer ente

And now that this Round Table Conference has been quesed by II. More than it is a process speech with the will be a process of the last the partie of the pa

nate aspections of her people. I, for one, recuse to believe that, with some of the lost brains of England and of India assembled rund this table, we shall not arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problems which both India and England have to face; a solution which, while satisfying the legitimate aspiration of the Indian peoples, will thereby strongther the link which both Indian India together.

My Lord Chancellor, nicety-seven years ago, during the delate on the first Government of India B.H et 1833, the late Thomas Bahlangton Macarlay, who had taken a prominent part in the preparation of that Bill, observed as follows:—

The destines of our Indian Empte are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fateful esult for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The law which regulate its growth and decay are still re known to us. It may be that the mind of India now expand under our system till it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for botter government, that having become instructed in European knowledge they may in some tuture age denomed lemopean instructions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not, but never will I attempt to avert it or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history."

The was the glo ions vision which the late Lord Moranlay saw wher unreducing the measure in the House of Compons. The daw of the day when that vision may be realised has now conce.

Unfortunately thereafter, if I may venture so to put it, the British Parliament succumbed to what can only be described as sleeping suckness in its relations with India, for we find that it was not until 1861, some thirty years after, that a Bill was infreduced in the House of Courtours for the first time recognising the need for associating Indian Representatives in the work of legislation in that country. But that as oclation was a very limited one, secured only through nomination. Again the British Parliament went to sleep, and slept for over firty years, and it was not until the year 1909 that the elective principle was introduced into the Legislative Countils of Italia. Meanwhile India had gone on advancing rapidly. The influence of Western education, the study of British constitutional history, the study of French and Italian history had aroused in the minds of educated Indians dreams while! Macorday, at any rate, had contemplated when the Bill of 1833 was introduced.

The result was that the tady measures take, at such long intervals by the British Parliament, instead of satistying the aspirations of the Indian peoples, gave further hapetus to those aspirations. It is a curious fact in history that political aspirations have a viry strange way of growing. What may satisfy a people to-day, if not given in time, will not satisfy them to-morrow. That is what has happened in India.

Shortly after the Act of 1000, a great war broke out a war which gradually drew into it almost all the leading nations of the world. It is that was India came forward to prove her devotion to the British connection in that life and death struggle in which the very existence of the Empire itself was in danger. India came forward to prove her devotion to the British connection by taking her share of the burden spontane usly, and by providing for the armies of finglind over the in High recents soldiers who yindicated the horour and the rame of their country on the various battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa.

The part taker by India during this unparalleled world conflagration gamed for her legitimate position in the international attains of the world as a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles and an original member of the Learne of Nations. But within the British Common near the Nations, curious as it may appear, she still continued to occupy an interior position. After the conclusion of pare, number the appointment of the Royal Commission, unfortunately a success on of events took place in India which added to the various causes of unlest in that country influencing the Indian mond. When His Majosty's Government was pleased to appoint the Royal Commission, India was absolutely excluded from it. No representatives of India were appointed to it, with the result that the unrest in that country increased tenfold. And now we have to face a situation which in all carnestness is indeed grave.

When I see articles in the newspapers stating that all the unrest in India is confined only to the educated classes, and that the uneducated masses, or Indians living in rural areas, have no sympathy whatever with the National inevenent which is going on in India, I am more than surprised. It would be very amusing if it were not so tragic. Do writers who include in that sort of writing realise that hundreds of thousands of India's soldiers, who took part in the Great War and who have seen with their own eyes what other people are in their own countries, have returned to India, and after demobilisation, have dispersed all over the rural areas of the country, living in villages, talking to their fellow villagers? They have told their fellow villagers what they have seem in Lings and in the Near and M'ddle East. Do these writers realise what a deep and widespread effect the stories which these derubilised soldiers have told their countrymen have had in the villages and remote corrers of rural India; what a dop and widespread effect they have had on the mirds of Indian villagers?

Just look ter a moment at what is going on now in India. This Civil Disobedience, which we have openly condemned not only in England but in India, is that provenent limited to the educated classes? No doubt the movement is led by the educated classes, but who are the nor who are facing all the trials, all the troubles, which this Civil Disobedience novement has given rise to? They belong to the uneducated masses. To say that the uneducated masses are entirely out of touch with the national movement that is going on in India is, if I may venture to say so, the action—

according to the Oriental saving—of a pigeon who closes his eyes when the cat is approaching him, thinking that thereby he is safe.

Fortunately among the British Delegations here there are at least three statesmen who know that I am a Punjabi, and that we Punjabis are not easily alarmed. Indeed, the greater the difficulty, the more firm, the more cool and the more calm Punjabis become. They also know that I have been, in the last 40 years of my public life in India, the strongest supporter of the British connection in India so much so that on occasions I have been called a reactionary by my own countrymen. It is I, who say that the situation in India is grave, very grave.

If a solution, calculated to satisfy the legitin ate aspirations of the Indian peoples and thereby to strengthen the tie which binds England and India together, is not attained by this Conference, I trendle to think what the situation will be. Now that we have met in order to try to find that solution, it is my business, as spokesman to-day of my community, of the Muslim group, to tell you what we, the representatives of the Muslim community in this Conference, think. Our position is very simple. To repeat what I said in the Viceregal Lodge at Delhi in November, 1924, we want our countrymen in India to rise to that stature to which other purple have risen in their own countries. We want India to attain Dominion Status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I say we want India to rise to her full stature within the British Commonwealth of Nations for this reason. In the new conditions which have been brought into existence, as a result of the wonderful progress which science has made, and as a result of the world forces which are now actually in operation as a consequence of the Great War, no country in the world, however rich or powerful, can afford to lead an isolated life. The tendency of modern international movements is towards the association of nations and countries for the purposes of security, of mutual help, and co-ordination of effort. Therefore we Mussalmans of India realise that the British Commonwealth of Nations is there for India to be associated with it, and to continue to be associated with it, for her own lenefit and in her own interests. That is the deeprooted conviction in our minds, and that is the reason of our traditional loyalty to the British connection. At the same time. it is perfectly natural for the seventy-one millions of His Majesty's Mussalman subjects to insist upon this—that in the constitutional and administrative evolution of India they must have their legitimate share both in the Provincial and in the Central Government. I do not desire on the present occasion to enter into the details of the claims which the Mussalman community has to put forward in this connection. That is a matter which will have to be discussed in the Committees. Some of our own Committees are alrealy considering that matter, and I trust they will be able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

To our mind, in view of India's vast extent, in view of her trovida media media per per la la continue per and in view est extensionario, continue on to one who before in the a, there is the state of the state of the state of the fate to constitution. of India, which alone will suit the circumstances of the case—and that is by equal a term. We, therefore, welcome the declaration, a rice by their Highress site Maharaj or Bikaner and the Mil daja et Alvaror, brait of their Princely Order, that the Indian States are a ling to care the an All-India Federation. I ice, as a consulting mad lawyer a self-coverning It lia side by side with it indicate India, having its relations with the Crown, is a hopeless Iv to possible to seption. A Federation of India must nelule bott British Indea as well as Indian India. In so far as Be ter I India is ecocerned, we must, as is the case in every other kind of structure, but by pwards and not downwards. Therefore I welcome the recommends don male in certain quarters of gianting proximized automornix to the Proximers. These will be the federal mults of our All-India Pederation is the inture. But the Mussalmar group lave to lesitation in saving that that is not enough that responsibility in it also be introduced in the Centre. How far that nesponsibility should go is a noticen which will be discussed in the Committees Lenealter We are willing that for the transitional period certain stal receivations might be made. That is to the interests of India itself, and, in consequence, we have no objection to that You have seen that the Report of the Royal Commission has been condemmed in ladredy exery school of political thought. merals on the ground that takes not propose to introduce responsibility in the Centre.

## (At this point the Prime Minister returned to the Meeting and resumed the Chair.)

Lo the British Delegations I have one thall oppeal to make before I sit down Believe me a happy and contented India will be a se no of an ease strength to the British Commonwealth of National Ideason orangements two lands. The situation is store. When a stration is grave far-sighted statesmanship to use that it should be handled with wisdom and generosity. Tilling voor soon age in vour two hands, de what vou lid in South Music should differ the conclusion of the South Amiean War. Who has been the result? During the sittings of the Imperial Contenues, which I had the honour of afterding on behalf of my common, nothing struck me more than the way in which the represociations of South Africa, throughout the deliberations of the Cent series, urhell the the which binds South Africa and England together. Believe me, the satisfaction of legitimate aspirations lines contestuent, and contentment awakens feelings of love and affection for those who have satisfied those legitament aspirations. It the aspitations of characted India are satisfied, the result will be that the tie between India and I terbord will be strengthened. Then . Il you Imperial problems she problem of Empire defence, the published trace in part of trace, even the problem of Enquie un-

That is not appeal to the members of the Braish Delegations. Wisdom, and surplike is what is a quited of this occasion, that wisdom and sympaths with which have been diversed in largethe situation in India to lay the structure was have been attracting hard Invited would say this; but for Lord Irwin's handling the situation of less done in India, to-day the situation would have been tentimes worse.

It the none of India, and in the name of the British Confuce-we lith of N tions, a which India forms an integral part, and lopes to be a partner with the other Dominions. I cornestly beg of any to a active soft he British. Delegations, representatives of the British In a Dilegation and representatives of the British In a Dilegation to realise the gravity of the situation and to give a a place? Latentian to a satisfactory solution of the grave prolifer with the active affects after a solution which while satisfactory and a solution which while satisfactory to the latential as a solution which while satisfactory to the latential as a solution which while satisfactory to the latential as a solution which while satisfactory to the latential as a solution which while satisfactory to the latential and latential and the latential as a solution which and latential as a solution which as the

II.II. The Maharaja of Rewa: Mr. Chairman, I find that now the true of the speak after so many eminent brucker Delegates the Ind. have speak after me. We have heard most allustrious speaks to the by the Indian Princes and by the most capable British India leaders—leaders who have a command of law and advers a conditivity be a somewhat difficult task for me to express the car as at India, and my own views, it any letter language than has already been used.

Where I was asked to attend this Conference to remesent the constructive element enong the Indian States. I was aware that the occasion would be one of the first importance. I am forced to confess, however, that the extreme importance of the occasion has been very much more fully brought home to me by the opening speeches to which I listened vesterday and to-day. It seems to me, without exargeration, that a nation is being brought to birth More than ever before. I am conscious of the measure of the task before us, and I realise that we shall require every ounce of wisdom, patherne, goodwill, adaptability and imagination which everyone of us has to contribute, if these great problems are to be successfuly solved.

Introductions that a heavy burden of responsibility has been laid in me. It must seem strange to some that, in a country whose ways of life are so ruled by custom and tradition as India, there should be no political party which calls itself Conservative. Yet I believe that there is scarcely one of my fellow Delegates who would submit without protest to the designation of Conservative. So far, then I as designation goes, I stand alone. My task is in some ways a dankless one. It is made more difficult by the fact that on the personal side, I am entirely without experience of the public lisussian of affairs; and I ask the forbeausnes of all here, and of

those in India for whom I speak, it through mexperience I prove an inciliered a bocate of my ones. At the same time beel greatly Lonoured that I have been chosen to take part in these delderations, and lowever taulty my advocacy may be. I am encomaged and upheld by the conviction that half humanity shares the views which it falls to me to propound. I feel certain that not only among the millions who till the soil of India, but among all soler-minded politicians and statesmer, there must be a large measure of support for, and sympathy with, those who counsel a cautious alvance, and preach the dangers of precipitation and short-cuts. I believe, moreover, that when once power is given to India to shape her own destinies, a strong party of experienced and responsible politicians will emerge, which will call itself the Conservative Party; for the thief a gredient in Conservatism is, in my view, a sense of responsibility. Such a sense of responsibility has not so far had an opportracity to develop, and the constitutional advancement of India will provide it with the opportunity for which it is waiting. The energy that is now being devoted to gaining that advancement will, when the victory is won, be converted to the consolidation and preservation of the position that has been gained. I do not claim that the cor avarive point of view has a monopoly of wisdom and foresight; but I do not, on the other hand, admit that the progressive point of view rollies to its banners the whole available tock of energy or idealism. I do, however, suggest that in the world at large, the nor envoring old ends are the great repository of experience, and that they have therefore much of value o contribute to the common stor b.

In this country of England, where one of the great parties of the State has been for many years known as the Conservative Party, it may appear to many to be there waste of time and health to say that the conservative attitude does not begin and end with blind and ebstinate resistance to all changes of my kind. I believe, none the less, that there are in I did these who suspect the conservative at time to conservative at time to conservative at time to conservative of the facts of the change as so h, and I wish, therefore, to began with a sincere assurance that this is not the case. The Princes, whatever their views, which the conservative or advanced are in the fullest sympathy with all the legic of an aspirations of the leaders of the aght in British ladic. The Princes of India welcome the emergence of India as a ratio, and appart the efforts of representative Indians by which this claim to nationhood is being established.

There are, Lowever, I will confess, some aspects of our Indian problem in regard to which the men of conservative principles will. I believe, obstinately, though not blindly, resist all change. They will resist with all their power any sign of failing in legalty to the Crown, and any attempt to sever India's destinies from the British Pupice of which we are proud to be a part. I hope and believe, however, that to this extent every retaber of this Conference is a Conservative; and I content myself with saying that I yield to

none in my loyalty to these ties, and in the sincerity of my desire for India's happiness and prosperity in the future.

Before I begin to state my position I wish to make one point clear. To guard against possible misunderstanding, let me say here that in my approach to these problems I am dealing mainly with those aspects which concern the States.

Perhaps I can best define the conservative attitude by saying that we differ from other schools of thought less as to the object to be achieved than as to the pace and method of achievement. A good car needs a brake as well as an accelerator; a ship requires an anchor as well as engines. The proverbial difference between "haste" and "speed" is a truth so commonplace that we are apt to be impatient when we are reminded of it, but it is the function of the Conservative to insist on the truth of truths, so old that they are sometimes forgotten. Each one of us as an individual learns such truths for himself by experience, sometimes bitter; I merely ask that we should apply to the problems of statecraft the caution and restraint which we exercise in the daily round of our individual lives.

One of the most difficult aspects of the problem which concerns us all is in my view the variety of the interests which have to be reconciled. We are net, not to prove before an impartial tribunal that one view and not the other is true, that one policy should be adopted, one community or one set of interests should be favoured, and the other set aside, overlooked or suppressed. We have to reconcile all points of view and achieve a measure of agreement. It is possible to coax into the parlour those who cannot be driven into the fold. For this purpose the quality which we require in the largest measure is mutual confidence. This quality of confidence is a plant of slow growth. It is not a commodity that can be weighed out in parcels and distributed. Its growth cannot be artificially forced. It grows in the soil of safety and it requires a peaceful atmosphere of security for its nourishment. Until this spirit of natural confidence and goo will animates us all, the path of the Indian nation will be a difficult one to tread. I feel so strongly the danger of pressing ahead in disregard of the health of this tender plant, on whose life and growth our safety depends, that I make no apology for my insistence on the danger of precipitancy and the need for caution in our rate of advance.

The Inlian States—I speak for the conservative element—wish to safeguerd their individual existence. They ask for guarantees that the changes in the Government of India, which are foreshadowed, will leave them free to pursue their own ideals in the manner of their heritage and tradition. They ask that their position will not be modified without their own consent, that changes will not be forced on them, and that the treaties into which they entered with the British Power in India will be honoured in the spirit and in the letter.

It may be thought by some that there is a sinister intention underlying the request for guarantees and safeguards—the inten-

tion to make permanent the divisions which exist in Inlia, and so to prevent her from attaining the full stature of a nation. This is not the descrept the States. We have no desire to stand in the way of retains for British India. We wish only to be assured that the reforms which the Indians of British India desire do not impose on us changes which we do not desire. We wish to preserve the undry dual and historical identity of the States which our forefathers carved out for themselves and handed down to us. If these interests can be secured, we make to further claims. If these interess can be seed without our participating in the comment council of India, we have to wish to thinks or iselves in simply for the sake of participation. It, as may well be the case, they cannot be were to deal by posts place we desire to great our street participant of more cond to action these ends. Sin her's, as to be proceed the advance, title enges which its decider on for the least over the charges of the relative test the Diversion to English of the States, or lesis that such charges nix be an example top; that they shall be probled at each starting with meanification of order of shall be care-Infly condition a real factor and the langest which are adu chacted are from the conservative pead of vevir the n type of an expercement. The case traducertal the classes the greater a linear desire will the experiment le. There see Latin prosent which teaches us that equinents should be made on objets of a paratrack little value. The State do not regard lens be as objects of comparatively little value, and they are reluctor to be the subjects of experiment, because the doring trained and more that even ital ill and an eest are slight consulate te to the electric service as actificed for it. We wish to Irac the rature et our detination. We see unwilling to set ruf radesiu tich berester to berevoaled.

The case there will be yours of the inture a picture of an In Paramited in religion race and creed, pursuing one ideal and standar as one a tion without diversity of interests or cutlook aroung its peoples. This hope the nuture may bring true, but in the world of the present we desire that the interests of the present shall not be completely subordinated to those of the future; and we are not willing to surrender the substance of our position to-day for the shadow of a position which we may one day achieve in a Federated India. We do not desire Federation if this involves the gradual disappearance of all that the States have stood for in the past.

that one time thing to say. Rights and obligations are complementary. They are the two sides of the medal. This is as the of the nation as of the individual. It is perhaps inevitable that in no stiations such as these the rights should be emple sised by one side of the other and the obligations clossed over. Let us, I name overcome have recognise that every right involves are obligated. If we ask to rights let us he estly and squarrie fact the applications of each line. Let us strive not in a spirit of bargainman, but it is them. Alters trive not in a spirit of bargainman, but it is them. Alters trive not in a spirit of bargainman, but it is them.

tion, to satisfy each other's anxieties, in the confident Lope that, by concessions to the fears or prejudices of the doubling, a rich larvest is to be won, for, by the confidence thus inspired, the ground is prepared for that spirit of mutual trust and goodwill, to create which is the real aim of all concession.

His Majesty The Kreg-Emperor reminded us, in the gracious whos with which he opened this Conference, that "ten years is but a brief span in the Life of a nation." These are weighty words which I hope will be perdered deeply by all who share in the decisions of our destinies. I have singled them out, not because I would have the Indian nation mark time, even for a monent, when the way is clear to go forward, but because I feel that, however mand the pace of development which the facts may admit, the distance that we have to travel is more than a day's journey. It requires stages for its completion. If I may vary my metaphor, the structure of a constitution is so massive that it cannot be erected on a fragile foundation, and it is in the laying of the foundations that the greatest foresight, caution and sagacity are imperatively necessary. If by the united labours of the experienced statesmen of our two countries the foundations of a wordex edifice can be well and truly kild, we can the more safely hope that the youth of India may be left to complete the building.

The state of India to-day is such as to bring tears to the eyes of all who love her. It may be that in the inscrutable ways of Providence she is being led through pain and travail to a future of joy and happiness. I pray that this may be so. I am reminded on this occasion or the words of a great British orator, Edmund Burke, when the fite of another nation was in the balance—"I think," he said. "we cught to inaugurate our discussions on this subject with the ancient invocation of the Church, "Sursum Corda"—"Lift up your hearts" and I conclude my speech with some memorable words of his "Magnanimity in politics is not seldon, the truest wisdom, and a great Empire and little ninds go ill together."

Land Pack: No one is more sensible than myself of the profound interest and importance of this Conference; and I think no man can contemplate without emotion this assembly here of so many representatives of India, with the Princes and the British Delegations, gathered together in this old Palace of St. James in order to deliberate on these great questions affecting the constitution and the for tre of India. Indeed, I feel in listening to the specches of my chloridagues, the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bah, dur Sapru, is it we were back again, seven or eight years ago, to the time when we were colleagues in an Imperial Conference, and when we battled together and fought together. I believe not unsuccessfully for the further recognition of the position of Indians in the Dominions and elsewhere.

I think and I know that those gentlemen and others who know me will not imagine that I am lacking in sympathy with the ideals and aspirations that have been expressed here and in India, and in

whatever I say I am impressed solely by the duty of speaking courageously and frankly to the audience here. My hopes and views about India's future do not differ greatly from those who have expressed most passionately their own aspirations.

May I interpolate this, and may I say first of all low extremely interested I am in the last speech we heard, from the Maharaja of Rewa -kow well be understood Conservatives and Conservatism. They hold on to what is best in the past, and they look forward to what is best in the future; and, at the same time, with a lack of arrogance, which I hope you will not, we do not claim to have a monopoly of all the virtues.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made some observations about the interest of Members of Parliament in Indian affairs and about the very small number of men who control matters both here and in India. There seemed to be implied in Lis observations the suggestion that, while many Members of Parliament knew very little about India, there was not a deep and profound interest among the people of this country in the affairs and in the inture of India, and in their connection with India.

Speaking in the presence of Members of Parlian ent I would not lie to suggest that there are those ortside who know rare about political affairs than they do; but I do assure you of this—and it would be a great mistake for anybody in this assembly to form a contrary in pression—that the pride of Englishmen in the Listory of their achievements and of their connection with India, and in the future of India, is deep at d profound. Do not let any man go away from this assembly with the impression that the interest, the profound and even instructed interest, in Indian affairs is confined to half a dozen men in Parliament or in the Services.

I consider tor a monent, if I may, on the observation made by Mr. Javakar, because I wish to hang a remark upon it. His observation was to the effect that England's rain interest in India is communish. He said "There are 500 or 1 000 tamilies who send their voluger sons to India to make a career for themselves." Here agar, though I have no doubt be did not interd it. I seemed to note a view somewhat depreciatory of those great Services which have worked for o many year, with, in so many cases, a selfless devotion to Indian interests and Indian causes. May I say that I felt a little hurt at that observation. Like others, my own family has sett out many men to India who have devoted themselves to the cause of India, and I think it a pity, when we are gathered here to talk about the relations of these countries, that we should say anything that would depreciate, to however small an extent, what I believe to have been the devoted services rendered by so many of my countryrien in the building up of India Anyhow, I can ass i.e you of this, that no observa ion of mine will depreciate the services rendered by Indians to the Empire. I how, and I can speak not merely for a Party in this, but on behalf of my countrymen, that, whatever may be the constitutional issues, they feel most strengly and most deeply the court butions that India has madeto the Empire, and they are full of sympathy with, and full of gratitude for, the great devotion and the great energy with which Indians. Princes and peoples alike, threw themselves into their great contribution to the war. Therefore, when we are approaching what is no doubt a very great subject, let us at least free our minds, if we can, from any idea that there exists, either in my own Party or in the country, any ind fference or lack of zeal or lack of sympathy, towards the problems which you, gentlemen, are here

discussing. Naturally, we must come lown to practical affairs -though I myself have listened with protound interest and sympathy to some of the emotional appeals that have been made to us by the eloquent speakers who have preceded me, because I am not at all one of those who think that these matters can be settled by dry and hard legal or constitutional formulæ. I am very sensible and sensitive indeed to the great part which sentiment and emotion play in the building up of human affairs. But, of course, we have to consider that the result of our deliberations may be embodied in a Bill and that that Bill is to be presented to Parlian ent for its consideration or fer its criticism or adoption, and, that being so, I think it may le my duty to sav a word or two as to the attitude or the feeling in many conservative circles towards some of the impressions they have formed, or which have been shaped in their minds by the happenings of recent years, because I want to pay the only compliment that I can pay to this assembly, the compliment of frankness, and I believe that any contributions that we can make should be, not only sincere, but should be true, as far as we can make them, so that we may join together, as it were, in building up on that basis of frankness, sincerity and fact the structure which we do hope to build.

I shall have to say a word or two on that in a moment, but let me make a quotation from the Viceroy's declaration itself. I was very glad to hear the enthusiasm and applause with which our present Viceroy's name was received, and it is therefore with all the more confidence that I want to read out to you, to refresh our memory, shall we say a passage in that address delivered on the 15th January, 1930, to the Members of the Legislative Assembly:—

"I have never sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself, by the enunciation of a phrase, provide a solution for the problems which have to be solved before that purpose is fully realised. The assertion of a goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a different thing from the goal's attainment. No sensible traveller would feel that the clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey; but it is an assurance of direction."

I lay special stress upon those words, because I think there has been, certainly in some political circles in India, though not mentioned here, a misinterpretation of them, and they have regarded the statement of the goal as the same thing as the statement of the

immediate purpose. Criticians of statements as bad taith or breach of faith are effectively easy to make, and, even though denied, travels far, and I wish to state here that there is no promise in that statement of the immediate translation into fact of the 10th non-ure of Domainion States, and that it is pointed out there as a goal which may be attained in a switter way of in a shorter trackit things go well with the political development of India, and therefore, whole we are united on the goal, we may, as the Maharaja stated, differ as to the pace or rapidlity with which we may attain that goal.

Now I have one or two things to say, if you will allow no to say them to you, on the recent events in India which lave, to some extent, districted and farm-sed and up of the unit caterrative bodies or conservative opinion in this country. I have to say so, because, unless we deal fankly with these matters, we cannot really form a conception of the attitude which Parliament may adopt towards subsequent Bills. In many ways conservative feeling has been deeply moved by recent events in India. It has Leen deeply disturbed by the great rors-co-operation in exement. Conservatives have never believed that non-co-operation on a large sule could be non-violent. They have never believed that the experiments, already tried in India some years ago with unfortunate results, could be tried again in India with more fortunate results. They are har issed also by in any ety that, if we agree here upon sor, e constitution, and if the representatives of India go back to work it, there is a party, a very strong party and an organised party, in It dia which will, as it were, wrest the opportunity from the lands of those who are here, and will marely use those powers that are granted, for furthering their our separat st and judependent ends.

We were told that that independence and those declarations of independence by the Congress were due to finstrated arabation, frustrated desire for firther self-government. I am not going for a money that the psychology of those declarations. I will only say that declarations of that sort of independence and separation from the Enpire Lave been made. I regret that they have been made, but they have had some definite influence upon conservative opinion in this country. Partler than that, declarations have been made even about repudiation of delts, or in the milder form -but reming to exactly the same thing as far as credit is concerned -of th examination into the debts ir curred by India to see that they have been properly incurred. One can easily see, and one knews. that that has had a most unfattunate effect among the commercial and trading classes of this country. It has given a shock to their confidence, possibly made them rather more conservative in their views than they were before.

We have had an observation about monopolies from Mr Javakar I do tot know quite what he ment by these monopolies. Referring to what would be done if India had self-government, he said, " bet me give them one warning—that they will not enjoy the mora poly they have, it so far as it is enjoyed, on the simple ground that in

then skin there is less pigment than in mine ". What are those monopolies? I submit that there is no monopoly-legal, constitutional or ct any other kind except that monopoly which is obtained by skill, by evergy and by commercial success. I say advisedly that there is no single commercial operation in India which cannot be undertaken just as well by and Indian as by any Britisher. Therefore I submit, without tear of contradiction or challenge, that there is no such thing as a monopoly such as has been referred to. Then, Sir Tej Banadur Sapru teld us that the Moons were conjuctors and that they became domiciled He seer I to dr a some distinction between the position of the British In India and he Mentals to that I went. Whit I am going to su, at seam or tending a regard to this point is stoney - that, Que apart form and legal constituteral rights a unded or Acts i. i. D. Anni, or pesition in Irdia, and our sorves to Irdia. lange grant trop of a car and all and a level to be considered, a claim, which, I think, has not been fully dealt with by any of the speakers who have addressed us. I am not going to e als locarethy are suffered to you - to car a lifetenant the rate, in sole, our work in the distribution or limited that famine, or the great works of irrigation, or what we have done for law as I and a and the whole markingry of government. All the t It; hat a creducation is political theory has been, as I think I on It lines will admit, one of the great contributing carses to the groath of that national sentiment to which such eloquent mission las loca giver in this Conference already. Therefore, when we are tall ag or the British position in Italia, le us remember that we have been there now a long time. Do not talk of us, as one or two speakers have done, as aliens. Talk of us as these was have contributed greatly to the constitution and to the growth, moral and material, of India as these who have won-L. India .. | La e of consideration of partnership, if you like to use that word—on accume of our previous services

I want to allude with some I was going to say hesitation to the work of the Statutory Courtission, because we have been told by we speaker already that it has met with general condemnation a India. I assume that every body here present has read carefully. a I pen lered both volumes of the Report of the Statutory Comassion, and really I am often amazed, when I look at it that so I' le regard appears to have been paid by some people to that Re out I am one of those unrepentant persons who, having read it and studied it, consider it to be a great contribution, both in thought and report, to the great Indian problem. It has been tirated in some respects as a reactionary document. I contend that in their respects it rangest be called a very revolutionary lecument, and I want to make that statement good. Just take the position as regards the Provinces. Take the question of tree : proed introluction of full self-government in the Provinces I del pue: Absolutely hogus.) I will cone presently to the pasting of whether it is logue. These proposals I submit are very under and in desching. What is to be dire by these porposals? First or all dyarehy is to be swept entirely away and the Councils in the Provinces are to be furnished with exceedingly wide powers over the great populations or those Provinces. Really they are not Provinces, they are countries. They are countries with 10, or 30 or let inclinous of people. Is it nothing that these wide powers are to be indy transferred to Indian Ministers, whose laws and whose administrative nots will touch most of say the infimate lives of these in all one or people in the different Provinces in education, in local government, in localth, in agriculture, and even in regard to the more obsagreeable subject of faxation? I submit that a change of that kind proposed in the self-government of the Provinces is more far-two-hing than many have given it credit for.

Under these culcumstances, a there really anything inherently tatecsonalds in proposing that, while the Provinces are adjusting the nackes to these new conditions, settling down, learning their new powers applying the arts of government to these great populaters, that during that time not a long time persops these should La ne substitutial change in the Central Coverament? I know that Sa Tej Baladur Sapru sand it would be strange at responsable Winisters if the Provinces were to be under the control of an irresponsible Government at the Certie Many Governors of Provinces will tell you that they are very little under the control of the Govemporent at the Critic, whether requisible or irresponsible, but smelt at this tire of day it is a little like to talk of irresponsible Lovernmants: All Gavannart, what werth in rema, are very well iware of, and are extremely sens tive to the opinions, the thousand and one sympathies and intreests and movements of thought, which geven then, as they give nomone technically appointable Governments.

Again. I am still dealing with the rather conservative side of correct is the country - take the question of police. Many must I arms that the theaster of the policy is viewed with very great bexiety many planters not only in this country but also by some if the Given ments in India. While we have every hope that what was suggered by Sir Mulananad Shafi may come to pass, and that, with agreement will these old differenties and communal troubles may disapport, yet are wust at the same time be well aware that, even in the last lin years, we have seen most unfortunate exhibitions of communal troubles; and that there are some people who think that perhaps that my attiality, which European or British control over the peli e can give, may be of some advantage. Possibly on ervative opiries near to a me extent pur too high a value on the length of time during which some cumpies have enjeyed reprecatative iest triors, and may think that the habits acquired by these countries can coals be attained by the lang experience of veris. It is be that they think that those habits must be deeply rooted before the full strain of self-government in a vast country life India can be thrown upon them. We have seen recently in other countries where parliamentary institutions lave been too rapidly set up, that they have folled and withered because they

had not the roots on which they might grow. We feel this, not from any desire to delay in India the realisation of her aspirations, but because Parliament does feel, and must feel, a tremendous

responsibility towards India.

It is not by any means forgettul of its promises and declarations; but its long association with India has laid great responsibility upon it, and it cannot therefore, by lassitude or easy good nature, telescope too rapidly the process by which self-government is attained. As has been observed to-day already, it may be that parliamentary institutions in India are not a growth but a graft, and I have always been one of those who were not anxious for the too rapid development of a particular form of parliamentary institutions in India, because I felt that India itself might have a strong contribution of its own to bring to constitutional problems and that it was a pity to stereotype too early the particular form which that constitution ought to take.

May I, before I sit down, say a fee words on what I think is really the surject we are discussing whether the future constitution of India should be unitary or federal? On the unitary point I have not unch tracy. I can Lardly conceive myself that, in a country so vast, so divers'fiel and so populous, it is possible to set up or maintain what is called a unitary government. You would have, I am sure, the centre of government so far removed from living contact with the peoples of India that there could be very little sympathy that sympathy which must be established between the twer and the ruled I, therefore, incline most strongly that federal idea which builds up units, of great variety if need be, within the whole and which contributes to the whole something or the richiess and the variety which they themselves contain. It might be useful to neditate upon the relation that could be establisted between the Princes and the States of India, and the Provinces. One would be impressed, I think, by the fact that some unity must be established between them, because otherwise one might seen the Princes on the one side with their States, and the Previnces on the other side, noving in separate orbits, almost in of posite directions, not towards that unity which seems to be necessituted by the growing forces of civilisation with the practical application of science and industry drawing them together. This idea has been planted, has flourished, and has grown rapidly. With all respect I should say that in this matter the Report of the Government of India seems to me to be somewhat out of date. It seems to contemplate the setting up of such a scheme as being a remote possil ility in the future, but not, I think, in the present.

I 'eel—as I think has been indicated by some of the speeches delivered during these two days, notably that of The Muharaja of Bil aner, which met with answering sympathy from other speakers—that this idea of some sort of federal union between Princes and Provinces has grown rapidly and has enlisted a large amount of sympathy from great sections of opinion. That seems to be a memorial gain, because it is very difficult to see how it is possible

the get the standard of the frequency of the field of the salt of a fit of the salt of a fit of the salt of the fit of the salt of the sal

the permitted of the Provinces and of the States,

the states and the Provinces.

and the state of the could not believe this this term that has a constant of is the fact with we have the test of the test of the test of the all the state of t not are start, and other research, and hard to bend away from the ear of eleter to the terril protette in we really do " . I . I ! lists the a train of the west to exhibit its sympaths in just a shart or the or the transition still anges I car, a a tool tail decessor I solate it that ever indeshould work a that direction that we should attempt be really to do nothing countries to the bodeful iba, as the Report of the Stemmer Cor misthe said to be as the flower the cut fraing the pately suggests. is we should attempt perhaps to bey size the terms to reduct your which that great federal idea can be built.

Indicate being a particular to the extent of the variety of its to make and reaches and the property of the property of the control of the property of the control of the property of the control of the property of the prope

There is the entry pit of the entry of the e

Party Asc, the vast monitance of beinging Index, somer or later, by processes quicker or slover as the case may be, into its equal part in the great of munity of the British Conditionwealth. I am not one of those who can see the British Empire, with its great constituent atoms without had a in it. I am tertain the has would be great to that the loss would be great to India as well. We can be of great use and service to each other. I say, speaking here to so many representatives of India, that the contribution will they can bring in thought, in knowledge not morely on the material lide but on the spiritual side as well, will extinously can the the content of what may be in the future the community of British Nations. It is the very variety, which we find in India, from the other Dominions which constitutes the great attraction for the resources of constructive statesmanship.

In this strange would where, as we grow older, we are more impressed perhaps by the fleeting and the transitory aspect of things than by primitience and stability, I trust that this fruitful vision of unity may endure and may endure so long as human hearts beat to the music of noble causes. All men's imaginations are stirred by high conception to great achievement.

Whole-heartedly with the speakers who have preceded nie in their expression of symbally and devotion to His Majesty the King, of the symbally of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India with the aspirations of British India, and of hope and faith that, in the solution of the issues which confront us, we shall be animated by the goodwill, patience and wisdom which His Majesty commended; and in doing so I feel sure I am echoing the sentiments of those who no less than others are amongst the Rulers of States.

As regards the main question that we are discussing to-day, namely whether the future constitution of India should be unitary or teleral. Their Highnesses who have spoken before me have already shown that a United and Greater India can only be created with the consent and association of the sovereign States of India with the Government of British India. I need not therefore deal with that point. I would only say that if Federation be agreed upon, these whom I represent would be willing to assist in the achievement of the goal.

At this stage, it might be well to state in broad outline the problem of the smaller States. Their essential features are identical with those of the other States, namely, (1) they are not British territory; their subjects are not British subjects; and they are not coverned by the law of British II dia; and (2) the British Crown is responsible for their external relations and territorial integrity. The, all manage their internal affairs and maintain their troops or police forces, except the very small estates and jagirs. For international purposes the territories of these States are in the same

position as those of British India, and their subjects are in the same position as British subjects. The efacts establish that their rights, and indeed their interests, are identical with those of the rest of the States. It will thus be plain that the methods of All Irona cooperation that may be devised by the Conference would apply to these States. It is true that some of the States especially those which are included in the group known as "estates, jugits and others" are very small, and their cases will require investigation in order to but them into the scheme that may be ultimately framed in order that they may enjoy all its benefits in common with the rest of the States.

In this onne tion I may remark that the importance of the stabiler States is not to be judged by the size of individual units but by the aggregate figures of their area and population, their wiles siel territorial distribution and their large number. I would ask this House to remember that, if a little over twenty States be excepted, no one of the remaining States has a population excecding half a nullion; and yet they include in their number State which have as one,ent a lineage, as proul a history, as large a jarradiction and as rich peter tradities of development as any other. They further share in the general political awakening, the stirrings of sew life and new hopes or, in His Majesty's words, "the quiescning and growth in ideas and aspirations" which characterms the whole country, and they are animated by the conmon ideal of loing placed firmly on the read to the political stature which is their due. The fact that His Majesty The King-Imperor has emplessed the wisdom of paving due regard to the just clain s of marchines at order shows his deep interest in them and inspires the hope that the legitimate claims of all States, regardless of size, will receive due recognition, and that at this birth of a new history, the four dations will be well and truly laid, and an enduring union of the States and British India will be brought into being.

Nor Hubert Carry Mr. Chairman, it is obvious that the section of the British India Delegation to which I belong approaches this question from rather a different standpoint to that of many of the previous speake's I feel strongly, however, that although we are racially separated we are united in a desire for the welfare and progress of India. It would be absurd for me to suggest that we have the same impelling urge in that desire as those who are born in India, but we do have a very sincere sympathy with that desire, but tom any standpoint of superiority, but because we recognise in that genuire desire that which we ourselves would entertain were we some of India. I think perhaps we all think that the kerioess of the lesite has lead to Ind'a travelling faster than any of is had expected, and we are inclined to think that she has arrived of the present point a little out of breath. We feel that it is a most happy condition that we are drawn here to-day really to get away from the turnoull which is liable to warp judgment and really to look at the whole problem in the surroundines which have beer. I for us lare.

We are, of course, very largely actuated by anxiety that the rest order should not give way to unmature ideas which would lead to a breaklown. Everybody must feel the risks which are factor fields, and little excuse is wanted when one looks at the appealing conditions which happened from too rapid charges of appealing conditions which happened from too rapid charges of

government in Asia.

Much has already been said by Lord Peel which represents the views of the British community in India. I will not attempt to till ox him, but with regard to the main question of iederal or inchary programment, we are united in believing that federal government is the line which others the best chances of successful progress to a united Irabia. We believe in the full application of federal principles, not only in binging the States and the Provinces together at the Centre, but also in its application to other departments of government—finance, railways, and so on.

When we constructed the prestict of responsibility at the Centre we are man I doubtful whether that is possible at the present time. It is men at I hat, given responsibility, name or the difficulties with a life present Government is an experience warrants as plaing great touth in that, a dold to the the remarks that have already been made but really adventuate that line of thought. It was said yesterday that that which satisfied India twelve months, go does not satisfy her to-day; that which satisfies her to-day will not satisfy her sixmenths hence. I rather agree with that, but it does not induce in me fifth to say that now is the time to make any great move. I should like to see further consolidation of thought in Indian political ophion as to what is best at the Centre before any strong move is made.

There are several points which lead be to take that view, but I will only touch on them briefly, as I do not want to occupy your time too long. For instance, in the matter of dealing with disturbances and maintaining law and order, I have no doubt that the present theorement and system of government is perfectly capable of taking care of the country at present. We do not advocate, any nore than the most ardent patriot here, that the met or is of form are the methods we wish to see applied; but they are methods which may have to be applied at times, not only by the Government's constituted at present, but he any national Giver next of the turure. It must be admitted that, hitherto, the lagibilities As eachly has not proved itself ready to grant the Government such powers as they have often found necessary for sping with the conditions that prevail in the country.

The talk about the repudiation of debt and the examination of national indebtedness has, as has already been pointed out, not helped to inspire confidence in those whose future is wrapped up in India, and we feel very strongly that any Government, that is going to be for the good of India, must retain not only the conjidence of its own nationals, but also international confidence.

There mentioned some of the difficulties and considerations which build up our present attitude. It is not one of lack of sympothy pathy at a some one of wishing to go buch a to to do difficulties as one of wishing to go buch a to to do difficulties to the path at a to the path at a to the path at a to the post of realisation is not the best criterion.

As really currows positive out there, it is on not be endship and or one of interests, and we have well and the is form as a contractive way in which it is interled to be a British interests in India, in the future. It makes it easier for us to wellow, a torward moves in the policial field, and we do we'come India's charms to a position in the impress of Demon in There are admittedly grave difficulties which call for time to overcome but we are printed as members of the British India Deregator, to take toose difficulties with the certain hope that we are going to overcome them.

L. -Cal Contary I address this Considered in a deal cap city, as at Indian, spiring an India, and as a meribul of the Anglo Indian community, representing my views with regard to the rutta - constituted of Ir had I should be in highing in a truism were I to see that both the unstary and federal types of governneut have their good poents. In the par India has been ruled, and her present actionalistic spirit developed, and a the stimulus of accordised tim of g venument. To replace this sudderly by a tederal government is one onely a leap in the dark, the more so where one this it contotes the close thater I co-operation of the Ird an States It we are to judge by the terms published in the Press on which the e States would be willing to enter such a tederation, their correction with Braush India would for some time be more in the nature of a sentimental than a practical association. At the same time, we readily appreciate the willingness and desire of the Stars to joir the Federation and, on the a sumption that such a l'ederati n would soon material se mito a corporate body, I would be relicables for any one of us to retuse such an offer: and therefore, on behalf of the contamity I have the Lonour to upicart. I raise my voice in favour of a ted rel form of government and welcome it as best for the future of India.

With your percial ion, Sir, I should like to go a little further and see a little mote on this. In the creation of this eleral Gov-

ethined, the consummation of which no one here can foretell, I am alread that, pulging from some of the speeches I have heard, we have in a measure, by seeking for a federal Government first before stabilising our provincial Governments, placed the cart actor the borse. My conception of a practical measure would be give India incrediately complete provincial autonomy and, when the Province have stabilised themselves, allow them absolute treafor to telegrate with those States which are willing to enterint association with them, and so form a number of federated upits which could eventually combine in an All India Federation with a strong, responsible and representative Central Government.

I am aware there are some States which will refuse to enter into this part, and rechaps some special provision will have to be made for the radillation with a federated India on terms acceptable to them. But whatever the decision of this Conference may be, I am prepried to accept up as a member of a minerity community, for I am wedden to make one form nor the other of government. All I ask as that imple provision be made for the development of self-government institutions in India and that we be given ample power to deliver the goods that we are to unfacturing at this Round Table Conference; and at the same time I ask for the adequate and statutery protetion and sategianding of mine ity incrests.

By that I do not mean the sort of provision that already exists in the Instructions in the 1919 Government of India Act, which to Governor has up to date put into operation; nor do I mean one authoritative directions from the Secretary of State. What I lesue to express in clear and unmistakable terms is that all minority communities must be afforded full protection, be it by means of a Magna Charta or in any other way, and given a right of appeal to the Central Government or, if necessary, to some higher authority against any infringement by a Provincial Government of this statutory protection, the Central Government being armed with adequate powers for the purpose.

This prote tive clause should in the first place prohibit discriminatory legislation against minorities; secondly, it should guarantee their entry into the public services, and thirdly, secure their adequate representation in all legislatures. Such a provision is guaranteed in other Deminions, and particularly in the constitution controlling the New Zealand Government. The stability of a majority government depends on the protection it offords to the minor ties. This was in a large neasure overlooked when freedom was given to Iteland, with the result that an Ulster was created to the permanent prejudice of a United Ireland. The demand for self-government for India has often been compared to the similar demand made by Ireland. Let us hope that in its attainment no Ulsters will be created in India.

It is true that in numbers we are one of the smaller of the Indian minorities represented here to-lay, but our stake in India our interest in less ruther destiny, and the part played by us in her

detence, development and past to tumes, and to be played by us in the fittine, are in no way commensurate with the more numbers in the Angle-Lichan community. In the first pace, we represent money very bedies that fusion of last and West, India and Brita is, which in other Indias and other Britans car exist only as a fusion of interests in polities and economics. If India is our Motherland, Indian is our Latherland, and whatever may be the case of other contrainities, our loyalties are to both these great lands; in the contraction between them we find our truest webture, and in the growth of a fection and union between their we find our highest happiness and contentnent. Indeed we are your joint responsibility and ce ther partly can dischain its honorable obligation to protect us.

Mereover small as our community is, it has placed a mighty part in the raking of British India. Its military services from the old John Company days to the Great Wirr, when we gays 86 per cent of our manifold at the call of King and Elopite, is an inparable provide. To day, Sir. we form 27,000 out of an auxiliary aree of 34,000, and to-day, with India sectting with civil discovering and production, you will and at all important milway stations our not standing behind sandbags with rife in hand, protecting British and Indian lives and property.

Modern India has been truly described as a creature of connumerations, and I chain that my community has played the leading part it is doing and working these con taurications, which are the manework of the nervous system of modern India. I go turthat and say that, without my community, these communications would not have been developed as early or as completely as they new are. I appeal contalently to the history of India to prove what I am saying. In all India there will not be found any comt mu'v bode steadtastly loval, note industrious, nore law-abiding, col. no word, more felly pessessed of the virtues of good citizens' ip than the Anglo-Indian community and in pleading the cause of the people. I begin ost earnestly that his kinsmen, Indian and British, will by to appreciate the value to the future India of such a body of cereens as we represent. In the Memorandum to the Sinon Commission this community asks for temporary economic protection for 25 to 30 years, other which it is prepared to sink or sa in with the rest of India. During this short period if merely ask that the number of posts it occupies to-day in the various s trices be not reduced, that its elucational grants be not lowered, and that it be very liberally assisted with generous scholarships to enable it to educate itself and enter the higher services in larger numbers. Surely these demands are not excessive when one considers the great economic, military and administrative services residered by this community to India and the British Empire. If this profection is refused, we sink; if it is granted, we swim, and shall, without doubt, play as great a put in the future as we have already come in the past India. Indeed, Sir, I assure you that the decisions now being taken at this Conference are matters of life. and death, literally life and death, for us,

Of late years our economic position has steadily deteriorated. Nevertheless, so far as it is in our power, we are endeavouring to Lake it possible for the more promising of our younger generation to receive the education and the training which will fit them to " reporte with the members of other Indian communities. But and thus is a point which I would ask all present to consider disparately the deterioration in our economic condition is due very largely to no fault of our own, but to a deliberate policy on the part of Government. The members of other communities are new in a position to undertake many of the duties which have tallen to us in the pist, and particularly in that sphere of work which hitherto has provided my community with its main employment I mean the Railways, Telegraphs and Custons. It was 'a sit, de, of course, that the competition of other Indians for the p. sts, which we held in these and other services, should become Lore and more strenuous as education spread, but we are sufering under the dread conviction that, as a small and poor community. we are being sagrificed to the demands of other more powerful con naunities, and I repeat again, not communities whose attrefment to India is any more real or deep than our own.

It our experience of the past few years is to continue, then und sel I can see no hope for us. And there is another thing I want to say with all the seriousness and en phasis I can command, and it is this: the treatment accorded to the Angli-Indian commoney, small as it is, but with a record of consistert and devoced in the to India and Britain, will be a touchstone by which the to its of Indian and British statesmanship and equity will be julged in the future. We can be dispossed of all that we have and truly mined, and dispersed as a community: that can be done on to e sily. But if it is done, it will be done to the everlasting I's redit of the two countries to which we belong. I do not want · make a beggn g appeal to retain as privileges the Government pro and other benefits which we have er joyed in the past by virtue of service, tradition and fitness; rather I want to ask if it is not possible to give us something in the nature of a "Bill of Rights," to embody in the fundamental document of the new Indian constitution a declaration with all the authority of India and Great Britain behind it, to the effect that we shall not be expropriated from our employments and the other positions which we have created by our labour and our service merely because we are partly Indian and multi- European. In short, I want to ensure that a reformed India a Il not result in a deformed Anglo-India.

We are not before you as beggars, but as suitors in a just cause: a Indian community devoted to our Motherland but, it must be admitted, under some suspicion because of our unflinching loyalty and devotion in the past to our Fatherland. Our bitter experience has forced us to the conviction that nothing less than that for which I am now asking will be of any use to us, namely, a solemn declaration in the fandamental document of the constitution that we shall be allowed full access to all the work for which we are fitted,

and that we, as a community, shall be given the opportunity of playing our part in the future development of fadra, indiany, political and cultural, as well as economic.

Sir, let me end on the acts on which I began. My people and I see Itd are, but Indians whose roots are deep and only in the soil and traditions of Imma, but in the soil and history of the country where we are meeting to-day.

We are a synther out from and Britain, so no other people are of can be, and I would cle to refer ind my Indian kinsmen that it was a more of the own community, the poor and statesman Louis Derozio, who, more than a handrah years ago load before any of the level prients of mode and days could possibly have been foreseen, woke from its larg sleep the lyre of the Indian Muse with the roble poets, which opens with the roble poets, which opens with the roble poets.

and each with a touch to a openly the

My fallen country, one kind thought from thee," and thus is what I ask for. Sir, of the British Delegations and Parl'arient, and this is what I ask of my Indian kinsmen of all castes and coeds, and of the Indian Princes, whom for ever a century we have served loyally, nobly and well, a kind and generous gestare, but thank (in), from not taller country, but from my country resurgers.

## THE GENERAL DISCUSSION (continued).

## Plenary Session, 19th November, 1930.

II.II. The Maharaja of Patiala: Mr. Prime Minister, in rising trans my place at this comparatively late stage of the general discussion, I teel I have somewhat of an advantage over the solutions who have preceded me. This is the third day of the general discussion which, I am sure we must all agree, has greatly clarified our ideas. It remains, therefore, only for me to deal with these points which I think might be clearly brought out, in order to summatise what I take to be the general view of the Indian. States Delegation.

My brother Princes have already laid stress upon the intimacy of those personal ties with His Majesty's Person and Throne, of which I and every Prince are so proud—ties which bind the Princes of India to the Crown of Britain. These ties remain indissoluble, in the truest saise, links of Empire. But I would point out that they operate in two ways. They constitute on the ore hand a link Lewcon the Indian States and Great Brutain. On the other hand, they constitute a no less important link between the Indian States and British India, since they bind the two halves of India, politically distinct thought hey may be, into the higher unity which comes of common attachment to a common sovereign. It is my earnest a pe, as I am sure it is the hope of all my brother Princes, that the dual operation of these Londs will play its own great part in the birth of that United India for the achievement of which we are all striving.

I make no so ret of my own belief that the connection between my cwn country and the British Commonwealth is one that has been designed by Providence for the benefit of humanity at large. India herself comprises within her borders no less than one-fifth of the luman race. If, as I hope and pray, she remains within the British Empire, as a partner equal in dignity with her sister Commonwealths, there will result such a free and voluntary co-operation between Fast and West as the world has never known. What may such an alliance not achieve for the peaceful progress of manking at large? The culture of the East, like the culture of the West, has its own characteristic contribution to make. It is for us here to see that our strengths are jointly cast into the same scale—the scale of justice, of progress, of co-operation.

Like all my brother Princes, I have been greatly impressed by the elequent appeal made to us by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, when he opened this general discussion, that we should recognise we are Indians first and Princes afterwards. May I with all earnestness say how readily we respond to that appeal? We yield to none in our devotion to India, our Motherland. But may I also point out that by remaining Princes we do not cease to be Indians. Our Order is supposed, in certain respects at least, to be conservative. I should myself prefer to say that we are conservators. We feel indeed that we are the conservators of a great tradition, of an ancient civilisation and of a propartulance.

At a time when the dynamic, macrime-tande civilisation of the West threatened to overwhelm mucrot our agreemt Indian culture, it was the Indian States which proved their elve the conservators of the traditional arts and critts. It was within the Indian States that Indian talent, whether in the sphere or ares or posities, for long to ind their freest, and ached peraps for a time, the ronly scope. It was within the Indian States, or peak of the past alone, that Lendth Sa Sala Jurg, Sa T. Madhay Rim, and Seashadri Iver, Is overed opportunities o self-re lisation, of work for the Motherland, that were not available to therr in British Brain. And to fix is frot the case that the Indian Princes car count an ong then Mr. data and a latsers, states as at woom the whole of or country may well be proud? I fed strengty that the In. an States Last it in the appear to rate of a nitributer, no less variable of the Great Indicate the inture allow the contribution of British India Lersetf. Not is this contribution confined to a historic continuity of our time, a provide sense of observation, a solidity of political instititins transcendire diferences of caste and creed. The Indian States can contribute something else, which until the millenn unallives i no less in pertant to the libert a country than the arts of peace markely the capacity for self-deferce. It is in the Indian States that there still flourish most prominently such organised military life and tradition as still exist in India, and I suggest that in the future this may be found ariorgst the most practically value able of the contributions that the Italian States can make to India, and through India to the Liquie

Mr. Prace Minister, I believe I am speaking to my bother Proces as much as for myself when I say that we all look forward to the little of a greater India; whether that greater India will take the form of a United States of India, or of a Federal Dominion of India, we may know more charly before this Conference comes to the cenelysion of its work. Our readiness to week for this ideal. and to futual to its achievement has already been made numifiest; and I am happy to think that both His Majesty's Government in English and necessible, we set to political lenders of British Indian throught, fully appreciate the inviety of the Indian States flat India shall rise to her full stature within the British Controrcoultle of Nations. I believe, and I am happy to think that my belief is shared by many, that the readiest and the culckest method ed actively gethis enhance) status and dignity lies along the regul of telepitich. For hederation I am prepared to work, knowing " at only through reheartion in the Indian States join with British India in the formation of the greater India which we all desire.

Here. I think, it is necessary to be clear in our ideas; for it is not only the fature of our own States and our own peoples, but the attire of Indians a whole that is involved. I believe that at overvit is a visional reflect upon the innerse issues concerned. What do we Indian Princes mean when we say we are prepared to join

with British India in constituting an All-India Federation? Let me say first what we do not mean. We do not, we cannot, contemplate any severance of the ties which hand India to the Empire. The montenance of the British connection is the fundamental assurant an of our whole position. In the next place, we desire to tauke it plain that, outside the ma ters of common concern, we shall preserve our internal autmonty intact, without any interference on the part & British India, whatever she constitution of British India may be just a nea British Indian uni et the l'ideration will be orth led to namego those allants, which are exclusively its own. without input sence on our part. To put it otherwise, by tedera 'my ve ment in inancen at entered into by us and by British India just's a lore by he wille B. visa India manages those chairs 'r doc as all concern it, and a like the Indian States manage il car us il a exclusiviv i rem there, and while the Crown and it as such furction r India as the reserved to it, the Creven. 3 th hall and the Indian States win together in a system which provides for the joint management and print control of matters that jointly concern the two sides of India.

The fast of decising such a system is not merely difficult and I can bet myoles outain assurptions that I desire to bring out. No Federation has, I am sure, ever come into existence we had the right of the toderating thits being first precisely known. Am. so ares the India States are concerned, these rights are in some doubt. Our own view, the view of the Princes, is that our tillts in a anded upon ar treaties and engagements, that our relationship with the Crown is an ascertainable relationship, the terms it with depend upon the element of consent. The Indian States Committee has challenged this view of ours. Are our own legal advisers right some of the most emineral Counsel in London or are the members of the Indian States Committee right? How can we tederate until we know what rights and what duties we bring to the Federation? When, therefore, we express our willingness, at indeed, our desire to enter a tederal arrangement are we not entitled to ask that there should be a prior ascertainment of our rgais, not ride d by executive action, but by judicial decision; by the decision of the highest judicial tribunal to which His Majour's G ventucent and the Indian States may agree to prefer the question? We feel that such as ertainment of our rights ours in no was commented our lesive for the higher unity of India, but will indeed directly facilities the few ation of that feleral are agree net though which we believe that units can best be achieved. A in, it is impossible for feducation to e me about unless these in an parties to refraction at prepared to pay the newssarv price. Sacrifices will be necessary. Sacrifices by British In it is well as ly ourselves. Are we prepared to fice the sicrifices? For my own part, I believe that we are. But let us be n'er mo illision that somilie will not be necessary. And while I do not think that there can be any crestion, for example, of our is a that internal amount which such State effectishes. I do

that k notice and addition that property working out a rederation one was a demandage of madesis as good paterno, great patriotism

Are the Indian Princes afraid then of what the future holds? Speaker, by my chall can assert the lift, that we are not. We are provided being Dolians; we are proved of our Motherland. and to a seal or product of the Liscon, per from at our States. We are fully as ions of the trend of that he in British ladia. Indeed, I if all that the trend of the ighe has an activity respects served to me and a some degree at our astitutions within our States. At the arrest, to, we beneve a subtresential that bread progress within the Indian States and in British In ha should fellow exactly the same course buch South with is nichtic enteriousness, should, I fel, seek its own particular form or so I-expression consistently with cent ibuting to the higher purposes of the Pederation, And may I lave say, in all earnestness, that I depretate even costal references to the possibility that the Indian States may be obliterated by the rising tule or democracy? Mr. Prime Minister. the Indian State have survived many cataclysms; they may survive mary more. In my view, it is just then strength and vitality, their standy vigour, which has carried floor, through so many trials, while gives them to it greatest value a clements in the future pulity of India, and as links in those chains of common loyalty. common afternoon and emisca interest, which, I pray, may ever bind tegether Britain and Inha as the great Brits: Commenwealth of free nations.

In the epoch should be a begin my specified expressing in beautiest protections to Lord Peel for the noble and conrageous lead that he gave yesterlay by saving that we should speak trinkly and structely. The may be legitimathe proud of having brought a cortibute, it of should to the bis ness before this Conference and for laying paid the Conference the compliment of trackness. I can a since him that it my speed, he will not be disappointed; he will have the most trank, sincere and honest views or a man who has proved his breaky to the British Empire, even through the rest of being his life a dairy so, when he was a tradegraph and an parativel spalnown, and when he showed his locality in he actual free of the Boy War. It is such a man who new spaces trankly and sincerely and may even appear to be a rebel at the present time.

I should like first to dispose of certain points which Lord Peel complained that Mr. Javakar, Lord Peel complained that Mr. Javakar is his speech did not appreciate the services of the convivour British people who go to India and give their devoted service in the prime of their life for the uplift of that country. I do not know whater Mr. Javakar appreciates those so vices at not; but in any case I fully appreciate the services which the British people give. It may give an illustration of how I appreciate their ervices. There is a farmer in a village who keeps a cow.



He gay is his devoted attention and his devoted service to that cow, so that every maximize he may have an ample supply of fresh milk for his tear. I may also make a comparison with the devoted service which a landlo do male izar pays to his malenzam village. It dia is the malenzam allogs of lingland, and as such happened te that devoted attention as given so that India, the malenzam village, may supply all the needs of England.

Lord Peel also con plained that Mr. Jayakar charged the British people with laying monopoles in British India, and I was preased to hear the definition of monopoly which Lard Peel gave. It that definition is correct and a practical effect is given to it, then I coming from the great Hindu race, have nothing to tear. Efficiency, competence, intelligence and capacity for work, if that be the test for a man's worth, I coming from the great Hindu race, have nothing to fear.

Unfortunately, however, it is not that. Lord Peel says, "I submit that there is no monopoly legal, constitutional or of any other kind, except that monopoly which is obtained by skill, energy and commercial success." I wish that were the fact. In the history of the British Empire in India I wish it were a fact; for, had that been the case, I would be the last man to complain, for I would have no reason to complain. Efficiency, capacity for work, intelligence, if that he the test, no man from the Hindu race would ever have reason to complain or would ever have complained.

As regards the nanopoly. I might bring to the notice of my friend, Lord Peel, so nething which was written by one of his own people: a life of Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay, written by Mr. Martineau. He gives a history of how the Indian shipping industry was killed and the present British India Steam Navigation. Company brought into being. A Mr. Mackinnan ment to India, without means, as an adventurer, and was introduced to the Governor, who was told that he was a very capable young man who would be able to build up a great British shipping industry in India, if the Government would only help him by a subsidy. "That is the man I am looking out for," the Governor said; and a subsidy was given. Every help was given, and the British shipping industry was established, to the prejudice of the they existing shipping industry of the Indians.

I should now like to quote from the reports of the House of Commons. In 1839 a Committee was established by the House of Commons before which a Mr. Melville gave evidence. India passed entirely into the hands of the British after the war which ended in 1818, when the Mahrattas were finally defeated. Some towerty years later, in 1829, Mr. Melville said before that Connuitee "If British India were a foreign country, a slip built there and navigated wholly by natives might bring a cargo of produce to this country and take back a cargo of British produce; whilst, being a British possession, a ship so owned and navigated is denied

that power. The natives of India are excluded from advantages to which natives of all other countries are admitted; they are not only deprived of the advantages secured to British shipping and somen, but ever of the advantages passessed by some of the foreign nations."

Mr. Wilson, who is known as a great British historian, and honest none, and a sincere man, and one who follows hard Peel's advice of speaking brinkly and sincerely, describes how the Indian cotton industry was killed. He says "British goods were ferred on Irdia without paying any duty, and the rereign man infecturer employed the northod of political injustive to keep down and ultimately strangal a competitor with when he could not have competed on equal terms." He ruther says that "Had not this been the case and had the encet been such probabilities better, the mills of Paisley and Man hester would have been stopped at the outset and could somely, gran bave been set in motion even by the power of sterm." That was the position of the cotton in fustry in India and that was how it was killed.

Now that it has been killed Lord Peel cornes and says there is n in tempoly, legal or constitutional or of any other kind, except a nonepoly of eth leney. I was it were so May I say a word about a monepely is a sple re which is dear to my head-the nonopoly which is enjoyed by Britishers as regards commissions in the Army's Tip to ten years are not ore Indian belonging to the filting rices, lidong her tellerance that established and subversed Empires, and are boking leaver to the time when again they will e tablish II quices, was admosted to the commissions in the Indian Army. The sons of such have were desdutely excluded from Conni in a in the trav I - not that a topropaly? Was the Civil Service not a mempoly? Was the Indian Medical Service I to I exceptly? West land entirely on efficiency and capacity for work? I wish Land Pool would reconsider his statement and, as led has given us a lead in frankness and since ify, would reconsider the position and give us a further lead in sincerity and frankmess.

Lo d Pol reminds us, and sin crely reminds us, and very gravely to inds us. that Lord Irwin, for whom we gave very lusty clear when his name was mentioned here, has never promised in mediate translation into fact of the full treasure of Dominion State. I know it. I do not require to be reminded of it. I have not yet known any British states can say. "I shall take time by the ferthele, and he an exception this time to the rule of the Brutch being always five minutes too late and doing a thing when the care is out of it." I expected that the British people would rest to the consion and say, when we can here to day to give a track expression of our opinion. "If you prove your espacity, if it prove vorthy, immodiate Dominion States will be given at the prove vorthy, in efficiency it cannot be said that the retreated of Irdia... Yes. Hindus of Hindustan, which is called

India in English. Hindus therefore means Indians to whatever religions they may belong Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc. I am glad the Delegate reminded me of that. I am not an Englishman and therefore I am accustomed to speak of Indians as Hindus of Hindustan.

Now what is the present situation in India? Lord Irwin may say that he is not going to give immediate Dominion Status, and the British people may say that they are not going to give immedate Dominion Status. We are not here to know whether the British Government is going to give us Dominion Status or not. We have come here as a mark of our consideration for the longstanding friendship, the long-standing association between India and England, to tell the British people frankly and sincerelytaking the lead of Lord Peel -what India thinks and what is the s tuation there at present, so that you may exercise your independent brain and your independent thought and make up your rainds land to proceed in the present situation. The situation in India I shall briefly describe. There are Indians in the Civil Service, there are Indians in the Medical Service, there are Indians in the Military Service, and their wives and their sons and their brothers and their nearest relatives are taking part actively in the national movement of Civil Disobedience, and are going to gaol and are suffering all kinds of indignities and oppression. Young boys, young kils, young girls, young women, old women, old men all are coming forward to express their heart-felt feeling that the time Los come to assert India's position and dignity, and that India can rever be setisfied with anything less than Deminion Status or full responsible government. I will come soon to what I mean by Dominion Status or responsible government. They are suffering all kinds of in lignities and oppression. I was myself twice convicted and was one of the guests in His Majesty's gaol in the struggle for freedom, in my desire to make India as free as any Dominion in the Empire If further sacrifice is needed this man will not be found wanting when the time comes, as he was not found wanting during the Boer War and during the last World War. If I could offer the sacrifice of my life for the Empire during times of real emergency, I should be a thousand times more ready to offer ny life for sacrifice for the freedom of my country.

British people think, and perhaps British officers in India think, that they can put down the movement, that they can demoralise the people. They think that by a display of force they will cause all this trouble to disappear. The time has passed—I am speaking frankly and sincerely—and that time will never come again, when any slow of playsical force is going to cow down the Indian people. I have seen with my own eyes officers with police and military, fixed by thousands of people, children, boys, women, men, who said: "All right, you do your worst; we are prepared to be shot hav." While being shot down they may run away for the time leing, but, when the shooting stops, they come again to do the

+0.0

same thing over again. In the ergal relact, " Years Inflat." Miss Stude, one of the daughters of the British people, a daughter o Ade, and Stude, who back past in the fast war, went - as to the ways of British oppression; how the British people are as jung to kill the a oversent and low they do not specied. I shall ally quote, without address my remarks of ny can: "Lathe doas on lead, chest, stomach and joints . . stroping of men raked before bearing . . dragging of wounded ren into them hedges or istallalt water; and ago it heaves out acreas they lie or sit on the ground; thrusting of plas and thems into need's bodies, sometimes even when they are unconscious; leating of real after they had become unconscious, and other tile things too many to relate, besides foul language and blasphency, calculated to hurt as much as possible the most sacred feelings of the Satvagrahis. The whole affair is one of the most devilish, cold-blooded and in justifiable in the history of nations." So says Mss Slade, the disciple of Mahatha Gandhi, the modern abatar, i.e., incumstree, of love, non violence and truth. That disciple, an Luglish lady. says these flings. She has seen these things with her one eves, and frankly, taking the lead of Lord Peel, trankly and succeedy and honestly says what she has seen.

This is what is going on in India at the present netword, and this has been going on for more than six months and yet the movement has gone or As I have said before, when shooting does take place people nay in array for the time he ng but as son as the skroting sops people again throng and do the grasslang. Internet They should not run away. I should have thought they should not run esay but let us in agine the diffault's of the pace grant of the thorse with hought vots, which we ged wats detented erennes, brying bost disarmed and made helpless. I'm the list Street or o lorgerort's fid unament! The Megalcare, corrected India, detected us, established their Empire: but it did not er ter their brains to maintain their buying by disam by the whole retion. It is his thing that has gone right into the bett as of our bearts. I could quite traderstand it it anybody sixs. "If you have a riffe, and if your opponent has a rule, and then you run away, ther you can call him a coward ! But cawards they are not, be ause these people, seeing that their own people are being shid down return to the same place to do the same thing. six ply lace use they leave not ritles of their own. That is the crux of the substation. The 11th of what I um saving is that, if the Pritish after Is in India think that this movement can be coved down or submorged by the kind of repression, they are metaken It is in possible that that movement earld be consided. We have some through it. We grandfuller has passed through all these frontsles before. We know it our history what a repression we have get a through before, notely more serious than the present repression. We lave gone through that, and we. Wahrattes and Sile's tarding together lacce withstood the most unim, oir able attraites that human nature could think of; and vet

India.

The sum and total of what I say is this. This is the parting of the rest for the first shipeoph and ourselves. We have been in some ion, according to try calculation, for a little more than a little dead years, conding to someledy else's calculation about a fundred and fitty years. It is the consideration for this association that has prompted me to correct to this Round Table Conference grast the dear of all my people, in spite of the condemnation of miends with whom I have worked for the last twenty-five or thurty years, and ignoring the assertion by friends and co-workers in private and in public that he is a traitor who goes to the Round Table Conference. They say, "We believed that he was a sound a liber of his Motherland, but when the time for the real examination cause, he was found out, and now we know he is a traitor who goes to the Round Table Conference."

I am risking all. I am risking everything that is dear to a mor's heart in this life, and all for one thing; for the some little affection there is for the association that has been established for the last 125 years. It was that little affection that made me take risks in my youth, according to the promptings of youth in those days, when I joined General Buller's Command in the Boer War and oftened my services for the last World War. According to the promptings of a more sober and a more advanced age I am taking the risk of being everything that a man holds dear in his life, If I had looked at things from a personal point of view, what a simple thing it would have been for me to be hailed as a great patr of. I had only to say " Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai; down with the Round Table Conference," and people would have said, "There is to greater periot than Dr. Meonje at this time in India." But I have risked all that and I I ave come here, and I am so glad that Lord Peel has atticipated the promptings of my heart to speak here sincerely and honestly and frankly.

Now that I have said all these things, what is it that Italia wants, and what is it that you are asked to do? India wants Deminion Status. India has an ambition of her own. India had, a ording to ber own ambitions, established her own Enpires, and, et course, those alons who can establish Empires lese Empires. It is not a very extrao dinary thing to lose an Empire, because only these car lose Empires who have got the capacity to establish them. The last strong is being put on the camel's lack. Let us see if the British people have the wisdom to avoid patting the last straw on the carrel's back before the carrel's back breaks. What is it that Italia wants, and what is it that we are asking you to do? We "at l'or inien Status. I am not using the words from a constitrical point of view. When we neet in the sub-Committees, then we can talk about it sepentifically and constitutionally and Listermally, but here I am speaking from a larman's point of view. What is it that India wants? India wants to be a Dominion

within the British Empure, so fast India may also be in a position to own the Lapure as its own. It I pes ess a louse, I feel a kind of love for that house. I visit, and India desires, that, in corsideration for our long-starling association, India stouch be allowelse feel that the Lapure is a so its rish. It is in this sense that I am using the term Dominion States. I know that we see dur-read from your is inglands rice and religion and colour, theory, ultimately you and ve the one; we before to the Anyan care. At the present is the at we are black people, in term are white periode, super la persona a transportation and ve a equite different, and you noty also that, being durient people, "Is it wise to give Dear and Strate era, so that they reight off rounds stand up agains as and sit on our elest again to merrow, and might coretired Landred extremes agreet in the long ight bel the Youless on the jest ister of India. If that had been the it, which cost the Indian prophe, the best of its of any contact . He Bettish notes, could have been crite distress.

Was a solutional last burst services but, being over a constituent of Lord last backeted by charter burst services but, being over a constituent of London of be accepted. Then I voint teered that from my little Province I would raise 50,000 soldiers for the war, packilled that the acial bar to Indians for King's Commissions in the Army and the racrid race poly in the Army was removed. I the mind of Ir liabled be a liberal you would not have received that once, but we sail, "This is a time of criergency and difficulty to be British people; and it is not our comprehension of our duty and of our conscience that we should treate troubles for the British people; and it is not our comprehension of our duty and of our conscience that we should treate troubles for the British people; though their difficulties, the God in them will be roused enough to make their difficulties, the God in them will be roused enough to make their see that our people, though black in colour, are the same as their own."

I have not come here as a beggar. It will be a good thing if yet of you own a could would say. "We offer you hopinion istate." It lear or suspicion may not lead you to make that for the grant then I say we will not be satisfied with anything less then tall repeats the government, i.e., Dominion States. I writ to be as tree in a ye outtry as an linglishmen in England, as a tree in a ye outtry as an linglishmen in England, as a tree in a year lader in New Ze, had, as a tree a Antialian in Australia. Nothing less than that is going to satisfy me. That is one thing.

It and thing which I stall never tolerate is the cant that Ir and the first own court, and, then fore, the Is a larger to the representative of dentity and a.

We this exist to be with full respectible covernant burgst to as the problem of t

boly isolated and independent of it; but if the body politic does not react favourably, then the foreign body acts as a poison and poisons the whole body politic. Either absorb us into yourselves so that we can say that the Empire is our own along with you, or say "You are a foreign people, but we shall allow you to isolate yearselves as an independent being." If something on those lines is not done it is not very difficult to prophesy that that foreign body will be a source of inamense trouble, will poison the whole had politic, antil a ther it is east out or the body politic itself is destroyed.

It is to tell you this that I have come here and spoken freely, frankly and sincerely, and I am grateful to Lord Peel for having given me the lead. This is the frank expression of a man who has een known up to now as a parmet in his own country. Now he is called a traiter to his own country for laving come here. I would comment to the British Delegations the amount of responsibility that lies on their head. It is a question whether India shall be complementary to England or opposite to England. In the latter case there may be een unit warfare, constant trouble and constant repression so that there will be peace on neither side in India.

Sa dur Ujel Snight: Mr. Chairman, we are assembled here to find a solution of one of the most difficult and complex problems which any assembly was ever faced with. We were teminded yesterly by Lord Peel that we should proceed with caution. I fully acres with the noble Lord that we should take all factors itto careful consiluation, but we neast face and surmount diffiendices and not succumb to them. I need not repeat what many of Let triends have already said about the grave situation in India. I will only say that rapid progress may lead to some trouble, but lesistion and half-learted measures are bound to lead to great disaster. We cannot forget that India at this moment is impatient and restless to breathe the air of freedom. This impatience has led the leaders of the greatest and most powerful political party in the country to adopt means which we all, I believe, sadly deplore. But we Indians deplore no less the measures adopted ty the Government resulting in breaking of heads and the sending to prison of India's gems, who, in a free country, would have commanded the respect of the proudest nations. Both these methods are a counsel of despair. This unfortunate, sad state of affiairs in India calls for the rarest courage, wisdom and statesmanchip of the highest order. In the success of this historic Conference lies the good, not only of India or of England, but of the whole world: for one-fifth of the human race in ferment cannot but produce uncertainty and restlessness in the whole.

Although the problem is difficult and its solution imperative, there is no ground for pessimism. On the other hand there is a clear indication of a determination on the part of every section of the historic assembly to find a ready solution for it. By inaugurating the opening ceremony of this Conference His Majesty the King-

Emperor has given, actual plant 1 successful to the street of our dellipation. We shall expression that take to the Majoriy for be well but by the esnits which he experts is to access when a traction, so with your publications diction is discovered able to and time traction over our dellicities. Such therefore the determination of the British people to find a column to this product. We holian Delegates have abready staked and court for an the eyes of our fellow countrymen. We assert when a refer to a back to India without entrying with us the solution which will satisfy the espirations of our people.

The Indian Princes in their regreticent speeches have made it about hintly clear that they are not only anxious to adjust their relations with British India, but that they are equally desirous to see India occupying beautighted position in the proud nations of the world. When the best brains of England and the versatile brains of India are ben appearable of the problem there is no difficulty which may not be overcome.

What is the matere of our problem? We have been asked here to give an expression of a limited character on the question of federal or tacitor geverances. Before expressing my opinion on this specific apposition, or belief of the Sikh community which I have the homour to represent here. I make sold to say that, from the print of view of British India, our immediate business is to obtain the substance of independence, a status of equality in the British Espire, as by mill measure of responsible government in autorerrous Pro more reder a repartible Certral Government. If that had not been the main assue perhaps thus Conference would not have enthe light of day. The problem realisation of this desire is in duly tradit to de alines, and to there were no difficulthe we will fait have been like purling our leads together and eer my to charge a with the publicm. Land Peel said vesterday il tille Samu Comb ssion Reputt, so far as the Provinces were corrected, see a revolutionary decument in so for as in the Proviners Penils and in a series and and a mitary responsible (nov. 11.re 'established marked. I admit that the word "Dyarely " las bon the away mem the constitution, but Dyarchy in substores and placed in the hape of an official member of the Cabinet I do not desire or erter into the discussion at this stage of the version per sals, but, with a learnestress I subpat that no or not it attoors in the Provinces is going to satisfy Indian pollor epinger undess responsibility is established in the Central ties moment. Representage, as I do, the important Sikh minority, I can to a shall make excess to solative less tion of full responsible goverment wealthean to a ninerity. It we were all to forget that we were their or different communities, and were prepared to sa ifice our consumal interests at the alter of autombood or rateralism. It refer you'd a flace asked for any consideration out vectors with the but to tended concaunal interests are still dear to us and require adjustment in a spirit of give and take.

The Steles was were. I need not remind you, the masters of the Punjab not many years ago, and who, since the British advent have maintained their military prestige in the various theatres of wat at Asia. Arrica and Europe, and who during the Great War supplied no less than \$9,000 combatant recruits, besides \$0,000 already in service, and who still constitute the most gallant element of the Indian Army—the Silhs cannot remain indifferent to their interests. I beg of you not to ignore the just claims of a community which is to be the lackbone of India as a Dominion. I need only remain I you of the words of Edward Thomson, who has written a book on the reconstruction of India. He says that, if the Silhs remain loyal to a federated India, the North-Western labels as save against Arghanistan, and if India remains a Dominion her shores are secured by the British Navy.

I am anxious, therefore, to be assured of a rightful position for my community. In fact, the test of a constitution is the measure of security is provides for the minorities. But I am not without hope that, along with other difficulties, we shall be able to solve this problem in a triendly spirit, with a common desire to see India occupying a proud position among the countries of the world.

The publicus of determented the maintenance of law and order were mentioned vesterday as the big problems which presented popular detections. I amore opinion that with the solution of the minorities problem and with the introduction of a system of responsible government, which might satisfy general public opinion in Italia, the destion of law and order becomes very easy. Indians the general are more procedoving than Westerners, and if their legitimate demands are acceded to, the chances of disorder and outling the considerably reduced.

I winds that the detence problem is more difficult, but it is node more lifficult partly from the peculiar nature of India's frontier, and partly by the exclusion, until recently, of Indians from ligher hards and positions of responsibility in the Indian Army. I hold the view that India ar not be a full-fledged Dominion until she is able to assume control of the Army, but that does not imply that she cannot have Dominion Status and responsibility in other spheres of governmental activity without delay. The question of detence—and along with it relations with foreign countries—can for a period of time be entrusted to the Viceroy, assisted by an adviscry board of Indians; but to seek to remove the control of the Army from the Indian Legislature and to vest it in a foreign body for all time to come is to postpone the attainment of full Dominion Status by India until Doomsday.

What is immediately needed is to accelerate the peace of Indianisation in the higher ranks of the Army. It is inconceivable that the right material will not be available, or that any realist difficulties will present themselves a providing non-But shown ands. In space of general disarmanent and physical deget extion, for which the Arms Act in India is mostly responsi-

ble, the pantial races in the Punjab, like the Sikhs and Muslims and the Mahrattas in the South, can still supply a valuable element for the laigher nanks. During the Great War the Vicerov's commissioned officers gave proof of their capacity for leadership, and there is no consent to them. That when Indians are given the opportunity of holding positions in the higher command, they will be found lacking in that quality.

There is pnother question with regard to the Array which I desire to bring to the active of this assembly. It is not quite clear to be why such a large garrison of 60,000 British troops is maintained at such a heavy cost apparently for the preservation of internal peace and order. One British soldier costs four times as much as an Indian soldier.

Sor Plane e Sethmu: Five times as much.

Sardar Uppd Single: A British soldier costs four to five times as much is in Indian soldier, and it is difficult to see why so large a carriou. Should be maintained for the apparent leason of it mad peace and order. The Indian Police in times of disorder in Louthreaks have been discharging their responsibilities and dut as horestly, and there is no reason why Indian soldiers, who are note disciplined, should not be able to discharge their duties be restly and conscientionsly. The Army question, instead of officing any maximum table difficulties, becomes easy of solution if the dead weight of expenditure on British troops is no oved and the Indianisation of the higher times in the Army carrestly pushed that orch.

The public of the Edian States has presented great difficulty. bet a fortentle vices nearer solution. With the acceptance of the deachagn; for India, united in diversity, and with the willingbe sof the Prince to joir that Federation as free contracting parties, that problem is nearer solution. While the dea of a Peleration, a which British India with self-governing Provinces or the one hand, and the Indian States on the other, will fit them-Ive into a whole for the realisation of common ideals, is at attractive one, it is still a conception which canno inmediately . The At the outside we can so trame our constitution as to leave Le dont open to the Indian States to come in, but in coming to a it boutto excel type of federation we must not forget that India is now rapidly advancing fowards nationhood. Nothing loud to do which right stip that process of unification at l ation od: we must guard against any disintegrating tendencies n the part of various units.

Nothing hould be done, in particular, to worker the authority of the pre-tige of the Control Government, and for this reason I no strongly of opinion that, after distributing as large powers as a libe to the Provinces to develop on their own lines, a reserve of power rust remain with the Central Government. We must now after that in deciding to have a federal type of government

concerned. The tederation of on e independent States has usually been an intermediary process towards unification, but here we are trying to create separatist tendencies. History should be our guide, and we should evolve a type of system which may not be strictly redetal or strictly unitary, but which is suited to our peculiar conditions and traditions.

The eyes of the world are turned towards this Conference. The fate of one-fifth of the human race hangs on the deleberations round this historic Table. The pledges of British statesmen are on their trads. The patriotism and good sense of various communities are to be tested. I only hope and pray that we may all rise equal to this great occasion, and that the fruits of our labours may lead to a happier and more contented India and to a greater England.

Nor 1. P. Patro: After such a surfeit of words, phrases and sentiments, for me to contribute more would only be wearisome, and I am sure I would be trying the patience of this assembly if I were to pake a long speech. My object this morning is to place before you cert; in business propositions derived from experience and knowledge of the working of institutions which were inaugurated under the Montford scheme, in their relation between the Provinces and the Central Government and what should be done with a view to smooth up the path for progress and creating facilities for effective working of responsibility at the Central and in the Provinces.

I have listened very carefully to the very instructive and interesting allress of the representive of the great conservative group, the Rt Hon. Lord Peel. I appreciate his great sincerity and franktess, and that he is speaking true to the political cread of the great Party. We in Southern India are also styled as a conservative party and a reactionary party, by a certain section of the extreme nationalists. As a conservative party we hold fast to the traditions of the past, and as a nationalist party we want political progress with all other progressive political parties of India.

It will be interesting to you, therefore, to know what the Legislature and the Party, which I have honeur to represent and to lead, has to say on the nature of the practical warning of the constitution, the defects and the difficulties of the system of Dvarchy. It would be more waste of time, however, for me at this stage to go senation into all the defects and difficulties of the present situation. I will only picture to you briefly the conditions and circums ances of working of the administration. The Party consists not only of intelligentsia of the country, but also representatives of the country-side, agriculturists, traders, and small landholders—all classes who had a stake in the country. The Legislative Council of Madras, which co-operated whole-heartedly with the Indian Statutory Commission, has, in communicating the Report of the Committee, resolved emphatically that any grant of political autonomy in the Provinces will be a mere shell without substance, unless responsi-

bility is not occasion the Central Government. The dust or Party at a great meeting hold rater, Indialso manusconsty placed on record its six wire desire that the next step in advance should be responsibility at the Costre, and that India should be placed in a position net ofer or to that of the States which comprise the British Commonwealth of Nations. I may also refer to the view expressed by this great meanment in Southern India, Bombay and the Central Provinces, the non-lank min movement. It is the sincere wish et the non Brahm a Party, guided and controlled by experience and knowledge of the working of the institutions of the country, to have reprosid but at the Centre. At a meeting of the All-India non-Brihms. Party, held in Bombay and Poota and presided over ly myselt, thus i served that it shall stand for full responsibility at the Centic, subject to such safeguatils as me recessary and essertial for a temporary period, and that India shall be an equal partner in the British Empire.

The system of Dya chy was wriked with varying degrees of success in different Provinces. It in any Province is has not worked successfully, it is not because of want of political capacity is Indians, but because they refused to work a system or an organisation which did not tulfil their expectations and which was so full of dele is that they would not work it while-heartedly. That haing so, I would submit to this Conference that the success of the dyarchic experiment in India has not been a falure, as it has been upresented to be. We have worked successfully in Madras, we have gained great experience and training. So with otiers. What there is the next step to be taken, when we have provid that the dvarche system has been a success, though it has been universally condenned by sections of people who did not done to take the responsibility, who did not put their shoulders to the wheel at beary of the difficult system of administration? Those who did not have the experience of working the system are lou'est a condending the system which they did not know. I an not one of those who think that it deserved such universal could near that on. Take every other institution, its defects are many, its difficulties are varied; but it could be worked successfully, as we have preced in the Madras Presidency. I would ask this Conbeceme to bear with me while I point out how far this system has been successful in improving the condition of the masses generally and in helping the minorities. One of the great problems which this Conterence will have to consider is whether the past can be taken as a sure guide for the future. We must test our facts and conclusions. The Legislative Councils all over the country addressed themselves expressly to what are known as " nation weilding departments." Departments were set up which served to is prove the ordition of the people of the rural areas. Deprossed class were helped and steps were taken so see that protion and de for their redesquien nem ignorance and cruel injustice. The problem of the minorities was not neglected. Every time when que tions inlating to the nights and liberties of

the minoraties came up, the Legislature was fair and did not allow thy mjustice to be done to them. Suggestions of discriminatory legislation, by means of interpolations or resolutions, the House always discouraged. It was the same in the matter of finance; when the revenues of the Presidency were sought to be curtailed, the Legislature vetoed it. I refer to the matter of excise reserve where attempts were made to deal with the problem of temperance. When the question was brought forward, the Councils stood firmly for the policy of temperance, and did not yield to a curtailment of the revenues of the country. While every Council sympathised with the advance of temperance mexements, they felt that it must come gradually and also from within. I put forward this illustration because it is common among certain sections of the Nationalists to say that there should be total prohibition. Any amount of talk goes on and it has been suggested that even compulsion should be used. Nevertheless, this testimony shows that the practical wisdom and the common sense of the Legislatures induced them to stand firm and reasonable in the matter. They would not be moved by sentiment and emotion. Therefore I say, though it is an inconvenient illustration, that in any matter relating to the reduction of revenue the Legislative Councils proved their common sense.

Again, in the matter of the relations between the Central Government and the Provinces under the dyarchic system many difficulties were experienced. But we overcame the obstacles in the way and affairs were managed efficiently and satisfactorily as was proved by the testimony of British statesmen and the Report of the Statutory Commission. I would ask you to note facts relating to the maintenance of internal peace and order during the last ten years. In every Province where there were disorders how did the Legislatures deal with the matter? Money and measures were taken by the Governor in Council to maintain peace and order and the Legislatures co-operated with them. Responsible Ministers acted in union in the matter of maintaining law and order with irregionsible Ministers. Both in law and order, in the matter of discriminatory legislation, in paying attention to the rights and I berties of minorities, the Legislatures have proved themselves erral to the task. They have gained experience and training; they have gained knowledge. What is the next step in the constitutonal development so that their experience may be utilised in the future?

Remember that, whatever may be the changes decided whatever may be the constitution framed for the future, the agricultural classes expect that the aim and end of every constitutional change shall be to improve the lot in life of the cultivator, the agriculturist and the masses. If you do not keep in view this aim and if you only provide for the intelligentsia of the country, you will be sorry for having had anything to do with the constitutional problem in India. We have large masses of people to deal with, not the few elucated classes. Therefore your reconstruction of the constitution

must be consistent with, and in ecoperation with, a spirit of help-fulness to the great people of India.

You I wish to say a word is reference to what the noble lord, Ford Peel, said with reference to the jeogle of India. It is not correct to say that the political shifteded, or the detailed for independence or for the repulliation of delt are the desire of India. That is contact to a certain setten et the people. You must v smaller fid, a as a cortiment. Are there not such extreme political parties in lagland to-day who make the riest extreme demands? Are there not political parties in the Dominions who take up extieme positions which you and I would but assent to? You may rall it Bolsheviste er Socialistert anything you like. There are extreme sections of people all over the world. Therefore these neitters should not be taken as anything that should operate to deter the progress of India towards full self-government. You should utilise these forces more profit div and harness them for the good of the people. They are symptoms of the great forces existing in the country, and it will be high statesmanship, it will be true statesmanship, to control these forces and conciliate them and Tring about constitutional charges which will keep them with a the limits of constitutional methods. It is not too late to do that. As envisaged in the Despatch of the Government of Irlia, you connect take for granted the passive consent of the people for any legislation or any measure you adopt. It has been visualised in the Despetch of the Gevernment of India that the times are charged at 1 fl at coan ust lave the willing cases t of the people for erv · valure which Government wish to adopt. Therefore in such a cale is if not desirable that you should endist the sympathy and support of all actions of people who are now co operating with the of distration and will start by the British Covernment?

I would like to remind you that the position in the countryside is not as it was ten years ago. I will not take up time by describing fully that position. I have travelled over most of the Provinces and visited many villages to test the real feeling. To-day there is a guest awakening in the countryside. You could not have inaugined ten years ago that there would be such a transformation would die the villages by the Parchayat system. The organisation Le lad an educative influence and nade the villagers self reliant. The work of the Local Bodies, wherever they exist, has awakened nearly to the consciousness of their rights and liberties, and they are vorking to make those institutions successful and sufficient. In the T. I ms you find Local Boards of various birds doing an immense werk to to see the people to the sense of responsibility, and to erolds them to nanage their own affairs. There are Boards and Councils. Education Bounds and numerous other institutions which are, day in day out, teaching the people, placing before them their duties and responsibilities, and beday you will not find many bepurs which condemn wholesale the valuable week of Local Self-Covernment that is being carried on in the districts and in the villages.

I have one word more to say. Judging by British standards you may ask what is the percentage of attendance, what is the percentage of voters at the polls, and low are the elections conducted? I do not want to go into details. It is sufficient for me te say that to-day an interest is taken in the election to the Legislative Councils, that you will find that the members of the Councils in most cases look forward to the influence of the ballot box. The hollot box centrels the destinies of the British Government here to-day. It is beginning to control affairs in India. So there is this teeling in the country that the people are beginning to n anage t eir own chairs. Why you should refuse to give opportunities I'r the people to manage their own affairs in the Provinces and at the Centre, they cannot understand. It may be necessary, as riv honourable triend, Sir Muhammad Shafi, said, to place tempercey restrictions. I accept that there are obstacles, but those are letails to be considered later. I do say that you should trust the people who have been able to work well in co-operation with the Government in the past. I do not agree with those who hold that there should be a revolution in the country. I believe, and my party believes, in evolution of constitutional advancement. We say that the introduction of responsible government at the Centre is not a revolution, but is a step in aid of and towards what we ask for-full responsible government later on. It is a step necessary and essential.

Wa land Wuhammad Ali: Mr. Chairman, may I exercise the rivilege of the invalid and remain seated? My friend, Dr. Monie, has explained his position as to how he has been called a traiter to his country. I think we are bracketed together here again. As he knows very well, on the day when he and I were to depart from India black flags were to be flown to wish us God speed, and the wishes of people with whom we had been working all these years were that the boat "Viceroy of India" might prove very unseamouthy. Even when I came to this country one i ewspaper in England which I have helped to stabilise financially -I am very glad to see it has a million sale to-day-the "Daily Herall." pullished my photograph and called me a convert-I suppose a convert from patriotism to treachery. There is in Parliament, besides the Conservative peer who spoke vesterday frankly and sincerely, another very conservative gentleman, who was my tutor, my professor at Oxford, Sir Charles Oman, and it is from his history that I quote one short sentence which formed the subject of one of the questions asked us in the Indian Civil Service Uxamination, for which I appeared and failed: "The Sanacen alone it was impossible to convert." I do not claim to have in me Aryan blood like all the white people here and Tir. Mornje I lave the blood in me which my Lord Reading who sent me to prison-has perhaps nunning in his veins. I am a Semite, and if he has not been converted from Zionism. I too and net converted from Islam, and my anchor holds. I am the only person belonging to my party who has been selected by His Excell ney the Viview, or the Covernment of Hi. M. p. in hore or a court is who has appointed the exercise III. Described Whose Describes we have a do not know. If do not protect to represent a vibody that I will say this much, and I feel certain that when you have heard me. If he peritoral two, will say that I arrively in a valuability, that at least I may not miscopresenting myself, and I have that I wild be erough. In politics there it too much misrepresentation even of oneself.

In reply to Lord Peck, I will only quote to him from an English poor as I did when we were going through the lobby. I said, " I hope your Lordship is a Conservative and will remain a Conservative; herease the only definition that I read of a Conservative was in Tennyson, who said,

'He is the best Conservative
Who lops the monddered branch away.'

I think those ideas wheen Lord Peel expressed, very succeeds and frankly, really represent the mouldered branch which should be lopped away. This is my only answer to him. As regards the other Conservative, our own Prince from India, as regards His Highness the Maharaja Salib of Rewa, I am not quite sure about his conservatism. It be takes Burke to be a Conservative, and quotes him at the end of his speech, I would say: "Be a Conservative and sick to it." for, quoting Burke, His Highness said, "Small ronds and arge empires go'll together." If the British Empirecall I Liopne, call if Commonwealth of Nations, whatever you choose to call it I do not care in the British Empire desires to remain bur, the small minds that have been visible and sudible only for long naist despiear. It you had 'cllowed Burke, you veril not have bed America, and you would not be talking of port to liver building warships. There should be nuch mue tele of chanter. And you would not have all those delits to pay. You would not have all that worry. You would not have to go so often to General to the Preparatory Commission for the Disgrown t Centerence How long that preparation is going to take He even only knows. All these things came in because you torret year greatest politicien, your greatest statesman, who was the tran who, in the House of Commons, was called the "dinter bell." because when Bunke got up to speak, you all left and went to the divirg room. You still do that to people who are like Burke. and I trensfere say and I quote him once again "Men. net me sures." I do not care what constitution you prepare for us; but all would be well it you have get one man in England who is a real man-

"Oh, God, for a man with heart, head, hand, like some of the simple great ones gone For ever and ever by.
One still strong man in a blatant land, Whatever they call him, what care I?—Nistocial, autocial, democrat one Who can rule and dare not lie."

I hope my old friend Mr. MacDonald will at least prove the man to rule, and that he would not dare to lie to his own Party, to his own conscierce and to his country; and if you people of all parties assist him, as you should, I assure you we will make history. But even more than I trust my old friend Mr. Ramsav MacDonald, I, a republican, trake this confession, that I place my trust in the man-I call him a man, because "a man's a man for a' that "who inaugurated this Conference in the Gallery of the House of Lords, whose name is George. Whether you call him His Majesty or whatever you call him, he is a man! He knows India better than any of his Ministers, past or present, and I am looking up to I m to do justice to the 320 millions who constitute one-fifth of the whole of humanity, and I am strengthened in that belief by the wonderful patriotism shown by the Princes arrayed ever there, the conservative element in India. It must be a revelation to my Lord Peel and to my Lord Reading; it is no revelation to me. I am again a unique person While I am a British subject -though I was yet being excluded from the Indian Civil Service Examination because they said I was not a "natural born British subject "-provisionally they admitted me. till evidence from my mother came in, and they finally admitted me-I happen also to be the subject of an Indian State, and probably in that respect too I am a unique person in this t'onference. I was forn in a State; I have served in that State; I have served in another State. Baroda my master the Gaekwar is here; I ate his salt for seven years—and when I was dying two years ago it was an Indian Prince. His Highness of Alwar, who sent me at his own cost to his own doctor here. When I was supposed to be going to die once more at Simla, it was a Prince, whom I was once about to begin to teach as a private tutor, the Nawah Sahib of Bhopal, who exercised the truest hospitality-which the British are not yet exercising—he turned his guest-house into a hospital for me. The British will be extending their hospitality to me in the letter as well as they are doing in the spirit, if they make me a free patient in every hospital that there is. When I was sent to Simla to the le spital I made a judicious separation between two fiancés, a lady on one side and a military officer on the other, who were to be married very shortly. I occupied a room between them! Both were ailing. The lady asked our doctor, when she saw a strange looking Indian coming into the European quarters, "What is this old man ailing from?" The Doctor said, "Ask me rather what the old man is not ailing from." A man with my dilated heart; with my approaching and recurrent blindness through retinitis; with my once gaugeened foot, with neuritis -this huge bulking foot through underna; with albuminuria; with diabetes, and the whole long list that I could give you if Colonel Gidney would not think I was becoming his rival as a medical man. I say no same man with all these ailments would have travelled seven miles. And vet I have come seven thousand miles of land and sea because, where Islam and India are concerned. I am mad, and, as the "Daily Herald" puts it. I am a "convert"; from a "rebel" against the Government, I have become a "traiter" to my country, and I am now working "with the Government." I say I can work even with the Devil it it is to be, like this work, in the cause of tied.

I hope you will forgive this long introduction about my ill-health and ailments and all sorts of things; but the fact is that to-day the one purpose for which I come is this—that I want to go back to my country if I can go back with the substance of freed in in my hand. Otherwise I will not go back to a slave country. I would even prefer to die in a fore gn country so long as it is a free country, and if you long it is a free country, and if you long it is a ree-dom in India you will have to give me a grave here.

I begin with the Conservatives by thanking them. When I met Mr. Baldwin at the dinner which the Gevenment hespitality provided for us, when I was mally very ill and ought to have been in bed, I was watching for the cherry wood pipe, and, thank God, it come out. So I went up to Mr. Baldwin, and I said, "In two ways you have made history. Although a Conservative belonging to a party of the so-called idle rich, you have at least been human enough to establish this rule, that where only Ceronas could be stroked atter dinner an honest man could now bring out his shag, put it into a cherrywood pipe, as I used to do at Oxford, and smoke it." But, as I told hum be has done or their historic thing also. He has sent out a Conservative Viceroy of the type of Lord Irwin! If any nan has saved the British Empire to-day, it is that tall, thin Christian! It Lead from was not there to-day, heaven only knows what would have happened. At least I would not be the "convert" I am supposed to be. We should not have been at this Round Table. It is for the sike of peace, triend hip and freedom that we lave come here and I hope we shall go back with all that. If we do not, we go lock into the ranks of fighters where we were ten years before They may call us traiters to the country. You may then call us rebels or outlaws. We do not care.

I have said so nothing about His Excellency Lord Irwin, but I do not wish to associate a labet with his Government. They have woulk a standarded things. The only good point about their Don't his that it has provided us with another "Listoric document of the Singer Commission's Report is not the only document we have to consider. The Despatch is a most disappointing document of the best thing we can do after it is to create our own in the best thing we can do after it is to create our own in the best brains of the big matries are assembled here. Many who ought to have had been are still in good in India. Mr. Javabar, Sir Tej Sapru, and I tried our lands at porce making between the Viceroy and Goodhia, but we failed. I was the first in the field, but failed. I have we shall not failed. I have so back to our country this time, carrying with us the substance of freedom.

Let Peel aid, "Oh, yes, but when you go back to your country with a constitution such as you want, those people who are not comparing will wrest it from your hands." Wrest it! When I can fight the British I can fight the Indians too. But give me

semething to fight for. Do not let me have to take lack from lære a charter of slavery, and then expect me to fight my own people. I could not do it, and if I tried to do it, I should fail. But with freedom in our hands I would gladly go back to those in whose name my friend. Mr. Jayakar, spoke. He claimed to speak for Young India. I think he knows that, although I am older than him in years, I am a younger man in heart, in spirit, in temperament and in love of fighting. I was non-co-operating when Mr. Jayakar was still practising in the Law Court. (Mr. Jayakar shook his head.) Anyhow, he was not in gaol with me. My brother and I were the very first to be sent to gool by Lord Reading. I hear him no grudge for that; but I want the power also, when Lord Reading goes wrong again in India, to send live to gool.

I have not come to ask for Dominton Status. I do not believe in the at ainment of Dominion Status. The one thing to which I am committed is complete independence. In Madras in 1927 we passed a resolution making that our goal. In 1928, in the Convention of AP Parties, the adoption of the Nebra Report Constitution was mey d, the very first clause of which was about Dominion Status. Even I yell secretary. Pendit Janoharla Neliru, the President of the Congress to-day, was kept down by his rather. There is a Persian provert which says, ' Be a dag, do not be a vounger brother." And when you see by hig brother over there. " Seven feet by five," as Calmal Wedgered called him, you can well believe I believe in this Persi, n proverb. In the case of Jawaharlai I would say, " Be a cat, do not be the sen of your father." For it was his father who, as President of the Congress, throttled poor Jawaharlal at Colcutta in 1928. Well. I got up in his place, when he could not speak for complete malependence, and I opposed the clause dealing with Dominien Status. But in 1929 I would not go further like Jawaharlal and make it my creed, because once we make it our creed in the Congress, we cannot admit anybody into the Congress who does not Il that creed. I liked to keep the door open for negetiation. I would not like to slam the door in the face of anybody. His Excellency Lord Irwin a Conservative Vicerov, was "The man on the spot" And he was sufficiently impressed by what he saw on the spet and came here. When we come to London we hear that everylor't is appealing to "the man in the smeet." Whether "the man in the street " is ever heard or not. I do not know; but Lord Rothermere and Lord Bewerbreck and everybody else always talk about "the man in the street" as the final court of appeal. In India it is always "the man on the spot." Well. "the man on the spot " "inte here and be talked to the leading "man in the street," who is presiding here. I am sure he preached to the converted. They brengit round Mr. Baldwin also; they brought round some Conservatives; they brought round everbody they could, and made the arnous ement that Dominion Status was meant, when in 1917 they said "Responsible Government." That cleared the fog which had been created in a very memorable meeting of the It dian Legislative Assembly in 1924 by the Officer in charge of the Home Department at the time, who I am glad is present here to-day.

As I said two or three days ago, India has put on litty-league boots. We are making ferred narches which will actor in the world, and we will not go back to India unless a new Dominion we shall go back to India without the birth of a new Dominion we shall go back, believe me, to a lost Dominion. We shall go back to an America. Then you will withe s, not within the British Commonwealth or the British Empire, but outside it, with the Indian Princes, with Dr. Moonje, with Mr. Jayakar, with myself and my brother, a Free and United States of India. It will be something more than that As I wrote shortly after leaving Oxford long years ago, in India we shall have something better than an America, because we shall not only baye a United States, but we shall have United States, but we

"Not like to like, but like in difference;
Self-reverent each and reverencing each;
Distinct in individualities,
But like each other, e'en as those who love."

It is with these passions surging in our hearts that we have tome here. It now depends upon our Conservative friends, upon our Radical triends, upon our Labour friends, and still more upon the one man whom I trust more in Ergland than anybody else. His Majesty King George, the grandson of Victoria the Good, whose love for India nobody date deny. Her whole life was he Magnatharta of India, and in her grandson's time history will be written again like this: "George III list America. George V wou India!"

We are told that there are difficulties. It is said, "Lock at the States," But I come from the States, and I know they provide no difficulty whatever. "Then there is the Army." Well, what about the Army? It is the biggest indictment against Great Britain that the Army is not ours to-day, and if you ever use that excuse of the Army you will condemn yourselves out of your own mostly. Let me tell you frankly and honestly, but in a friendly way, that your greatest sin was the emasculation of India.

I am glad to hear my friend, Dr. Moonje, say "Hear, bear." I was very sorry to hear him talk about our people being fired upon and therefore running away for a time and then coming back. We have \$20,000,000 of people. When they can afford to die in millions from funde and from plagues, surely they can afford to die from British bullets too. That is the lesson which Gandhiji wanted to touch us, and that is the lesson which we must learn now. In 1913 I was in this country when Gandhi was leading his movement in South Africa. Mr. G. K. Chesterton presided over a meeting in the Essex Hall, and he called upon me to speak. Other speakers had spoken of Gandhi's new philosophy. I said, "Please in derstand out thing about that. Whether it is his philosophy of Tolston's Jesus Christ's or mine, it is the universal lumor shilosophy." Nobody wins in a battle if there is merely the will to kill. You

must I we the will to die even before the will to kill. In India we have not the power to sill, but the moment we develop the will to he, random will tell. 320,000,000 of people cament be killed. There is no mechanization for which you can find notely to kill 320,000,000 people. Even if you have got that neclanization, even a you have got the material, you have not the morale for immeriale) to dare to I'll 320,000,000 people. We must have in us the will to die for the bith of India as a free and united nation. And this we are tast developing. When this has been fully developed what can you do? I do not for a moment imagine that you could find in all England a handred men so har blearted and callons as to fire for long or unarmed and non-violent people ready to die for the freedom at their country. No; I do not think so badly of English soldiers.

The real problem which is upsetting us all the time has been the thire, problem the Hindu-Muslim problem; but that is no problem at all. The fact is that the Hindu-Muslim difficulty, like the Army difficulty, is at your own creation. But not altogether. It is the old mexim of "divide and rule." But there is a division of labour here. We divide and you rule. The moment we decide not to divide you will not be able to rule as you are doing to-day. With this determination not to be divided we have come here. Let me assure every British man and woman who thinks of sharing our destinies that the only quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims to-day is equal that the Muslim is afraid of Hindu domination and the Hirdn, I uppese, is afraid of Muslim domination. (Dr Mounje: No. the Hirdris never afraid.) Well, I am very glad to hear that, Ir ny country the she-buffalo attacks only when she is afraid, and I alever the reverence of the Hindu for the cow, I am glad he has herer the fear of the she-buffalo. I want to get rid of that fear. The very fact that Hindus and Muslims are quarrelling to-day shows that they will not stand British domination either for one single minute. That is the point to grasp. British domination is doome! over India. Is our friend-hip deomed also? My Irether took service under the Government, and served it for 17 years, but he did one thing for me. He sent me to Oxford. He was always taunting me in the non-co-operation days by saving, "You have a soft corner in your heart for that place called Oxford " I must almit that I had I spent four years there, and I always carry with me the reest pleasant recollections of that time, and I want to lespillat feeling. I do have a very soft corner in my heart for my Alrea Mater. But I can faunt my brother, too. When he was leing tried at Karachi when the jury let us off, and there was a British juryman among them, they voted for our release because we were such a sporting lot my big brother said: " Even if it becomes my duty to kill the first Englishman I come across, if he Largens to have blue eyes, my knife will not work, because I shall think of the eyes of Theodore Beck, my late Principal at my old college. Aligarh " There are several Aligarh Old Boys lere, and ther can bear witness to the fact that we who were brought up at Wigoth be Beck could never be without a soft corner in our Leasts for Englishmen. Therefore, even if British domination is doomed and it that he hilled here do not let us kill British thendship. We have a soft correr in our hearts for Great Britain. Let us retain it, I beseech you.

One and as to the Mussili. In position, with which I shall deal It letyth on y me other occasion. Many people in England ask us why this prestren of Hindu and Mussaln an enter it to politics, and what it has to do with these times. I reply, "It is a wrong conregition of a digion to at you have, if your value le politics from it. It is not degree; it is not ribust; religion, to my mind, means the interpretation of life." I have a culture, a polity, an outlook enlife a complete synthesis when is Islam. Where God commands I ma Mr. desan first, a Mussalman second, and a Mussalman last, and not but a Mussalman. If you ask not center into your Empire or into your Nation by having that synthesis, that polity, that culture, that others. I will be talout. My first duty is to my Moler, tot to H.M. The Krig, ver to my compania Dr. Meonje: my fir t duty is to my Maker, and that is the case with Dr. Moonie , Iso. H must be a Hinlu first, and I must be a Mussilmon first, so firms that duty is concerned. But where India is concerned. where Ir lin's meetom is concerned, where the welfare of India is a morrod I are an Indira first, an Itolian second, on Itdia last, and nothing but an Indian.

On his In it and the other is the Muchin world. When I come to I'm dead a 1920 at the bood of the Khilafat Delegation, my friends like 'You can that we some suit of a crest for your fationary." I decided to have it with two circles on it. In one circle was the continual in the other circle was Islam, with the word "Khilafat' We as Indian Mus almans care in both circles. We have the experience each of none than 200 millions, and we can be avertained. We are not not oralists but supernationalists, and it is a Mussalum not say that "Good made man and the Bevil of the rection." Nationalism divides; our relief on birds. No telegious was, no crusades have seen such hole ansts and have been a crustal at your last war, or dark at was a way of your parionalists, and not my Jehad.

But when any country is concerned, where the question of texatic is concerned, where cap creps are concerned, where the weather is a sired, where all assibilities in these theory ands of protects of a little life are concerned which the first Hindu in Make no mister has a Muss been Hindu and Musshman; they are true has a the four of demination. If there is one other sin with which had argse Great Britain, in addition to the sin of or, which had argse Great Britain, in addition to the sin of or, which had a large Great Britain, in addition to the sin of or, which had a large Great Britain. If there is one other sin built of brocking them to us in our schools, with the result that or solally a have least wrong Indian history. The quarrels which the section of the in our street or certain holid we are quarrels that the of all it has been instilled into the hearts of our soalled intelligents in had it unintelligents a by the wrong

instory taught us in our schools for political purposes. If that feelmg, which writes " Récanche " so large over the politics of certain prople in hidia, existed as it does, and if it existed to the extent which it does to-day, and the Massalmans were everywhere in a remonty of 25 per cent, and the Hindus were everywhere in a Laprity of Chiper ent. I could see no ray of hope to-day; but thinks to the engineedering of our saints and our soldiers, if there are the mes like that of my ment Dr. Moonje, in which I am only i per cost, there are other Provinces where I am 93 per ont, as in the Province of my friend Nawah Sir Albul Qaivum, ter which are demand equal tracdom. There is the old Province at Sand, where he Mussahrans first landed, where they are 73 per or , had a Panjah day are 56 jet cent., and in Bengal 54 per cert. Hist acces is air safeguard, for we demand hostages as we Law willingly given by tages to Hindus in the other Provinces where they form huge majorities.

I want you to be dise that for the first time you are introducing a I greechten into India; for the first time majority rule is to be introduced into India. In the days of Lord Rama there was no n joint mile, or he would not have been exiled. The old Pandu and Kunn al re, who gambled their kingdoms away, did not have majority ride, Maliaud of Chazni and Akhar and Amengzeb did not have majority rule, nor did Sivaji; when Raujit Singh ruled in the Punjal, he too did not have majority rule; when Warren Hasting and Clive ruled India, they did not have majority rule; and even in the days of Lord Irwin there is no majority rule. For the first time in India we are going to introduce majority rule, and I, belonging to a minority community, accept that majority rule, although I know very well that if 51 people say that 2 and 2 make 5. and If people say that 2 and 2 make 4, the fact that 51 say that 2 and 2 make 5 dies not cause them to make 5. Still. I am prepared to sul mit to majority rule. Luckily, lowever, there are Mussilman majorities in certain Provinces, and with the federal form of government, which is suited to India, not only for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem, but is essential for the sake of the Princes also, this is in our favour. The centrifugal and contributed tenducies are so well balanced in India that we are bound to have a federal system of government there, not as a distributed in the Gerenment of Irlassas, but to-day, new, the tute Westall leave this Conference only with following established in India, with new treaties unde with the Princes. with the consent of the Crown and the Princes.

I so ctives beer it said that rothing can be done without the consent of the Princes. No. Your Highnesses, we Our Lowiesses, all do nothing without your consent. But when, at the end of 1857, the powers of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, nobody ever thought of asking for your consent. There are to a roth as "By your leave." Your relationship with the Crown as established merely ipen incl., but it was at a family through a stabilished merely ipen incl., but it was at a family the King at I Queens also were really good people, none of whom

no hope.

One more word and I have done. I wish to say just this about the Army, I among the as a second for the Arms and the W. ch. te. years, p., H.R.H. I. D. co Com, all a test to India mappen the Indian Lag 1 and Mandan to name Passant Molitibal Nearm and Dyself were I whell by our late active fed dear triend C. d. D. s. whom our eyes sock in your to-day at the Table, and who would have been 'a Molandal Nebequat I Mohara Gandha and to this Table Lad as been also today, but he was a man of in aganation. Gardhip and I we spatting up together as the guests of Dis and I was acting as hold Charaberban to Mahatma Gardhi. Any neighbor of proper were origing to see Maratria Gandhi and to teach listeet I was be had lad the feet of a centifiede, but even then be could not have eyes with the thousands who came to touch his teet and in trying to sat sly them and spare Gardhlii. too, as narch as possible, to life was a misery. Amongst these people I saw 10 or 12 tall, turb, ned men, not in uniform, but looking and dressed very much alike. I thought they were members of the C.I.D. from the Punjab. My belief, after nevertest and maternment in 1915 on the reports of a spy neighbour, is that there is no place where God and the British C.I.D. are not present, so that whatever I say and whatever I do, I say and do in the be it that God Almighty and the British spy are equally on a please, I went up to these supposed British spies, and I said. "What can I do for you? I have been doing a lot for the C.I.D. by way of sed tion and I should like to do something rane," They said, " We do not led ng to the (',I,D), we belong to the Army." "The what," I taked. "are you doing in this seditions house?" They said, " We have come to pay our respects to Mahatma Guaha: we belong to the escort that has been breught from Poolar for the Duke o' Contaught." I said if they wanted to see Mahatma Gandhi I would take there in straight away. Malattea Gurdhi asked them whether they were interested in Swaraj, and they said. "Yes." Out of respect for the British Indian Army, I will now stand up and repeat their words. Gan Hiji said to them: "Are you interested in Swarai, you who belong to the Army, and who have been brought as an escort all the way from Poora because they cannot trust the people of Bengal, their first Presidency, for the safety of the Duke of Commanght?" They said, "Only the other day our Colonel on parade teld us laughingly something about you Ganthiji, saving. De you I now that bunnia, Gandli, wants Swarai for Indie? and be laughed, and asked us? 'Do you also want Swaraj?' Of course be expected we would all say 'No. Sir,' but the regiment very quest v said 'Yes, Sar, we also want Swaraj for India '." Then the Colonel, who was terribly shocked, asked ther why they wanted Swith and they told him that when they were sent to light in Entope, even when they saw Belgian soldiers coming had after a defeat, these soldiers would pull themselves up and proudly reply to . Diete who , ske I who they were, " We are Belgians; we belong to the Array of Belgium " Sometimes the French came untring back.

but it anybody asked them who they were, they brew themselves up and replied with pride that they belonged to the Army of France. It was the same with the British; but these men said that, even when they had won and had seved the French coast at a critical moment in October, 1914, when anybody asked them who they were, they could not say with equal pride that they belonged to the Array of India, they had to say, " We are British subjects. We belong to be Army of the British Sirkar." Now these men said that trey too wonted to stand upright and be able to say, " We belong to the Army of India! " I tell you this is the fact, God's own truth, about the Indian Army. You take a plebiscite of the Indian Array, God Alaighty being present, and the British spies, of course, being also present, but some of us also being present, and you will find that we know more thon anybody else on that sulject. India will defend herself to-day if you honestly want her to do so.

The Government of India Despatch goes further than Sir John Simon's Report and says that the Army should not be under the control of the Government of England but under the Government of India. There are three Members of the Government of India the prement of whose skin is the same as mine, and in some cases even laster. Two of them were my stable companions in England as students, and the third also studied here at that time. If these people can control the Army, why cannot Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru be Prime Minister of India? Why cannot Sir Muhammad Shafi or Mr. Jimuch be Prime Minister of India, and control the Indian Army? Or why cannot even a humble man like myself or my big brother become the Commander-in-Chief of India? I have no doubt exhausted to ir patience, but I can assure you my speech has been, so far as I too at concerned, both exhausting and exhaustive I non t, he my seat and I hope I shall not be called upon to speak agair in the Plenary Conference until you announce. Mr. Chairman, that India is as free as England.

Betwee adjourning, the Conference agreed that for future speeches there should be a time-limit of ten minutes, subject to the Chairman's discretion to extend that period in the case of such speakers as he thought fit.

## THE GENERAL DISCUSSION continued).

## Plenary Session, 20th November, 1930.

H.H. The Nauab of Bhopol: Mr. Chairman, as several et my brother Princes have already spolen, I will exive your attention for only a few panutes. Time presses, and we are all anxious to get to work in Committee. That being the position, the thought that has been in my raind from the mement wher His Majesty the King-Imperor opened the Conference with his gracious words. is that here at last is the opportunity of getting rid to ever of the in stunderst in lings and the consequent cloud of suspicions that lie between ou wo nations. We meet in an atnosphere of goodwill, an atm prote which as I sufficient throughout his Vicetovalty by Letal Instructore of the greatest of Vicetors, whom India honours as one of the lest friends she has ever had, and who has rendered such signal service to his country and ours in striving to bring the two together. In that the porte, and with an earnest desire on all siles for thee and then, discussion. I have no legit that we shall be able, under Providence, to settle the essentials which all seems the furnic peace, lappiness and prosperity of Irdia as a contented member, equal in status with all the rest, of that community of free self-governing nations, which now constitute the British Empire, linked together by united levalty to II. Maje iv' Thome and by a corporate ideal of nutual co-operation for the common good.

At the out of our disenssions were set the high standard to which the owell to espire be the extremely able and thoughtful opening spoor has Sir Tri B Ladur Saru, which has befired the good towards with India, spirang, and has done so in a namer which, I lettere, will be helpful to us all Speaking for hy elf, and I am once, to combe alform bootler Princes, I cordially reciprocated is view of the share which the Indian States can contribute in a united teder of India, and I particularly endorse his remark that, when the time erries, they will turnish a stabilising factor in the constitution. In see that both be and other speakers recognise that nothing in a system of denation connotes any interference with the internal : If it wast the States: that their treaties with the Crown will remain indicred, unless and until medified by mutual consent, and that it is it truth is of come on corecut. hereafter to be defined by natual egreet ent, and in nothing else, that federation will be concerned. Or that understanding, only one feature has to be added to the with re, namedy, that the federation shall be equal on both sides .. d that there can be no grestian of the strips of the States heing in it the variety in the to that of the jest of India On those condithe fire include a still the principle of federation. The details . Ill I are to be worked out by the Committee already appointed . Il . I pre e and angst movide that all States, who arree to T. His to de lett the smallest shall be properly be presented

In this connection some remarks were made as to interaction between the News and the rest of India. "It is impossible." it

÷...

was said, "to conceive of a free British India without conceiving of free Indian States." If ally subscribe to that remark, though not quite in the sense in which the speaker proceeded to develop it. A free Indian State means the disappearance of that doctrine of Paramountey which has been imported, contrary to our treaties, into the relation between the States and the Paramount Power, at I which has been so much in vogue in comparatively recent times. That, Sir, is one of the facts to be kept steadily in mind. On the of er side of the case we Princes have no apprehension as to how the processes at work in the rest of India, where we must rely on denocracy not being made a cloak for aggression, will affect our probes, and we shall be content to leave it to our States to work in the rest of India.

In this connection, seeing that communal troubles have bulked so largely in the news from India, thus creating an impression that the country is the cockpit of warring sects, and thus standing in the way of her aspirations, I wish to make it clear, as the point has but be a brought out latherto, that among the Princes no rift exists . Setween Muslims and Hindus, and that in the Indian States committed tension has so raidly occurred that it can be said to be plate adv non-existent. This fact brings me to a second point, nation, that there is nothing in our respective religious which sloud teal to sach ill-will, and that the reason why it has arisen in Rando Inda has been solely political. The various minority become in a have exactly the same basis, and equally the attitude of proces of the pelitially minded in India towards Great Britain, this has demonstrated itself at times in ways which are frankly to be depleted is not believe me, inspired by racial animosity, but is selely political; and as soon as the foundations of the constitution to realist verning India are well and truly laid these differences. we all believe, will automatically disappear. These are facts which I can so te from personal knowledge and without risk of contradicto because we Indian Primes are not isolated in our States, Int. the cour very position as Rulers, are bound to keep in touch with the convenients and the trend of thought in other parts of India. We have fully as well as the people of India, represented by the Delogates here present, and possibly more clearly than the British outhorities, the amazing growth of the national feeling throughout India of India as India. The enormous importance of these facts is obvious. On the one hard they explain the statement made hard on helalf of Young India, that if you give India Dominion Status to-day, in the course of a few namel's the cay of independence cill die of itself. On the other hand I hope that they will go far " allay the daulds with which Lord Peel explained Conservative camen approaches the solution of the Indian problem.

Turning row for a moment to other natters, which concern the states and will come up for discussion during this Conference, the timber of Princes has already expressed itself strongly against the Romont of the Indian States Committee and will never be satisfied in til deit contactions, which were so summarily brushed aside in

that Report overve the detailed have to find they decree a a rightity of the folding of the field of the Report of the as prove or parterenter made the load of the Relations with States that the recently published despetch at the load not to the folding with which the Pin es are just as strongly a sate fed. These are matters for discussion in Committee and elsewhere. But I am obliged to mention them were in order to place our protest on record at the earliest appointments and to indicate how much will have to be done in fronting the list of matters of common concern, which will be eafter be the sphere of the federal Council, and in devising a satisfactory impartial trainful to adjudicate on all matters which may be in dispute between the States and the rest of India, or it which the States may be it virtunce with the officers of the Council with vhom they are to be brought into relation in place of the Government of India.

These, Sir, are matters of very great apportance to the States, as or them and on the satisfactory development of communications and the Erances, the ratme social progress of the States will largely depend But the motter of the nost cardinal inpertance is the future constitutions of India, which this Conference is here to discuss. The weltare of the States is inseparably bound up with that of the rest of lidit. I beg, therefore, of the British representatives at the Contenerce, and those whom they represent, to bear in mind in approaching the mediem, that we are an anciert people, compared with whom rary of the most powerful countries of the present day are of very recent growth. The Aryans among us have a continuity which stretches back beyond the dawn of history. Islam was a world power at the time of the Norman conquest. The Aryans had in Indian Emper Selore the Christian era; the Moguls had one to which the countries of Europe ent embassies, and in the last century again has an Indian Empire been evolved under the British. Crown. The first two were Eastern. Their influence survives in the world to this day in religion, plul seplay, art and science. Now the British Dipirel's grafted the West on the East; and though, as Lesterrers, we have our special modes of thought and our own ideals of life, we fully appreciate the great benefits which Great Britain In a browcht us. Peace and security and the highest standard of ; do inist ation have been arong her gifts, but the greatest of all is that we have a second a united living nation under the Crown. Standing where we do to-dry, full of vitality, knowing our resources and our intellers, car, we be expected to stand still, even for a time. and watch the rest of the world go on? Should we not enter, as we desire, it the promised land, into that greater sphere, which the genius of the British race has evolved, that of being one of the body of self-governing tree Dominions, with equality of status, united in the Empire of the British Crown?

Here in the centre of the Empire St. Paul's stands as the central monument of the British race. A few years ago, though outwardly as fair as even, it was found to be in serious dancer of collapse. All parts of the Empire at once rallied to the rescue, and now the

budding stands in averaged and string enough to stand for all time. Si, Sir, it is with india. I stand with all the earnestness I can command, that things she stands fair to the eve, the structure is taken to most but great her with the ement of rational unity, which spends to hand, give her national freedom and that equality of dates, for which her scarage longing, and she will stand throughout the commandate with the conditional freedom and the British Empire.

Mr. Josha: I propose to toake a brief statement on behalf of the varkers of Ind a on the monentous problems before this Conference. The worker of India want full responsible self-government as such as the other classes. Although, on account of ignorance at lill terricy, they do not formulate their ideas and express their feelings in the same manner as the educated classes, those of us who are in close contact with them know how strong their feelings are and how easily they are aroused.

During my visits to this country I am often asked how the workers will that in a self governing India. My reply has been that I hope their conditions under self-government will improve, but that, at least, their position will not be worse than it is to-day, That is a cautious reply, but I think it is an entirely adequate one. No special justification is needed for the establishment of selfgovernment in India, it is the retention of foreign domination which requires special justification. While thinking over this subject, I have also asked myself what the British Government has done for the Indian workers and what it can do for them now. Though the British Government has much experience of the evils which generally follow in the wake of industrialisation, they are not able to avoid them in India, when that country gradually developed industries. It is true that Factory Acts were passed from time to time, but the motives of the British Government, through whose pressure in the initial stages the legislation was passed, could easily be questioned; and, as the Government of India was also greatly influenced by Furonean industrialists in India, these measures were very inadequate and could not effectively check the evils which were growing place. Latterly also some legislation has been passed, through the influence of the International Labour Conferences, and on account of the pressure of the recently started, but rapidly growing, trade union movement in the country. But even these efforts full short of the needs of the time, on account of the fact that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments are now den insted by the joint influence of the Indian and European industrialists in India. To-day the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament have practically lost all their power of initiative in the matter, and the workers of India depend solely on the strength of their organisation and on whatever political influence they can bring to bear on the Indian legislatures.

What would have been the condition of Indian workers if British rule had rever been established in India is a hypothetical question, but one can draw an inference from the fact that, during the last

ter year, mather the Legislation A sarply non any Provincial Contact has refused to product Legislation organization brought forward by the Government, and so it may be assumed that the position of Indian were is write not have men worse than it is to-lay.

I cause that, even in a chaptering India, Heaven will not annel atrly rescend to early for the Indian workers; but heir causes of the estimated and inagele will be greater than when they are independent or a few logislatures in India. The struggle will also be undersomed for a logislatures in India. The struggle will also be undersomethan a corr, as the extraordinary influence about the Lacquir and stable is in India exercise to-lay will be greatly reduced.

Butthey one of Mr. end Mr. Sama Rie and myself have orie to this table on a in the lose that, with the religional symparty of the other Delegales, the coastiction of a self-governing Indievell setties liteat be political affirment teachers on then General in it til be meet greater til it is to-day. For this property constitution to contain a de lasata not the fundam utal rights of workers. It is true that such a diclandien has not the trace of legisla ion, but none the less it whiserve a very n etal moral purpose. Secondly, the constitutier must be founded up in universal idult suffrage. Much is made of the processed distinulties; it is said the constituencies would be unwields, but this difficulty is not expected to disappear at any time, and the Indian masses will never agree to deprive themselves of their nights of citizenship for ever. Much is also made of the difficulties created by Illiteracy, but those difficulties exist even to-day in the case of persons already enfranchised or whom it is proposed to enfranchise. The possession of property added to illiteracy does not remove the difficulties which may be due to illiteracy.

Therelly, without entring on the question of a federal or unitary form of government, the workers of India insist that labour legisbein shall always rerain a central or federal subject, and that the Certral or Federal Gevernment shall always retain to itself the power of centrel and supervision in its enforcement. If labour legislation and its enforcement are left to Provincial Governments er to the constituent parts of the Federation, labour legislation and its of freement will be very difficult. If the constitution does not I al a proper provision for this, it will be utienly useless to the versers. Moscover, Lebeur legislation and its enforcement must then, entitler follers subject for the ratification and enforceteent of It can ticual Convertions on labour subjects. Here I must have the attention of the Conference to the feet that he Notice V of Article 105 of the Treaty of Versalles, Part XIII. In hour of all states, the power of which to ratify International Corretion is latited, our more easily from its international Almations on labour motters. The practical effect of this section of the Peace Treaty to the d's dyn tage of workers may be judged p in the fact that, while were, buckward country like India, under

a watery torm of Covernment, only ratify eleven conventions of the lifest tional Labour Conference, advanced countries, like Australia and Canada, under a federal form of government, could thit only four conventions each. I therefore hope that the power of the latin Control towernment, whether federal or unitary, to rating a ternational conventions and to secure their enforcement will not be in any way limited. This subject will no doubt be a filled by the Revel Countission over which Mr. Whitley has he can be also be the Countission over which Mr. Whitley has he can be the countries of the Countries on will generally support the view that I have put forward.

I am lore refer to the position of Indian States, whose coming that a ladian constitution will whole leartedly be welcomed by In an vortices I map the representatives of the Princes will not to a constitution in vitich labour legislation, as well as its entered to ment or the suide of India, and the natification of interest and a mention of their entorcement, will not have the form of the constitution. At possition had a State have be neather to receptive their the had a State have be neather to receptive their not the labour test. Labour matters, which I hope they will not hereafter do.

Lastly, may I say that to-day Labour is not the only matter which is internationally considered? The tendency to find an attentional solution to our difficulties is naturally, and very properly, growing and occupying a wide sphere, and I hope that our Constitution will be so framed in this Conference that Irdia, as a whole, will be able to take full benefit of the international action, and India, as a whole, will also be able to be helpful in the international solution of the difficulties of the world. Whatever form of covernment we decide to establish in this Conference, let us, at least, do nothing to make name changes in that form practically appossible

We cannot settle our constitution for all time. If it is found by experience that the torm of government, which we settle in this Conference, is not suited to the needs of the future, it should be toss in by constitutional means to see no such charges in the form of government as now be found necessary. It my suggestions exactive receporation of the Declaration of the Fundamental Right of Indian workers in the constitution and the etablibrant et miver alla lult tranchies be accepted, as I hope they will be, and if the conditation is officed it the Central of February Covern-Lent with or without Indian States inch ball an it, will retain a ve hands full authority, withour any limitations, regarding labour List dion and its encorement, and regarding the ratheation and er forcement of international conventions and other obligations, the immediate establishmen of full selt-government in India will not only some for the workers of India an improvement in their present position, but eventually will enable them to occupy the same practical their country as the weakers of Great Britain are a cupting in their own.

Be mee Such Vaner: Mr. P. ime Min. ster, it x sister Delegace, presence and reme is this his onic gathering is an all remains, maker, on the fact that the so-called unchinging has been are no longer. Ten years ago who could have their steel and or were coming to Landon and taking part in the calibrations of some account er. To day, not only a Hindu, has a Mush as very not belonging to a family the worker of what is have always changed street purblished a called the street purblished account.

This importance of blace of thering is unique of its kind, consisted to a stand that the Prince's and people of India are sating tegether. The theorems is to the three great Parties in England to cascuss and trans the future constitution of India. But it is also unique because for the first time women have been admitted to such a gathering.

Sir, we are grateful to you, to the Sceretiny of State, and to His Excedercy Lord Liwin that, when is using invitations to the representatives of al. the parties, you, and they, did not forget that half of the country on which depends the wettere of India's future generation.

Sn, the history of my country is the history of nations who have tried, sometimes successfully, but more often unsuccessfully, to weld together a continent like India into one great empire, one great nation. Most of these nations came from countries near and distant, allured by the rich plants of Hindustan and by its fabulous wealth, leastly and culture. Under some of them India not only enjoyed peace and tranquality, but achieved a high culture and civilis, tier, thus contributing more than its share to the pregress of il world. To-day we are witnessing, not the birth, but the re-little of a great ancient nation. Sir, very few people in this country realise the incinendous change in our country which has taken place during the last five years. Things have moved and are noving at such a tremendous pace that sometimes we ourselves are startled. In the reacte corress of India, in the out of the way places you will Ind people, especially voting boys and girls, talking of their national aspirations and of the freedom and lilerty of their Motherland. There is such an anakening in the youth of the country, both in the rural and urban areas, that it is not possible to check the growing desire, the merersing spirit, which arimates them to form themseltes into a nation worths of the narc. We, the womer of that is ising nation, annot but rejoi e at this avaketing. But, happy as we might teel, his irings will it the tremen lous responsibility of guiling the your or generations. It is our driv as mothers, as sast us, is wires, to ster the, the right track and lead them along the straight road.

So, the basis of housan ociety is federal. A anion of two forms a lamb, a or up of houses is known as a village, villages together become a toy not a must er of towns form a district, and a federation of districts is alled a previous e or a country. Modern civilisation

but etalls and a carel development of the term mind has been that for etalls the forthan or a direct many like India, where different races or has repeat interests exist, a covernment established on the basic principle of federation alone can be a success.

By following this principle, countries I be the United States of Another, the Australian and the Swiss Federations, have become some of the greatest nations of to-day. Thus bud themselves together for the sike of their Mothalend, and for the purposes of detence from foreign aggression, and thus gam that peace and tranquillity which is essential to the tun development and progress of a nation Having real sed this, we, the women Delegates from India, support the proposal of a tederal form of government for currently. Such eterm will give to our people in their respective Provinces, in their natural surroundings, and in their own traditional alture, need on and scope for the full development of the different taculties given to them by Providence. Provincial genius in every splere of life will better flower at id t its own native surroundings, and will thus spread is perfure all over the country and the world. A Tagore in Bergali and a Mul. manual label in French by writing in their respective languages, could examine the word with such gons of the ight and lite ature.

We are glad, Sir, that our Princes have proved true sons of the soil of their Motherland, and are ready to join an All India Federation. The golden day for our country will be when the Indian India and the British India will link themselves for common purposes, these faming thermelves into one great nation.

Mr Chairman, or beholf of the womanload of India, I make an carnest appeal to you to let us go back to our country with such a neasure of Reforms is, when placing them before our younger providers, we may be able to say to them, "In this age of scientific development, when no country can stand isolated, you have in the British Commonwealth of Nations a ready-made union. Now that an equal partnership with the sister Dominions is offered to you, what more do you require?"

Sir, having had many opportunities of meeting quite a number of British people of all shades of opinion. I find that one of their arguments against India getting all measure of retorms is: " How can India be given Dominion Status when it is so backwerd in social reterm? Such remarks have eften been made by the Press, as well as by unsympathetic peliticians in public. My reply to them 15. " Yes, we have many of our social profilers to tackle, but slow me any country on the face of the earth where such problems do not exist in one form or another " We have token our problems in Land, and are trying to tackle them day by day; with the help of God we hope to achieve and achieve very somethat Western freedom of speech and action, combined with Eastern restraint, which is the ideal of our womanhood. The social reform of a country depends mostly upon its nomen. With the best intention in the world, a foreign government may introduce ex ellent measures of social reform. Lut because it is a foreign

government, the reforms advocated by it are always looked upon with suspicion. As soon as we have the legislation of cur country in our own hands, we can better do away with some of the social evils existing to-day, just as Japan, Trakey Persia, Mysona, Baroda, Bhopal, and Travancore have been able to do. Almost as soon as our men got the franchise, they did not hesitate in giving us our share; and row that the wolar, of India are eming forward and taking an active part in the political life of the country, the solution of all these problems will not be difficult to find. With woncen to guide a social matter, the near of a country can achieve greater success in social reform.

Mr. Chairman, whatever may be the ultimate form of government decided upor we hope that this Conference will not freat us in the way we have been treated in the Government of India Despate. The fate or bath the population of the country has been decided in one sent size. Had that one sent ence said that sex should be no disqualification for women in any way, we would have rejoined. But to finish nearly 160 million of His Majesty's subjects by saying that "Ne special provision should be made for womer." shows a complete lack of understanding. But, if others have blundered, we hope and provident this Conference will not, and that it will give women their adequate share in the administration of their country.

Sir with your permission. I carnestly appeal to the British Ibelegators as well as to my countrymen, for it around this Table it a sport of manual co-operation and good will, with only one aim and one project in view, that it to drop a pitable constitution for India: a constitution which, a bile satisfying the legitimate aspirations of an ancient reation like India, by giving it full Diminion Status, with certain reservations, of course, for the transitional period, the fewer the better bould be the means of removing mistrast and suspiclin and should establish an everlasting bond of friendship between England and India.

Lappeal to you all; let us not sit down in the spirit of the ruler and the rule! but as friends, with sympathetic hearts, and open minds, to arrive a a conclusion which will help the suffering masses of the country that we love. In his, havised and aching, is looking up to us rather act only India, but the whole world is looking up to us—to s read the balm of good will and friendship. Let us not disappoint them. May Almighty God bless our efforts.

Sr Moca M. Ismail: Mr. Charman, I shall be as brief as possible. I only wish to say that in the opinion of the States which I one provileged to represent at this Conference—Mysore, Travancore—Cochin and Pudykota the time has come for making a rabeal change in the present system of government in India. That is a change which seems equally recessing in the interest of both to atries—not nore necessary for India than it is for Great Britain; then Britain which is only less dear to us than our ewa Mother-land. To my nind the success of this Conference will be judged

n.r. ily by this test: how far lave we been able to bring England and India closer together in bonds of true friendship and unity. India wants to remain within the Empire as an equal partner with the rest. She has no desire to sever her connection with Great Britain. As my friend, Mr. Jayakar, said the other day, this cry of independence is only a cry of despair. I would attach no importance to it, save as an indication of the intense desire felt by he people of India generally for greater opportunities of self-expression and self-development.

There is, I believe general agreement with the view, both in this Conference and outside, that the future government of India should be constructed in a federal basis. What exactly is meant by the term "federal" in its application to the peculiar conditions of India will have to be discussed and determined in Committee. That I mean the constitution of the Central Government—is the tundar ental issue before this Conference.

By agreeing to join an all-India Federation, the Ruling Princes have rendered incalculable service to their Motherland at this most critical procure in her history. Their attitude has enormously the ilitated the work of this Conference and has made the whole political problem of India more easy of a satisfactory solution than it would have been otherwise. I am one of those who entertain no doubt whatever that the Princes will never have any reason to regret their decision, and that they and their States will occupy an lanouted and assured position in the future councils of their Motherland. India is a land of many creeds and many communities and diverse interests; but I believe that it is this very diversity that will go far to ensure the requisite stability in the democratic institutions that are proposed to be established in our country.

Another matter upon which we-I mean the Indian section of the Contenence—are agreed is that a measure of responsibility should be introduced at the Centre if the constitution is to work satisfactorily and to enjoy an adequate measure of confidence and support from the people. Whatever may be the risks and the litteulties in taking such a step-and they are undoubtedly considerable—the British Government will, we all hope, come to the conclusion that a solution which does not satisfy the people at large is no solution at all. It can neither work smoothly nor endure for any length of time. A constitution which provides full autonomy in the Provinces, responsibility at the Centre-subject to such transitional safeguards as may be necessary and unavoidable-and a close association between British Italia and the States in matters of common concern—this, let us hope, may be the result of our deliberations here, a result which, I venture to think, would satisfy all reasonable people in India.

It conclusion, I should like to assure my fellow Delegates from British. India that we of the Indian States whole-heartedly join with them in their appeal to the British nation to set India on the high road to self-government. I would, at the same time, venture to so my countrymen to remember—I hope I shall not be misunder-

stord, for I the all sheek nothing loss that class as the great journey connor be accomplished specess fly, nor can these patriotic aspirators, ours as a uch as their, be ruly real's developt in company of their company is in the States, and noted it could with the goodwill and co-speration of their Britar?

So C. P. Producting Again Mr Chairman, da to traft. tion to when's first I was I led to see with was treeze entialered certain statements which have been made, and to anale to certain misconceptions that were apparently present even to these who had a large experience of Indian attries. On a very nice of alle comments an Erglish state-mar, mged his and it is to comply a large map. It is equally necessary to consult smalled hyteries. It is astonishing that en occasions of this bird the hetery of howlotely and the last accordance apt to be a most to be let be dependent - not a a pirm or regrowle alvertenty to date a class My Land Peel I time I to be repelied. Die har returned that at 1721 there was a prelimition of injert 1 to Ergland of the Indian printed calicoes? Did he advert to the series of stidute beginning from the regn of Queen Elizabeth which prevented Indian goods reaching England? Did he reneral or what is challen 1871 when the representatives or a great traducy a detation real that upon the alarmy of rea mills being closted in Borbay Bit I shall not beell on that port or the restter and the late. Latus consult large maps and histories.

It is often and that the proper call point can be rise in Irda. but let it be remembered that the object of the protessoral politiemm, and of every either pulational is oftenare, to seek what is lowond politics and what is beyond the transient needs of the Lour -the prosperty and the aratenthicuted the people to e ass remails which to all point my differ also I fail have i terent enly to the espect You had a great and mary t ert get cing here a star in a si Continue. What were the a spector Coincer that Continue ? Was it not to decree a value and casta spot the par see of a testine ero era condition of facilitation the Dirie? We believe, and believe tery by v. that the conomic condition of the Indian masses will be mapared only if the ceous min porter and dealt with by the people of India. A good ded was sail and written, both before and after the Imperial Calibration, the Harrishmes of problem on and hereither or a cotention; but what India wants is this; whether one the As or the other of trade at least parameter the corner, let it he give to latit to be a complete the state of the state of the property to I Let ewa \_ \_ \_ lt that dal white a tholas as a carevents Male verilital essal and the care pull ver Indirect Lever be regulated, or n never be adjusted to bring alout the real presperity of Lodia, maless these in all age of these great subjects are animated by a purely Indian standpoint.

Textex, a greated deal I is been said of the medical destruction. In the property of all point of view of nest, keeps is former likely

to teen ided; a sect-geven by Indea. It has been pured out that . The challength in the man stall bear and random ellipse the with. India prome wall be greatly retailed True; Int dus absome fall to realise har the selector experience is a desp Ell state for Mill at . porcess. I lister In her for the first inesponsible pulit has remove the rant that if at it are I prove and e ple o los a lapla are natively see an that a she constante morey markets of the vold is fads that she and raise a lean to-cay, to-no row ladia is he med to step all ness abuild'az with the I letter not a contain of the light town I work to be diff. In not the experience of a log mentions, losses to a last test to in the conferies objects to the Bursh Doriners lave had the roan analogus experiences in this matter? Pave they not profited by their expenences: Har Let great courses ake the United States passed through from ial desequilibrates and survived: Atten all, in fuarcial ratters more that in any other. the school of experience is the best school at which to learn, and we shall never leath talless we oner a fron the resitten or bung in stain jumiliars. And after all, there have been very severe critics of the Indian financial policy as handled by "experts".

When we carrie to this Conference we came in spite of autogonism, but it has been rightly remarked by Lord Peel that the Government of India Despitch has already become out of date. The memorable attitude of the Indian Princes and the line they have taken have made that Despatch absolutely obsolete. The ideal of national tederation, not as a dim and distant ideal, but as a natter of practical politics, which is admirble ted and envisiged by the Indian Princes in their assembled wisdom has made the assumptions of the Government of Inlia's Despatch entirely tallucious. But more than that, it must be said that the rapid merch of events in Ladia and the integration of thoughts and ideals, which is going on apace, will make all these destatches, nemornal and reports out of date, I ceause every part of India, it must be granted, has now joined together in the determination to solve its own problems through its own men, aided by the lost brains, by the best talent and by the last goodwill on the part of Great Britain - but only aidel and not directed.

There are two more points with which I do see to do I. Some thing was said about II. II. The Victor's speech and declaration not noting say promise of interchate translation of the ideal of self-governor at into practice. Let us not bear of such arguments in this Concernee, I beseech you. The train toling to be decided at this Conference is whether it is possible to go both to I that and nake for a contented India? There was an idea through out somewhat to this effect: "Assume that this Conference arrives at a certain result; what will happen? You will all go be that India and you will probably first that irresponsible men will wrest all the power out it wout hards, or little will be to the distribution of India and Forgland alike." Make that impossible is not considered dealing with the singuism will make it impossible.

only it this Conference address something real and substantial The only way in which one can take it out of the pewer of the Missponed les to min ser etc. - for ake it possible to the otrap insibles to become responsible. Tou will undo the living about that result if you achieve omethir rish to is worth long up for, triving for and dyange for as the result of the Conference I for by believe that epimen in this Contener a will be uncontained that the only various perchanter, never at his ord verd and content and act decerade hip between India and brilliand is to har and one on a section of gove mach' what, sill in the past is the sprits of hila to ted that there has been brought into being a constitution worth by in and a lifethant is done this Contrar e will lay or eved . I de that we have brought be " on's a believe of teginetitity to not bearing out to a south looking at its the practical prol to dealiste, we shall are tailed. Then alone will arise the commit to which all non was made, namely the calability of the to consibles control to perfore of the salde might. On the che bank it with the concention of the Indian Princes and But'sh Indians, it with the observation of British statesmen at ! Ind a latester, we addiese ted self covernment, we shall make it impossible to those, who have not the lest ideals of high countries before their mand's eye, to work their will. The choice is before all of us and it is a fateful choice

Land Rendery. This is, indeed, a meriorable Conference. I have been more and more impressed as I have litered to every speech from those who have addressed us. It is memorable in the first there because it marks a stage in the development of the constitutional advance of India. Hitherto, the process has rever · n adopted of a Round Table Conference to discuss the proposit as before the Government; but very often - it may be to often. as I have sometimes thought in the past, decisions of the Geven .ment were for unit tell and invitations then issued to attend a Conrence to change them if possible. Obviously, India was and ious to the tige that yets no and or my part I are girl that the las-I. op med; I think a wive India a triter quartruity to put les ease, let be the foreing out his come to conclusions, i. storical having to argue against a decision theady made and in which, no scult, every consideration had been taken into account. For that It is, I this, we were at pleased when it proposal ves made \* I this Reund Table Contenence should take place, but I do h \* " " we quite appreciated low important it would be; in lead, I . I onthe whost out then In In a this country to take part to the fact that the diller rost so then the exents the Live , prenel er eve have les lese It I may be pernitted 1 d o. I shad ble, perhaps of a collattix we all live alter to the title to the section of the line of the title the title the title the title the title the title title the title t I I list and the file of the of the at later That is a listing alvenced the First Arlanda dense of the Latte de day to

day, I am every day more and more astonished at the rapidity, the almost dazzling swittness, with which the East seems to outdistance the West. Hore is a movement which has only just started in India. In my time it was only beginning and yet here we have the ladies present and taking part in our debates.

Let me turn to what, to my mind, is a distinct historical advance in the history of India, which once begun can rever stop, once it has ben its imprint can never be edaced, which is going to take Italia further, perhaps, than some of us ever thought when we have had visions or what India might achieve. We have now our minds enlarged, our area of vision extended, our horizon infinitely widehed, because we have the Princes taking part with us and with Buish India The Government of India, as you are aware, has always had these two eparate limbs, so to speak, of the government. On the one hand, it has to deal with the Princes of India; on the other at deals with British India. Thank of the an provement as they have themselves portrayed it in various speeches to-day. I mk of all that is open to us if now we proceed together to form a troverpunct for all India, a United States of India, as it has been termed, which will in truth be the greatest conception of federaon, should it take place, that the world has yet seen. It is unique I its chara ter and quite remailable in its extent. There is no - 1 - ontinent, no nation in the world that can present to you, to us to the world, the picture as we see it before us. Yever can this is paralleled. Here you have the rulers of great Indian States, the representatives of His Evalted Highness the Nizam or the great and powerful State of Hyderabad, the representative of Mysore, a Stete which has always, if I may be permitted to say so, taken the lead in the advance towards constitutional government, of Baroda, which certainly has not lingered behind, and of many thers I should like to go right through them, but time does not permit the very picture they lave brought before us shows us the Rulers coming here and taking part with the representatives of British India, because, like them, they feel the call of the Mothercountry, and they put before you their desire to join in all that may be for the good of India.

Let me turn to the main subject that we have to discuss, but before ding so I should like to say how deeply impressed I am by the specifies we have heard during the whole course of the discussion at halso by the conversations we have had outside this room with these who are representing the various parts of India.

In approaching the subject of India, I speak here to day on localf of the Liberal section of Parliament, but I speak also on behalf of myself, and you will permit me to say on my own behalf that I have a profound interest in Indian offairs. I can never torget all that happened in India; I shall always recall it and always have an abiding affection for India and the momories it has left me. I have told you, Sir, that I speak for the Liberals. We are here discussing two main questions, as I understand it. The first is the one propounded by you, Sir, as to whether the future

Is attractable death, you raye, Mr. Pane Mr. Ester, set sar conf. e a suple is all was a the fall of lateral or defait, or a trace of the cal ralag should be given in this great decrease. We have been and to speak of executions. What shows out that is the burant for adver ear constitutional poverniest. Let be not bed with that one aspect of it. Dominion Status is a vague term. I am not going back on ill that I shappered in the part; we want to ded with the question as they rose tend. Dominion Status I gateer to neur a state of all o that of he called Durin ons within the Erpne That is the transmag of it. It has never been defined; no lowyer basecon attempted to put it into definition, but I do not suppose aryone will doubt that that is what in truth is ment by it. Keep that reasing clear in your monds, be ause if you do I think you must see that there are very mary questions to be considered as advanced become you conget quite to the ultimate geat you not rally strive to attain. Lat no add this, so that I may clear the grown band not take up further time in discussion. Speaking on whall of those with whom I am associated, we most fully become the states one that ille natural issue of the Declaration of 1917 is that it Dor ition Status, and that the implication of the words ased is D manier, Smalls. We do not wish to discuss fine shades of d larger egg to plany lave had their place, and I take full responsibility for leaving at one time thought that they had: that epensibility properly sales on me and not on others. We have had puestions it is found answers give, which have cleared the grand, are were error decome with lestablet as it stands before us.

I would ask you to bear in mind that though I speak for the Literal section and have no right to speak for any other. I hope that we a convoid as el to a fice s et el cer l'alle cent speals in er in an with Irdia, we small amore speak as one Parliament atilities as met escriptional to the larger Larger that is the end we are or be absent comme that unity in Parliar end The home have sough so part to maintain. But, specking once note to, our own section, let me six that we Liberals, who inherit to great the trace that and soligoners ment thich have district ted this country, and who fry in our humble way to that during the exerties that of the us. have no desire in the will test degree and red only to relieve but to intention to deviate increthe profises made. In that it least I am quite sure I stake to tech to the form assign, by the Parkament. Whatever har been promi I stands. There may be differences of opinion tria en us, the e may be di enques et opin on between you from Indu and is from Britan, as to the pace at which we should . Is ever but if see can be to difference of opinion with regard to the goal we seek to reach, and indeed we shall do everything we possibly can to help in attaining that goal.

I would be a same in I you that the character this Carference is to make it properly of who havill be salarited to Parlian ent by

His Majestr's Greathmett, and it is loped, with at any rate some considerable assett That a be purpose for which we are here, and the ultrate con lusion which will be reached after all our discussions. Have become or intention to take up time in discosing the difficulties which must arise. But, Su, we must speak with accounty; we must speak with transmess, as all have recogused You will torgive me a I use a strong expression; it is only expressing what I have heard in lifferent directions from many of you, whom I say that it is if e to assert that at this moment there mill be any ling like equality of status-that is obstitutional satus in Inda with the Dominions. It is idle at this noment har area there to otres cuestions which must be discussed, and, I hed to one oud more freely have recognised them than Sir Tel il oden Sajin, who introduced the subject. Begin for blueds it well tergene et gang ton nor I am nor gring to suggest kow it should be deal whi. The there are foreign affairs and a remiler of other quarters. But, and end, whatever the proposit s it will have to be de ded by Parliament: it is Parliament that must consider, and Park and that has to be perstaded.

Will you be not not not mad you that there is already a variety of hiterature was taken. There is the Simon Commission Report; it is not we know the history of it in does not commend itself to you, but let no reignal you again that it contains a mass of most valuable note all and, speaking if r myself. I have the greatest administion to the work that Sir John Sirion has come, and for these was were associated with him in it. Those of you who are, for reasons not to be entered into at the moment, too ready to throw using the Report of the Simon Commission, may perhaps be more minded to so dy that of the Government of India. It is studing to a in the Report of the Government of India. It is studing to a in the Report of the Government of India. It is studing to a in the Report of the Government of India, the Viceroy and the Matthew & Commission arrived at, in the main, by the Statutory Commission.

I want to pass from that and get to what I cence, we to be the sul cet we are considering to-day -that is, whether or not this government is to be on a federal system. I have one observation with regard to both these Reports. The Statutory Commission lays great stress upon federation, tries all it can to direct our attention to federation, and make it the ultimate goal. The theverment of India takes the same view, only regarding it as more distant. Since then, as has been said by more than ore speaker, a great change has taken place because of the Princes, and I will refer to their position very briefly. I am dealing mainly with this because it is the subject of the debate before us. The Princes have explained their position. I cannot, of course, enter into discussion of the various considerations put forward. They lo not all agree in detail, that was not to be expected. We shall. I lope, arrive at conclusions when we sit around the table and try tractile the great question. But what I do feel is the pertinence

of the postic exhibitation which His Highness the Minarija ed Alway addressed to us at this Table, and the more the white followed from it. I would try and use with him and all of year to the pinnacles and not locour way in the woods, where I is get net find the straight and clear pack. I would keep straight on. looking abend, striking to bookshide trist and to reat trisk that we may work tegrifier with one or derstanding, with one pulpose. to do the best we can in the interests of India, and that this Federation of ad Incia, the great and mighty correspond may be reached with the assist a real the Princes and of yourselves. In later years we may look back to the days of this Conference and tealise that it has the great merit of hiving declared for this principle of federalism. I hope but, of course, that is entirely for you that we may be able by a unanimous conclusion to arrive at the result that we should proceed to emsider the ledital system. that that should be our work, quite understanding that we are dealing only with the principle, and not with all the details. If we do accomplish that, then this Conference will have succeeded to were textert at the start, and will have changed the whole aspect of the situation as it existed before the Conference met

II. II. The Maharaya of Vacaracar: Mr. Prime Minister, before I begin to a biress this Contentice, may I add a word of congratulation to the gracious lady who addressed us this morning. Speaking on beliaff of all of us, whether the British Delegations, the Pricos, or the other Delegates from India, we congratulate her nost heartily on the most wonderful speech that I have heard from the hips of an Indian women on so nomentous an occasion.

Mr. Prime Min ster, you have, unfortunately, on this last day, curtade hour time of speaking, and therefore, although I had hoped to address you from notes, yet, lest I should wander and take up too much of you time, I will confine myself to reading what I have to say.

Much has already been said, at this Table, on the supreme gravity of the issues that agetate India to-day; I can hardly add, with any words of mine, to the volume of testamory that is forther vainer from speaker after speaker, who brings to the country very recent and infimate knowledge of the national movement that has four since stepped beyond the proverbeal lawyer, and has entered the leasts and homes of all classes of people and in all parts of the cantry. It is a mas movement that has got in its grip the mind it India not the literate classes only, as is often alleged in this a mity. Let that stern fact be clearly recognised and properly apprehated.

I will refer in the first place to a few of the admirable speeches, as ler example those of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Muhammad Slafi. I naturally retrain from referring to the utterances of the newbers of my own Order, because they embodied my own personal cious. On many points those that I do refer to were so frank and explicit that, in my hunble opinion, the Conference should be

grateful to the speakers for putting the issues on both sides with such clarity. Our congratulations are due to all of them, particularly to Sir Tej Banadur Septu for his masterly review of the position in British India to-day, about which he is eminently qualified to speak. We, the Ruling Princes. Sir, represent the conservative element in the Indian polity, and yet we cannot afford to ignore the fact that times are changing rapidly and that the doctrine of festina lente is not suitable to the pace of progress which the changing conditions imperatively demand. We have the example of England before us to follow. England preserves even in her wonderful progress a sober conservative outlook and yet takes rapid strides, without losing grip of the essentials of stability.

I must not allow this opportunity to pass without a reference to the striking speech delivered by His Highness The Maharaja of Kashmir, on the opening day of the Conference. In a few wellchosen sentences, His Highness laid before you the ideals which animate us and the expectations which prompted us to attend this Conference.

We have always stood for the steady progress of our country. We have the staunchest possible faith in the destity of India as whole. It cannot be otherwise. We have inherited its traditions, its culture, its instincts, its honour. Our ancestors shaped its Listery at one period or another. We have rejoiced when it prospered, we have suffered when it suffered. On many occasions cur blood has been shed in her detence. And though in the altered conditions of to-day we may sometimes be judged harshly even by our own countrymen, we have always held nearest to our heart her prestige and her honour. Sir, it may interest particularly the British Delegates to know that the word "subject" had no place in our vocabulary. In our language our subjects are known as our "praja," which is a Sanscrit word meaning "children". In that concept there is no tinge of subordination which is implied in the Latin root of the word subject. A Prince and his peoplemembers of a united household living together as father and children is a concept that is very dear to the oriental mind, and it un lerlies oriental polity. I am not talking just now of the comparative merits of democracy and monarchy. I am only alluding to the culture of In lia and of the polity to which it gave rise. As His Highness The Maharaja of Bikaner said, traditious of centuries of kingship are ingrained in our being. But we at once recognise the obligations of ruler-bip—the obligations which are immense and proportioned to the sanctity of the united family ideal. Such Leing the Indian tradition, the solution we are seeking of this problem with which we are confronted, must be found in consonance with that tradition.

My purpose, therefore, is to bring home to this gathering the vital necessity of satisfying the aspirations of India as a whole, if she is to continue as a contented and vigorous member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I have no hesitation in saying

that her association with Great Brown son some that her association with Great Brown son some that the characteristic event, it is an event of great import. It is providerual. It cannot be otherwise, for we find two countries, separated geographically and culturally, trough not rotally, brought together in the desest contact and the most intimate association. And I say advisedly racially, Sir, because Mr. Ballwah was good or sigh in a memorable speech he uttered about a year ago, and which created a proto ind and happy feeling in India, to refer to Indians and Englishmen a coming from the great Arvar stock. " For away in time, in the dawn of history the greatest ia to of the many races then emerging from prehisteric mists was the great Amon to c. When that race Left the country which is eccupied in the Western part of Central Asia, one great branch moved west, and in the course of their wanderings they rounded the effect of Athe art Sputte; they bounded Rome; they made Empe, and in the vein of the pinalpul rations of Parope theys the blood of their Arvan toutathers. The s, each of the tryans, which they brought with them, has spread troughout Europe. It has spread to America. It has spread to the Dominions beyond the seas. At the same time, one branch went south, and they crossed the Himalayas. They went into the Punjah and they press through India, and, as an historic lact, aces ago, there stood side by side in their ancestral land, the uncestors of the English people and the ancisors of the Rajouts and of the Brahmins. And now, after aous have passed, the hildren of the reactest generalines from that an estry have been Frought ogether by the inscrabable decree of Providence, to set themselves to some the most difficult, the most condition by difficult. problem that has ever been set to any people of the world." As Laid Pee, very mently said, we it Indichave always appreciated the Eteat work that Britair las done. But in las done well by Infa in a variety of ways. She has developed her resources and rade rised many of her irst unpors; above all sha has established peare and tranquilluy. All this is acknowledged and gratefully Lipiter ated. Three forms in particular stand to the eternal credit of Great Britain. I will give the first place to the Pax Britanucca, which has enabled India to make much maternal progress. She Las given India a unitying medium through the English language. the noble literature of which has helped to introduce a new spirit or liberty and self respect. Thirdly, India's connection with Lighand has proved to the world that the two countries are complementary to each other, and to-day the world stinds to benefit by the mutual "give and take" of the two countries of which they are eminently capable.

Speaking for myself. I have been elucated in this country and lave speat many years of my life here. England is almost as now my cultural and spiritual home as India; its great institutions and its political life have been to me a perennial source of retreshment. I once belonged to the great political Party of which the Marpuis of Reading is so distinguished a representative. From her I have included much that is entabling and elevating. Mr. President, my hopes centre in the "perpetutaion," of the Bratish

confiction, which in my belief, is a guarantee of the advencement

of my country and of her future greatness.

Sa Tej Baladu Sapu, his asked us to federate with British Ind a; we are prepared to fiderate so long as our internal autonomy is preserved and our present hardsh.ps are remedied. We, the Rulag Praces, are justous of interference by others in our methods of government. We therefore feel bound to refrain from making any suggestions about the exclusively domestic problems of British India. Subject to such mutual freedon, in internal attairs, let us say that, in all questions of common concern, we regard federation with British India as being both possible and desirable at the earliest date. As I see the position, British India in federation will continue to manage its own affairs, its great Provinces adjusting their relations between themselves. So also the States-possibly assisted by a States' Council—will continue to manage their own affairs. But for all matters of common concern there must be a Federal Council, composed of authorised representatives from British India and the States. I see no reason why a federation should not be effected as soon as the difficult matters, which fall to be adjusted, can be settled, and I feel sure that only by federation can those aspirations for the dignity and status of India, which we all of us entertain, in due time be achieved, namely, the equality of status with the sister Dominions within the Empire.

But. I must reterate that no Federation has ever come into being, in which the federal units did not know what their rights were. Therefore while asking for federation, we also ask for the "judicial ' ascertamment of the rights of the States. The present position that the Paramount Power can at will over-ride the treaties is extremely unsatisfactory. It is so utterly inconsistent with the Royal Proclamation, in which the world was told that the treaties with the States are inviolate and inviolable, after they had been similarly pronounced to be sacred and sacrosanct. But for the existance of the Scates there would have been no use of the words Parameter Power. I am making no secret about the feeling of uncertainty and insecurity in which the States have been plunged by the counciation of a doctrine which empowers the Government of India to over-ride all freaties, engagements and sanals on the plea of Paramountey. I would plead, with all the emphasis at my command, that this uncertainty should cease, and that all vagueness attacking to the conception of Paramountey should give place to a clear formula which should be the out, one of a consideted decision given by a competent and impartial tribunal. The Butler Report, the Simon Report, the Government of India Desputch have all failed to satisfy the parties concerned.

A contented India is, it is superfluous to say, an economic necessity. It is our keen desire to see that trade between England and India develops in volume and importance. A large number of my subjects and those of my neighbour. His Highness The Mahirao of Kutch, reside in Bombay and carry on business in cloth. I knew as a positive fact that their annual termover goes

over 23 million stalling or 20 cross of rupees. It is not a small stake that these new lands at ours possess in the Bombay market. But both I and the Maharao of Kutch are helpless at the present moment. The policy of boycott, which, may I tell you, is gaining in strength as time goes by, hats them very antid, and it would be useless in our part to judice them to resume their trade relations with British marchants in the present circumstances, because it would be judic. An early settlement, therefore, of the Indian problem is of the utmost importance. If Manchester is prosperous again, a great deal of unemployment in the North would disappear.

So far as all those present at this Conference desire to remain within the British Empire as equal partners, in so far as we all are succeedy farm in our devotion to the King-Li. peror, what is the distacle in the way of conceding India's demand? At any rate what is to prevent a declaration of policy by His Majesty's Governrent at this late date? Such a declaration, with the association et several parliamentary Parties, will greatly tacilitate the work of the Committees to be appointed. One thing is certain. If those who have come to this Conference go back to India without the Parlingage of Britain making it clear that the minimum constitu tional demands of India as a whole will be conceded, not only will the Conference have been held in vain, but I am naich atraid that such a firsco would strengthen beyond measure the extremist party in India. I therefore submit, in the interests of both our tries. both of which I love, with all the emphasis of my command that the recognition of India's status within the Empire and her right to be mistress of her own affairs, as early as reasonably possible. should not be left in any doubt.

No Provish Character Mitter: I have been honoured by the limited is, representing the different Provinces and their important interests to be their spokesman on this historic occasion. I have been charged with this duty by, amongst others, men like Nawab S. Abriad Said Khan of Chhitari from the United Provinces, the Mahar, jadhiraja of Darbhanga of Bihar and Orissa, and the Raja of Parlakimedi, Madras. They in their turn have varied experience and wide interests. I also represent the landlands of my own Province of Bengal, large and small, and that which circle, including the landlands, who desire self-government for India as an integral part of the British Empire.

third, rode it abundantly clear that on the British Indian side, both an aget the Muslims and amorgst the Hirdus, there is a passionate done for responsibility in the Centre. When leaders of experience mosition and roderation, like Sir Muhammal Shafi on the Muslim side, and like nay estimated friend. Sir Tei Bahadur Sapin, with Hirdu, have asked for responsibility at the Centre, when their Highness the Indian Princes have shown such sympathy with Brish Indian as increase an easily draw the conclusion that the desire for such responsibility is almost universal. The land-

the question of self-government, but being in a minority, they not nally desire a constitution which will ensure the protection of their interests along with those of the other minorities. They also desire that their class should have separate and adequate representation both in the Provinces and in the Centre. They would further point out that, in order to make responsible government a success, there must be just be to all class s and interests, including their. They field like others, the urgent need for the establishment of an income and process in the country; indeed, they feel it more than dwellers in urban aleas. They realise that progress must depend on the maintenance of social equilibrium, and that the stable elements should have their place in the new constitution. They feel that to political arrangement in India has a chance of success which is not finally rooted in the structure of Indian society.

The landloids, Sir, are naturally note intimately concerned with the tural areas, and with the interests and problems of such areas, and we know that more than 226 millions out of the 247 millions in Brook India live in rural areas. Self-government in India will not be worthy of the name unless adequate and suitable—name the classes intirately concerned with those interests. Adequate the the classes intirately concerned with those interests. Adequate provider should therefore be raide not only for the suitable representation of a should therefore be raide not only for the suitable representation and areas. Introduce the improving their present classical and concerne conditions.

N w, S.r, we are repartedly told that self-government in Ir lia is really a great and not a growth. Is that so? In the urbar areas, with he years of experience in municipal politics and later in council elections, with the keen desire of the educated classes to follow Western systems, is self-government not yet a growth in urlar areas? But it you turn to the rural areas, if you approach the question of self-government in rural areas as an Indian problem, I venture to submit that you should look upon it in true perspective and then you will see that it is really a growth. When dynastics tumbled, when Empires faded, when legions thundered by, the village communities of India had their own self-government, and self-government under those conditions is much no redifficult than self-government in the static state of society which you have in Fugland or in many of the Western countries. But, mind you, in fracing the constitution for the future self-government of India do not forget the kind of self-government to which out rural areas are accustomed. In course of time, in the course of another 10.50 years, given the chance, the rural areas will appreciate the billot box and will be able to use the bullot box as efficiently as the urban areas.

There is another point which, speaking on behalf of rural interests and also on behalf of the landlords who are intimately concerned with rural interests. I desire to make and that is the inadequate provision which has hitherto been made for social services in rural areas. Even from the narrowest point of view the landlord cannot collect his rents unless his tenants are presented.

Report, and craw my combusion from what is therein decribed. The average income of the ligher, according to the rost optimistic estimate accepted by the Sinon Committon, is Ro. 107 a year. According to a less of this estimate it is only Ro. 20. The British Delogations are confined with the intemployment problem in this country. Comparing an annual average income of £100 a year in those Islas, what is £6 or £8 a year in the case of a mative of India, at spite of the advantages of a tropical climate? And this figure represents the average arcame, including the income of rich and poor, and including the income of the induction. With your knowledge of the neutriness of the income of the inductions. With your knowledge of the neutriness of the income of £6 or £8 a year, what human existence right be on an income of £6 or £8 a year.

But what is the good of stiting all this unless you British and we Indians join our hands in uplifting 250,000,000 of our fellow beings? The three political Parties of this country can really give us a belong hand. In the limited time at my disposal I will not go into details, but, if the British Delegations will give me a chance, I venture to say that I shall be able to place before them a scheme by which your memployment problem will be rapidly reduced and by which the problem of India mainely, the uplift of the rural masses—will be solved in a comparatively quick time.

Betwee I conclude I would like to refer to two important speeches are by Lord Peel and the other by Lord Reading. I could tollow the speech of Lord Pecl; I could see the difficulties he perited out; but, with the utmost respect and perhaps he was carried away by his usual elepseive I could not understand whether Larl Realing really was ted to give us self-government in mediately. But I could see Lord Peel's att tide. His attitude was, " Yes, we may be proposed to next you it you can remove certain difficulties; for instance, it you can trup a constitution when will ersme a stable state of society." There was one very is postant point and day Land Peel. He said that if we representatives of India, and the Princes of India, go back having attained our object, there is a very story party in Incia which will wrest power from our hands. Let me assure Lord Peel that if the soldiments of the people be satisfied, their will be a large section of extremists who, like the suffragettes of your country, wall be recorded; but let me at the same time tell some of my Indian friends here that there will remain a section who may not and will 16 be reconsiled You may, the British at I Indian Delegates. tale that rate account in framing the constitution, but if you give us a constitution such as we want the position will be infinitely herror, if you concelle to the sent ment of the people, with due safeguards.

One word more. I would like to ask you to realise what will be the position it you can findly all.liate India to you a self-governing India. I make hold to say that if that ideal be attained world peace is a sured. Such affiliation will make Britain's position in the world preseminent, not only in the sphere of trade and commerce, but also as a most important and effective factor in maintaining would peace. The Great War has demonstrated the possibilities of India in men and money, assembled at short notice; but with a self-governing India, truly affiliated to England, the resources in men and materials which will be available to the British Commonwealth of Nations will be very much larger than the centribution of India during the World War. With this reserve strength, England, the head of that confederacy, will reach a position which no other power in the world would ever approach. Such a consummation may lead to the realization of a new world ideal. If that position is ever attained, perhaps the poet's dream may cease to be a dream and prove to be a reality. It may then mean a world where the war drum will throb to longer in the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World. Is not that ideal worth striving for? Should we not, as citizens of a world where, through God's grace, I firmly believe, an increasing purpose runs, strive for such an ideal?

Dr. Anchedkar: Mr. Chairman: My purpose in rising to address this Conference, is principally to place before it the point of view of the depressed classes, whom I and my colleague, Rao Bahadur Srinivasan, have the honour to represent, regarding the question of con-titutional reform. It is a point of view of 43,000,000 people, or one-fifth of the total population of British India. The depressed classes form a group by themselves which is distinct and separate from the Muhammadans, and although they are included among the Hindus, they in no sense form an integral part of that community. Not only have they a separate existence, but they have also assigned to them a status which is invidiously distinct from the status occupied by any other community in India. There are communities in India which occupy a lower and a subordinate position; but the position assigned to the depressed classes is totally different. It is one which is midway between that of the serf and the slave, and which may, for convenience, be called servile-with this difference, that the serf and the slave were permitted to have physical contact, from which the depressed classes are debarred. What is worse is that this enforced servility and bar to human intercourse, due to their untouchability, involves not merely the possibility of discrimination in public life, but actually works out as a positive denial of all equality of opportunity and the denial of those most elementary of civic rights on which all human existence depends. I am sure that the point of view of such a community, as large as the population of England or of France, and so heavily handicapped in the struggle for existence, cannot but have some bearing on the right sort of solution of the political problem, and I am anxious that this Conference should be placed in possession of that point of view at the very start.

That point of view I will try to put as briefly as I can. It is this: that the bureaucratic form of government in India should be

replaced by a government which will be a government of the people by the people and for the people. This statement of the view of the degressed classes I am sure will be received with some surprise in certain quarters. The tie that bound the depressed classes to the British has been of a unique character. The depressed classes welcomed the British as their deliverers from age-long tyranny and oppression by the orthodox Hindus. They rought their battles against the Hindus, the Mussalmans and the Sikhs, and won for thera this great Empire of India. The British, on their side, assumed the role of trustees for the depressed classes. In view of such an intimate relationship between the parties, this change in the attitude of the depressed classes towards British Rule in India is undo thiedly a most monentaus phenomenon. But the reasons for this change of at itude are not far to seek. We have not taken this decision samply because we wish to throw in our lot with the majority. Indeed, as you know, there is not much love lost between the majority and the particular menority I represent. Ours is an independent decision. We have judged of the existing adminis ration solely in the light of our own circumstances and we have found it wanting in some of the most essential elements of a good government. When we compare our present position with the one which it was our lot to bear in Indian society of the pre-British days, we find that, it stead of marching on, we are only marking time. Before the Butish, we were in the loathsome cendition due to our unitonerability. Has the British Government dene anything to remove H? Before the British, we could not draw water from the village well. Has the British Government secured us the right to the well? Before the British, we could not enter the temple. Can we enter now? Before the British, we were deried entry into the I slice Force. Does the British Government almit us in the Perce? Before the British, we were not allowed to serve in the Military. Is that cureer now open to us? To notice of these questions can we give an allumative answer. That the British, who have held so large a sway over us for such a long time, have done some good we cheerfully acknowledge. But there is certainly no fundamental change in our position. Indeed, so for as we are concerned, the Brotish Government has accepted the social arrangements is it tound them, and has preserved them rantidully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given an eld coat as a pattern, preduced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches and all. Our wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been righted, although 150 years of British rule have rolled away.

We do not accuse the British of indifference of want of sympathy. What we lo find is that they are quite incompetent to tackle our problem. If the case was one of indifference only it would have been a matter of small moment, and it would not have made such a profound change in our attitude. But what we have come to realise on a deeper analysis of the situation is that it is not merely a case of indifference, at there it is a case of sheer incompetence to undertake the task. The depressed classes find that the

British Government in India suiters from two very serious Intitatiens. There is first of all an internal limitation which arises from the character, motives and interests of those who are in power, which prevents them from appreciating the living forces operating in our society, makes them indifferent and limited to its aspirations, and apathetic to our education. It is not because they cannot help us in these things but because it is against their character, motives and interests to do so. The second consideration that limits its authority is the mortal fear it has of external resistance. The Government of India does realise the necessity of removing the social evils which are eating into the vitals of Indian society and which have blighted the lives of the downtrodden classes for so many years. The Government of India does realise that the lardlorus are squeezing the masses dry, and the capitalists are not giving the labourers a living wage and decent conditions of work. Yet it is a most painful thing that it has not dared to touch any of these evils. Why? Is it because it has no legal powers to remove them? No. The reason why it does not intervene is because it is afraid that its intervention to amoud the existing code or secual and eccuorate life, will give rise to resistance. Of what good is such a Government to anybedy? Under a Government. paralysed between two such limitations, much that goes to make If e good must remain held up. We must have a Government in which the men in power will give their undivided allegiance to the best interest of the country. We must have a Government in which men in power, knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin, will not be a fraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so argently call for. This role the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a government which is of the people, for the people and by the people that will make this possible.

These are some of the questions raised by the depressed classes and the answers which in their view these questions seem to carry. This is therefore the inevitable conclusion which the depressed classes have come to: namely, that the bureaucratic Government of India, with the best of motives, will remain powerless to effect any change so far as our particular grievances are concarned. We teel that nobody can remove our grievances as well as we can, and we cannot remove them unless we get political power in our own hands. No share of this political power can evidently come to us so long as the British Government remains as it is. It is only in a Swaraj constitution that we stind any chance of getting the political power into our own hands, without which we cannot bring salvation to our people.

There is one thing, Sir, to which I wish to draw your particular attention. It is this. I have not used the expression Dominion Status in placing before you the point of view of the depressed classes. I have avoided using it not because I do not understand its implications nor does the unission mean that the depressed classes object to India's attaining Dominion Status. My chief

ground for not using it is that in does not convey the full content of what the depressed classes stand for. The depress d classes, while they stand for Domitton Statis with safeguards, wish to lay all the emphasis they can on one question and one question alone. And that question is, how will Dominson India tunction? Where will the centre of political power be? Who will have it? Will the depressed classes be helds to it? These are the questions that form their chief concert. The depressed classes feel they they will get no shred of the political power unless the political machinery for the new constitution is of a special nake. In the construction of that machine certain land tacts of Indian so tal lite must not be but sight of. It must be more and that Endien socity is a gradation of castes forming an early grade of revience and a descending scale or costempt- a system which gives to scope for the growth of that sentiment a equality and tratematy so essential for a deriocratic form of gracific cut. It must also be recognised that whole the intelligent-ia is a very necessary and a very important part of Irdian society, it is drawn from its upper strata and, although it speaks in the name of the country and leads the political movement, it has not shed the martes particularism of the class from which it is drawn. In other words what the depressed classes wish to urge is that the political mechanism must take account it and mast have a definite relation. to the psychology of the society for which it is devised. Otherwise you are likely to produce a constitution which, however symmetrical, will be a truncated one and rited mister to the society I i which it is designed.

There is one point with which I should like to deal before 1 close this matter. We are often remanded that the problem of the depress I class is a social problem and that as solution lies elsewhere then in politics. We take strong exception to this view. We full that the problem of the depressed classes will never be solved unless they get political power in their own hands. If this is true, and I do not think that the centrary can be maintained. then the problem of the depressed classes is I submit eminerally a relational problem and must be treated as such. We know that peartical power is passing from the British into the hands of those who wield such tremendous economic, social and religious swav over our ex stence. We are willing that it may happen, though the idea of Swaraj recalls to the mind of many of us the tyrannies. oppressions and injustices practised upon us in the past and the fear of their recurrence under Swaraj. We are prepared to take the inevitable risk of the situation in the hope that we shall be installed, in adoquate proportion, as the political sovereigns of the country along with our tellow countrymen. But we will consent to that on one condition and that is that the settlement of our problem is not left to time. I are afraid the depressed classes have waited too long for time to work its miracle. At every successive step taken by the British Government to widen the scepe of representative government the depressed classes have been systematically left out. No thought has been green to their claim to political

power. I protest with all the emphass I car that we will not stand this any heaver. The settlement of our problem must be a part of the general political settlement and rust not be left over to the shi ting sands at the sympathy and goods ill of the rulers of the future. The reasons why the depressed classes insist upon it are obvious. There one or us knows that the man in possession is table powerful than the mas who is out of possession. Every one of us also knows that those in pessession of power seldom abdicate in favour of those who are out of it. We cannot therefore hope In the effectuation of the settlement of our social problem, if we allow power to slip mits the hands of these who stand to lose by settlement urless we are to have another revolution to dethione those when we to-day help to ascend the throne of power and presige. We prefer being despised for too anxious apprehensions, than ruined by too confident a security, and I thank it would be just and proper for us to insist that the best guarantee for the settlement or our problem is the adjustment of the political machine itself so as to give us a hold on it, and not the will of those who are contriving to be left in unfettered control of that machine.

What adjustments of the political machine the depressed classes want for their safet; and protection I will place before the Conference at the proper time. All I will say at the present moment is that, although we want responsible government, we do not want a Government that will only mean a change of masters. Let the Legislature be fully and really representative if your Executive is going to be fully responsible.

But I saw to help. The depressed classes have had no friend. The Government has all along used them only as an excuse for its communed existence. The Hindus claim them only to deny them or, better still, to appropriate, their rights. The Muhammedans tetuse to range to their separate existence, because they fear that their privileges may be curtailed by the admission of a rival. Depressed by the Government, suppressed by the Hindu and disregarded by the Muslim, we are left in a most intolerable position of utter helplessness to which I am sure there is no parallel and to which I was bound to call attention.

Regard at the other question which is set down for liscussion I am sorry it was decided to tag it on to a general debate. Its importance deceived a Session for itself. No justice can be done to it in a passing reference. The subject is one in which the depress of classes are decidly concerned and they regard it as a very vital question. As members of a minority, we look to the Central Government to act as a powerful curb on the provincial majority to save the minorities from the misrule of the majority. As an Indian interested in the growth of Indian nationalism, I must make it plain that I am a strong believer in the unitary form of government and the thought of disturbing it I must confess does not please me very much. This unitary government has been the most potent influence in the building up of the Indian nation.

That process of unincation which has been the result of a unified system of government has not been completed and I should be loathe to withdraw this rost powerful stimulus in the formative period and before it has worked out its end. However, the question, in the form in which it is placed, is only an academic question and I shall be prepared to consider a federal form, if it can be shown that in it local autonomy is not inconsistent with central unity

Sir, all that I, as a representative or the depressed classes, need say on their behalf I have said. May I crave your indulgence to permit me as an Indian to say a werd or two generally on the situation which we have to meet. So much has been said regarding its gravity that I shall not went me to add a word more to it. although I am no silent spectator of the movement. What I am anxious about is to feel waether we are proceeding on right lines in evolving our solution. What that solution should be nests entirely upon the view that British Delegates choose to take. Addressing myself to them I will say, whether you will neet the situution by conciliation or by applying the iron hed must be a matter for your judgment for the responsibility is entirely yours. To such of you is are partial to the use of force and believe that a régime of Lettres de cachet and the Bastille will ease the situation let me recall the menorable work of the greatest teader of pelitical philosophy. Lemund Burke. This is what he said to the British nation when it was facel with the problem of dealing with the American Colonies: -

The use of three alone is but temporary. It may endure for a monent, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again: a notion as not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. The next objection to force is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an arrament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for consiliation failing, torce terrains, but force tailing, no further hope of recordilation is left. Power and Authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and deteated violence. A further objection to force is, that you impair the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for its wit the loyality of the people) is not the thing you terover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest."

The worth and efficacy of this advice you all know. You did not listen to it and you lost the great continent of America. You tell well it to the lesting good of yourself and the rest of the Deminious that are with you. To such of you as are willing to adopt a policy of conciliation I should like to say one thing. There seems to be prevaled at impression that the Delegates are called here to argue for and against a case for Dominion Status and that the grant of Dominion Status will be dependent upon which side as the vector in this battle of wits. With due deterence to all who are sharpening their wits, I submit that there can be no greater mistake than to make the formula of lovic govern so

I want them against the disaster that is bound to follow, it they are not careful in the selection of the premises they choose to adopt for their deductions. It is all a matter of temper whether you will abide by the fall of your logic, or whether you will refute to as Dr. Johnson did the paradoxes of Berkeley by trampling them taider his foot. It is attain it is not sufficiently realised that in the present temper of the country no constitution will be workable which is not acceptable to the majority of the people. The time when you were to choose had India was to accept it gone, he ver to return. Let the consent of the people and not the accident of large be the total stone if your new constitution, if you desire that it should be worked.

Mr. Paul . Vi. Pannir Selvam and myself have the kenour to represent here a community which numbers five million people. Among the minorities, of sits the next to the Muslims in Etriber. It is a steedily year of community. It has pecial distantances of education and training which render it far more usual to the country than its numbers acult indicate. A big proportion of the elementar, education of the country is manned by its near and won on; its extuded participation in the secondary and collegiate education of the country brings it into valuable contact with the young murhood and wemanheod of the whole country. In the essential national service of medical relief for women the pioneering and the steady progress of the service has been possible because at the personnel so readily available from our community. As for cur rank and file, we are tillers of the soil, many more of us being Inbourers than owners of land. In all such ways we are the servants of our Motherland and shall always feel proud to be servants of our Motherland. Though our religion has come from outside, and we derive from it our deepest and most powerful direction for our private and public life and relationships, it should be realised that we have been in India for 1,700 years; that is, for over 700 years before the first Muslim arrivals in India. That section of our community, which is still the wealthiest and the most vigorous, has been in the Hindu kingdoms of Travancore and Cochin from the third century of the Christian era. The next great section was established in the Tamil Kingdon's of the southcost in the twelith and dirteentl centuries. In all these seventeen contained, though it will not be right to say that there were to difficulties, in the main it is a fact that we have had freedom and protection under Hindu and Muslim Prince clake. Nor do we feel is lated in point of culture and tradition. We drink from the same founts of literature, art, and music, and, in fact, the most in derit tenderary of even or; religious thought and expression is to relate them, in all lovalty to its great history and tradition, to the categories that are derived from what is characteristically Indian love. And so with the deliberate advantages that we have of understanding the best in the mind and spirit of Britain, our community in general, and its youth in particular, are now in the

or learning as the resonant transport of the resolutions of the survey of the resolutions of the the test of the resolutions of the the test of the resolutions.

1. The third of the resolution of the resolution

It is our observation that India has in the last three months and the last three months are the last the last three months are las

The same Council went on to state its views on the Round Table Conference in these terms:

Con All-India Cont. once which met in Labore last becomes well on a step population. Round Table Continues. We still believ that the solution to the constitutional problems of little can be tound only at a Conterence at which the chief interests are adequately and acceptably represented. We do have the faith that H. E. Lord Irwin will recommend for particle, tien in that Conference persons who are competent to express the views of the various important political parties and who are thoroughly receptable to them. While we do welcome the Conference we wish to make certain points."

I will quote only the first of these:

then is ficated through the way of suftering. This should, the fact he had down as the limiting scope of the Round T. ble Certeren within which and around which all other problems, great and small, should be worked out. Now that the Vicerox has significantly be connect give any pledge, the Round Table Cenference tself should lay this down as the definition of its cope should by down Dominium and its cope should be problems of internal and external relationships and responsibilities, as, e.g., of the Army, he worked out."

Ist III as advant precisely safe attitude of my commutity a regards to spoots tion a minorities. I am not to say that this was anothered with the constant care by the Al-India Unistian Correct distributed down it views which we stall there be one the town the countries of this Constance. At this time I may be permitted to read only one section of it:

We recalled that one can cause the Pity, a pecially the range of mation, is well, was not to fact that the place of a minority in a nation is its value to the whole nation and not to by ento itself. That value lepteds upon the total ty of it like the standard of its population to bight arious actives, the stream stress with virial to the associal situation in India, even with all the values we have

Indicated, there are, or I will continue to be, unmerited hard-ships talling on individuals and groups. But we record our consistion that, while many of such hardships and distibilities will be need by such aliamastrative devices as I'ublic Service Commissions and by reservation in the Legislatures and Conneils, the real solution is to be found in the positive and constructive methods of the community, straining every nerve to make itself qualitied, our ient, useful, and even indispensable to the nation.

The attitude of our community is thus one of trust and confidence. We do not ignore the fact of the minorities problem Situated, as we are, between two great and powerful communities, we are only too ofter conscious of the fact that we are just forgatten, sometimes to our serious and lasting injury. But we have every belief that this Conference will find no difficulty in laying down general stantands of equitable treatment to all citizens without prejudice or cavour. In the first place, we anticipate that in the new constitution of India there will be implemented articles soft by forth such standards as were done in the new constitutions which arose at the Treaty of Versailles. In the second place, we onthograte that the Central Government will be made strong enough to oversee the elective maintenance of such standards in actual prague the great the country in all the Provinces and States. In the third place, and as my final word, I wish to make one point. Our religious line brings us into intimate relations with the life of many nations of the West, and our community is in a peculiar position to appreciate the enormous importance of our country mean, uning interrational relationships on as many lines as possible. We shall fad it out duty if we do not here and now emphasise, what indeed is no new idea to our national leaders, that our Motherland has everything to gain by every tie she makes with other patrons. Last and West. We would mention this specially at this time because it has a bearing on the structure of our constitution. We are aware and proud of the fact that India, even as a so-called " subject nation," is becoming more and more an influence, through her begatine and philesophy, and what I may call her spirit, upon the lite and thought and spirit of many nations in both hemospheres. And to-day, when the stigma of political subject on is to be removed from her fair brow, we are anxious that to mistake should be made to weaken her integrity as a united, indices; le entity, which has always stood for something distinctive . . the world. In our eagemess to saleguard the autonomy of the raits which shall make up the Indian Federation, we have also o safegu id with the greatest jealousy her integrity as a solld Well- . In mity wal a sung Central Government, which could speak to other rations on behalf of the whole of India, and, where necessury, even make undertakings on behalf of the whole of India in matters of economic, homanitarian, cultural and peace interests. We care for our India a real place, not merely in the British Cont. or. we alth. but also in the sisternood of all Lations, a place that is real and effective for the good of the entire world.

(The Lord Chancellar, Deputy President, is the Chart.)

Sir Abdal Quigum: Mr. Chairman, let me first of all thank the Prime Minister for having given me this early opportunity of speaking to the Conference. I do not know whether it was my extraordinary turban or my long monstaches which attracted his attention, or whether I was called upon because of a sense of justace that the depressed of the South, who had just spoken, should be followed by the depressed of the North. Whether the one of the other, I feel thankful to the Prime Minister. I was not one of those terminals persons whose names were sent up earlier, and I did not know whether I should ever get an opportunity of speaking to this Conference. I was ignored by all the different sections of the Deligation when they proposed the names of their respective speakers

Well Sir, when a man of the position of the Prime Minister excuses himself for his awkward Scot h accent. I must excuse myself for my had English and had pronunciation, as my English education has been very limited and I have not come into contact with English speaking people very much.

Sir, it is not a speech that I am going to make to this Conference. I carnot make good spee her and impress my pents on people by the for e of good language and matery, but I trest you will follow the spirit bekind the words. It is an appeal that I am going to make to the Conference - to veu. Sir. as the head of the Government, to the British Delegates as representing the various Parties in Parliament, and to my frother Delegates from India, including tie Princes. It is an appeal. Sa, trem one who has devoted the whele of he life to the service of he Expire, whose services have beer appreciated in various ways both by Government and by the public. It is not the worl of an auttator or a discontented man, it is the word of a non-who has been brought up under the present region, and all cover a good many digations loth to the present Government of the country and the Umpire. Sit, us appeal is on behalt of the people of the North-West Frontier Province, a people who have rendered meritorious service to the Empire, who are the gate keepers, in one sease, of the Indian Empire, who have served that Empire zealously and have proved their loyalty to the Empire and to the country in numerous ways; people who have fought on term erous occasions against their neighbours-who happen to be their own kinsman in blood- and who have rendered conspicuous services in the mount world-wide was. If you take the percentage of remitment of the Indian Army durang the war, you will find that the Nath-West Frontier Previoce stands first throughout India. It son balalt of thet Province, those inflatunate people. that I am gone to make this appeal to this Conference and t Lumanity at large. I do not think it is necessary for me to appeal to an heather Delegates from India, because they fally know the situation. They are thereighly accuainted with our sentiments at laspetations and with our services, and as I see during the Sessions of this Conference that they are conderning unton hability

them full liberty of self-determination throughout India, I find it uniccessary to appeal to them. I hope they are prepared to grant us equal rights. It is to you, Sir, who appear to be inclined to create untouchability in the twentieth certury by out-casting a people, or rather stamping a people as depressed, as inferior, as not entitled to the ordinary citizens rights in India, it is to you, Sir, that my appeal is chiefly addressed just now. I hope, Sir, that my appeal will not tall on deat ears. It is a deep feeling that prompts me to speak in such terms as this, but as some of those who have speken before me have been trank and sincere in their expressions. I hope that I shall not be accused of undue bluntness, if I speak trankly and honestly on this occasion.

## (At this point the Prime Minister resumed the Chair.)

Sir, the question before the Conference is, how to satisfy the aspulations of India with respect to her constitutional advancement. Well. I do not think that I am competent to speak on that question, because so far I am outside of a constitution for India. As such I do not feel bound by the regulations of this Conference, and I hope that the rule of ten minutes will not apply to me either. I understand that the trend of opinion in this Conference is tow . is a toderation system. To my mind that is the only way in which Irdician make progress and be united. But my person I distribute is, I we can I to be fitted in in that Tederation? Am I to have equal rights with the rest of India as a unit of British India or of the whole of India, or am I to be kept in the background and ruled in the present despotic way, or remain under a perpetual domination as we may call it? That is my point. I hope I am not gong to be treated in any way as an inferior unit in the Federstion. I chain equal rights, and I assure the Conference that nothing short of equal rights will satisfy us. That desire has been demonstrated in many ways by our people. We have been clamoneing for it during the last ter years, ever since our separation from the l'njth, and we cannot tolerate this stigma of interiority any lorger. When I see that I am in no way inferior to the rest of India in intelligence, in education, in culture or in any other way. I lock upon it as a great hardship and sheer injustice when I am told, "You are not going to have equal rights." Numerous excuses have been brought forward by interested people proving my interiority. But so far not a single argument has convinced me, or will convince any other honest man. When other people are claiming Deminion Status with their easte systems, with their depressed classes, with their untouchability, and with a thousand other difficulties in their way, am I not justified in claiming only a simple equal citizen's right for myself? I have no untouchability in my Province. I have no caste system in my Prevince. I am a very homogeneous community. There are others who are chamouring for protection, for safeguards for ninorities and other things. We lave no such difficulty. We are prepared

to satisfy our ran rities. We are not so selfish as to teruse there safeguards. We are not so selfish as not to satisfy them. We are prepared to give their every assurance, and, it necessary, safes guard, which will satisfy them. Sir. I do not base my claim on communialism, or policy, or on matters of that sort. These are not the bases of my claim. My claim is simply based or human rights on rights of equal citizenship, and nothing more. I will not go into the details of my fitness for equal particular, locause I may possibly find an opportunity to express my views more fully on the subject or to oher myself for cross-examination in the Committees; but it I am as unfortunate as I have been in the past, except, of course, when I attracted your attention somehow or another this morning, I may not even get the opportunity of going before a Committee and explaining my views. However, my time is very limited and I cannot go into details of my case.

As I have said before, I ned a vell quite fittel intellectually, economically, physically, and in very way for constitutional advance like any other Indian, but there may be some matter of policy bekind it. As an eld servant of the Crown and of the Indian Empire, I have been associated with trans-border politics the whole of my life. I have served on Border Constrissions and Committees on the Frontier and in various other ways. With all this experience behind me. I cannot see any insurno intable difficulty in the way of my progress. I was separated from the Punjah where, for 50 years, I was in the exercise of full fledged rights of citizenship. Nobody sail a worl about ny untitiess. As a mitter of fact, I was fitter in my part of the ther Punjab than many other parts of the Purjeb were. That can be prevel by reference to your official records and books. It cannot be denied in the face of the record of our services in the Punnah in various capacities. But the evil day came where we were separated. It was our destiny; it was the hand of God. We deplore that day. We were told that, as a small unit directly connected with the Centre and under the very eye of the Viceroy, we should advance by leaps and bounds. That als why we did not procest against the suggestion. But what do we find now? We are going backward while other people are going forward. We have lest two clausees, and new the last chance is going to be lost to us. It you put us one step by kwards to-day, we are dooned for ever; we shall never be able to make up the loss, er, in a lavitan's language, pass two classes in one year and get into the lagber class and join our old class-fellows the l'unjabis. You may talk about difficulties, and, as an old oficial, I can guess of these difficulties, but I am prepared to discuss them with you. if you will take me into your contidence. If these difficulties if any, are a d overcone, and I am to be placed a step lower, how am I to get ever it viditionally of equal advance? Are you going to give me some allitional help and alvarages and facilities to make up the loss? Are you going to provide me with ext a funds and opportunities to make up the loss? On are you going to keep me in this state of bandage and degression perpetually? That is the idea, or frar, which cas lev, puzzling and occupying the minds of most of

our people. Hope deterred maketn tre he it sick. They have waited too long for the realization of their hopes.

In the we were considered to be quite if to, advance in ever ing it, and it was involved question of warrier the live distincts I will be re-in Igoraical with the Punib, or opt as a separate it i. I was too his willows to co be one the Bray Committee, w. w. . vas apported to in tire late the matter, and I said that it we could have I li-fledged retorn, a a sopa bie unic, we should prefer it, but that offerwise we should rather like to go lar vio the Purple 11, m 1923, we could be entured with an elected majority in the proportion of two thirds, you will not be suprised to from that we thought it a very tetrograde more when we read in the Smon Report that we were not to have any elected majority at all of I that the elected element was to be chosen by people who were then elves emistly round atel; that a to say, people who were thereselves rown, used were to elect others. I do not want to worry you with these details, but I assure you we are going backward in every respect and that we are consequently very depressed.

We have had a statesman in our part of the country, and I am glad to say be remained with us for a fauly long time; but untertunately it was during the Great War, and he could not do more for us. He put us on the right lines; he established a first-class college, and gave is education, and it you refer to your official records you will find that his idea was to make that small unit of ours a model Province, educationally, socially, economically, to hairally and so on. I refer to Sir George Roos-Keppel. Untertunately his name is not well-known outside my Province or it would have been greeted with more applause.

After that, difficulties have arisen and we have practically started going backwards. It any increase of taxation is passed at the Centre, the law is at once applied to our corner of India, but if it is a question of any reform this suid we are not fit for it. You were not attail to apply the Child Marriage Act to the North-West Fighter Province, though we did not require it and had no need for it, but you are afran of applying the Government of India Act to our Province. You are not afraid of applying an abnoxious measure or tixatien liabilities to the Frontier, but when it is a question of electing men to deal with the merding of a few roads, the establishment of a few schools, or even a hospital, you say, "It's a great responsibility, and we call of elitiest you with it." When all your able lawyers and judges have failed to trace the guilt or un acoust a person, ven icter the matter to us and vol along us to pass a verdict, and, on our passing a verdict of gults, you entence the man to 14 years in pris nament; but you will not entrust the mending of a road to us.

Sit, I see that it is not a sin to speak of one's self in this Conference, so I should like to say that I am a person who owns land on I am siles of the lorder, in tribal territory as well as in British territory. I protect makelf across the border, and an under the protection of the place inside the border. It I can manage my

"dairs over there, and my tenants, meluding several families of ren-Muslaus, under my protection here, why cannot you entrust the small non-Maslim population in the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province to us and be sure of our sense of justice. What sycurficar Doyor think we shall pass laws which will be objectionable to the monorities? Do you think we shall pass a law that the " chot's " of on-Muslims should be cut off? God loubid that we should think of these to res. What, then are you shald it? Are you draid that it the Contail is set up and a raidur party comes, you will not be able to send out your montier mulitar and cens abulary to man ept t, has will have to want until the Conneil has met and has allowed you to intercept them or preverted you from doing of I cannot under tand what is at the to tom of all the tent and district. If you lear frontle from our tracestien a ross the books, go and take them over. You can d same chem and crash then by spending crores of supers over it, but we to the time comes, you will find them claiming the same ight of eachty as my mend Dr. Moonje claimed the other day.

It is not no saying that this is the difficulty of that is the difficulty; as I have said. I cannot think there is any insulmonate ble difficulty. There may have been some abarm the mind of the Vicercy who separated as from the Punjab, but God alone knows what that idea was! Perhaps it was of the building of a Central Asian Impire, or perhaps it was of the building of a Central Asian Impire, or perhaps it was the fear of an attack from Russia. Both those fears have disappeared now. There is no longer any fear of an invasion by Russia, nor can any Central Asian Empire be created now, for a free Aighanistan would not allow it; but there is a great danger of the discontent on the frontier assuming the form of a local Bolshevism.

Well. Sit. I shall offer myself for cross-examination to any contained that may be set up to discuss these questions, and I lope I shall be able to prove that there are no insurmountable dimenties. To be orief, Sit, I simply claim equal rights. I cannot include in threats, like some other people, because I know it is twile and useles to after pt that against the mighty British Impire. I know it is not pessable for a few disobedient non-co-perators to upset things. I do not believe in civil disobedience and cannot alvegate that. I whole-heartedly support the respect of law ond the preservation of order. Mire is only an earnest are little or each just out the Delegates present here, but I rivot in my open wit our action a little proverb in may to the time, which says that were a actain your timeser can make you very uncomfortable.

M. A. A. Mr. Proc. of the use your own worls I can assure the trace are here to a property, an intendity, determination to succeed.

The antital of the Britain on the resident with the second commission and obassion by Great Britain or the other.

I tell you. Sir, thus, that I am one of those who believe that no us into purpose will be served by going into that question. Let that question, may I say to those who include in it on both sides, be decided by the Listerians. For my purpose it is enough that Great Birain is in India. I have no hesitation in conceding this mop strim-that you have a great interest in India, both comeneral and political, and therefore you are a party, if I may say when I have sail that, I want you equally to concede trankly—and 'ran oness does not mean wounding anybody's feelings, nor that we the noth tended by bitterness; it means, as I understand, particularly r a Conference like this, that we should put our point of view then it and respectfully and without wounding anylody's fielings, and merefore I shall avoid any kind of litterness. When I have said this. I want you equally to concede that we have a greater and tar a one vital interest than you have, because you have the . the metal or commercial interest and the political interest, but to us it is all in all.

Now, in that spirit, you sitting on that side of the Conterence and we siting a this side, let us approach every question. I almost said that really there are four parties, not forgetting the other state constities, such as the Sikhs and the Christians, and not expetting no a single moment the depressed classes. But there are the Huati parties sitting round the table new. There are the But a party, the Indian Princes, the Hindus and the Muslims.

Let 1 .. Sir, our ider what is the issue with which we are engaged. Before I me to that issue I want to dispel one thing. There is a certain amount of misunderstanding, or want of understanding. I went you to uncerstand particularly on account of the observatons of Lord Peel. Lord Peel said that his Party was gravely distribed by the non-co-operation movement. Having emphasised that, he concluded by saying that if we came to any agreement and gave you a great advance in the constitution of India, it would be taken advantage of by those who would like to wreck it. Now, Sir, let is understand the position in India. The position in India is this, and let me tell you here again, without mincing any words, that there is no section, whether they are Hindus or Muhammadans er thether they are Sikhs or Christians or Parsis or depressed classes, or even con mercial classes, merchants or traders, there is I che section in Lidia that has not emphatically declared that India noust have a full measure of self-government. When you - y that a large, a very influential, party in India stands for wieck-. 2 " m. sing the future constitution, I ask you this question. Do you want those parties who have checked, held in abeyance the party that stands for complete independence, do you want those poule to go back with this answer from you, that nothing can be . .e because there is a strong party which will misuse or wreck the n-titution which we will get from you? Is that the answer you .all to give? Now let me tell you the tremendous fallacy of that

argument and the grave danger. Seconty a illiers of Mussalmans - all, buring a few individuals here and then have kept alouf om be near operation pover one. Thirty-five or forty millions of depressing the seasons their are against the reason entition rovercert. Salsarit's stars have not joined it. And let no cell in that ever at one of the party which you characterise as a large parts and I a mit that the an important party-it has not gitte upper of the lak at Hindre. Do you want every one o the putter violar tal meintained that their preper place is to en to this fonfer are, and arros de Table to regetiate and come to a til mark which will satisfy the aspirations of India, to go be kind join the rest? Is thet what y n went? Be an e what there is all the filling of the transmer? I want your or o'r the gray you the course which we semplosised It prome speller, let part, it comes, organist as long as you like.

New let as under Land the character and the function of the Conterence. Speaking on behalf of the British Inda Delegation. I do not want to indrage in granulines, but I want to put lesers and the continued principles by which we half be guided in the suffer parceedings of this Conteners. I must admit that, while I am state one confinal proceeds, we must have repetil for the and to relative, and that is why we and less, to have an out the order to as a littles and to lamber out a constitution for India which will satisfy the people of India. That ordered principle which small be the guide as far as we are concerned as this, that if I call it Dominion Status I know that Lord Reading will put a poser as to what is the maring of Dentition States; I know if I are the words " perpossible governo and" or eledy elea will put me a poser, "What do your ean by reported by government?"; I know if I use the expression "tall self-government" search dy else will est neasinglar questions but I say the carlind principle which will guide us throughout the deliberations of this Conference is that India wants to be in tress in her own Louse; and I cannot correspond any constitution that you may frome which will not transfer is sporsability in the Central Government to a Cabinet repossiblet the legisletue. If that is the carlinal principle by which we shall be guiled then, as Lord Reading very nightly pointed out, there may be questions, such as defence and foreign piranda of the heat think there s are estelled to point so tar as the British India Delegreat memori. Where he well the phase Daninion Stan so the as the Table is encouned has about said, "with subgraph dame, to the strand pand." Sue that is going to be our cardinal principle.

Rolling therein the action of the original Red Red and Red Rolling therein the action of the there is with regard to the part of the light of a little to the action of the light of the li

it is a but ress, toposition, and if the power of the Government is " not pred to a ( direct responsible to the legislature, the first . I there is thing that verland to provide is that the variety rived to same lal. and we cance possible from e any institute and and and provided adequates the flat nights and a trust vitie exist in India. I fist, there is the militatity . . diet., of how bill to to tackle, and buless you create i't contact the minorities, which will some a all ig competation and allegimee to the Scote, no constitution the real that the will were successfully. Your modity the India I riser to here, and you cannot very well man a conit tion to India. In salt nor sum at in the sense in which I have less and to valuat to line into consideration their position; in Lall that the Princes are arxious about is that they want certain sileria de in that constitution, or the Mussalmans decoral saleguards for their community.

I send to be it. Sie, that I want to make is this. It was said by I all Paletrat Correctes the journey and the journey's end, as he want to make is the journey's end, as he want from the speech of houd trwin. May I point out to him that, at at your speech of houd trwin. May I point out to him that, at at your speech. It is a shall hard I wan sold, which hard Peel omitted:

"Althor him is tradition for external relations with other parts of the Implie I dia exhibits already several of the . The une of ser gry oming Deminions, it is also time that I de rel'eal quaen is a ton present disposed to attach t. Iv. Jetus esestablites of status, for the reason that their part offer the rest part subject to the control or renew this Majesty's Government. The demand for Point ion; this that is now made on behalf of India is based and the rest and lainer, be need from control, have especially . the entireres that are regarded, sor predeminantly done stic the est, and have, as as generally recignised, there are real d'écuties, internal to I dia and peculiar to her circumstances and to we blooditions, that have to be faced, and in regard to which there may be sharp variation of equipon both in India and in Great Britain. The existence of these difficulties ..... be seriou by disputed, and the whole object of the Condernice new proposed is to afford the opportunity to His Majesty's trovernment of examiling in the consultation with Indian leaders, low they may best, nost rapidly and most - .iely le suit.counted."

Speakly two years ago at a meeting, said this, presiding at the British Labour Conference in London in 1928:

I had that within a period of months, rather than years, there will be a new Dor inion added to the Commonwealth of our tastents, a Dorningon of another race, a Dorningon that will find self-respect as an equal will in the Commonwealth—I refer to India."

And yet, So, the cours of the two speeches of Lord Prel and of Lord Renduce is that our differences are still with regard to the pace. Since 1928 two years have passed.

There's one more thing that I want to say. It is this. I think we have lost sight of the announcement and declaration of October 31st 1929, which has created us. From that announcement I will read one passage:

"The Claiman of the Commission has pointed out, in cornespondence with the Prime Minister which, I understand, is being published in England, that, as their investigation has proceeded, he and his colleagues have been greatly impressed, in considering the directions which the future constitutional development of India is likely to take, with the importance of learing in a ind the relations which may at some future time develor between British India and the India. States. In their ir sment it is essential that the methods by which this future relationship between these two constituent parts of Greater India on be adjusted should be fully examined. He has further expressed the opinson that if the Commission's Report and the proposals subsequently to be Lared by the Government take this wider range, it will appear necessary for the trovernment to revise the scheme of projedure as at present proposed,"

Therefore, Sir, when Land Peel says that some of the recommendations of the Sirion Commission are revolutionary, the Chairman of that Commission landself sugrests that, in the light of the inclusun of the Indian Prince . You have not only radically charged the proceeds, but the whole aspect of the position is charged all go her. Sir, let me ted you this in conclusion, the , so far as we are on exact the Smon Countission's Report is dead. The Government of India Depatch is already a back number, and there has arisen a new star in our milet to-day, and that is the Indian Princes. Their position has even placed the demand of British, Incia for Dominia Status for the moment in the background, and we are now thinking of a Donmion of All India. Therefore it is no use your believing still in the Report of the Sin or Commession or in the Despatch of the Government of India. I must say, in conclusion, that I am very much moved by, and that I welcome warmly, the noble attitude, the patrictic attitude, that the Indian Princes have shown.

There is only one other word I would like to say, because there might be some misapprehension. It was said by His Highness The Maham ja of Patiala and also by His Highness The Jam Sahib that "before we consider the question of All-India federation we must have our status determined and decided by a judicial tribunal." I could not quite appreciate the force of that statement, but may I say to my friends, the States Delegates, that whatever may be their position with regard to the orders that the Government of India may have passed under the present

do not vant anyone clse to decide their status and nights. They can here to assert their tions and rights. Whatever decisions to Conference may come to and if there is an agreement, and if Pathamer't gives effect to it, it does not matter what has been laid down in the Butler Report or what has been laid down in the Secretariat of Simla or Delhi

One rane word about Parliament. It was said and emphasised by Lord Prel and by Lord Reading that Parliament must de de this question. We know that. We would not have been here if he did not expect Parliament finally to decide it. But remember, the crecinal idea was that His Majesty's Government, in conference v.on the leaders of Brite-h India and on the Indian States, very to . I vin the largest mentre of agreement; and that it any such . Teene t was arrived at they would put these [10] (Sals brice I when he. I are very glad, although I was opposed to the idea of the British Delegations being included—I tell you that frantly because, is a business name. I thought it was better to negoticle with one that to negot ate with three. It is note difficult to cet three to agree Tantine I was opened to it. You journe be e. The new vot regimes to Parl, not, the three Prince? You do, and .1 you come to an agreement sig you affail that Parliament will repudiate it? May I wan her what Lord Irwin sail about it when this question was raised:

I would seem evidence however that what all people most delines a a solution reached by matual agreement between the tribular and India is a treatily additionation between the tribular and India is a represent and indispensable condition in order to obtain it. Of the considerable is an able to deny the right of Failler matter to make the short sighted of Parliament to inderrate the improvement of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India."

In this to a kew, as the Conference is constituted, it is not or ly possible to get the willing assent of India but of the British Delegations who represent the three Parties in Parliament. It would be a very bold Parliament indeed that would date repudiate that might be arrived at with the wilest measure of support at this Table.

Mr. Sistif: Prime Minister, two ideas have energed from the debates to which we have listened and which now do intate in minds. One is that of Dominion Status for India as the natural outcome of India's constitutional evolution; the other is that of federation as the proper form of the future polity of India, including both British India and the Indian States. This latter idea is comparatively new. We have struggled for Indian Status for some time, and at last it seems to have found a ceptance from the spokesmen to whom we have listened of both

tre Correct tree to I the I, beel deep to the Theoretic electron, I am a convert.

I against it until the other day. Now I confess I am a convert.

I be a list required to the list of the Prince and th

the virtog the section of the property of places or times with together and cosquine with each off a prior with the containing tend, and cosquine with each of a prior time, to challe and even to weaken each offer. I not perfect in the deliberations of the Council sees, to weak we so did contain the deliberations of the William each of the side at the expect to property and ing will be core in the side at the expect time. I calculation in the than the Doroto in State to be called the refer, just as nothing for his drop on the lade of those who care for Doroto State those than for federation to weaken federation.

Now, Prince Minister, may I address myself to smitle salest of the greates, importance. The idea of lear, which is in the rards of many British beeple when they contemplate a large advence in constitutional ratus, is that my policy that we may constitut here, or that are not lar the combination of, may pass, as respects its and there, a to the Lands of these now being to the Indian An and ('s green I' sty or I who have brought about the sections s variety which has led to the sumbucting of the Round Pable Criteries. I don this that hat a mission mable. [(is retera. It skreat jek or helia ere under an ell \_aten to ment I of that the entaces and may be classics the Partish people that entire the rouse of he contend by confictacy neasures, or that to far lave to bear har and the tart. Much har but aid by tax rices, we possenths sile the term are and emsideable sections of the population when Congress propagatela has Int to a last for, who me in head to the British connection and wo may be trusted, when were is sentent danger, to stand by the Burish than at all rosts. May I add another source of confort and in a rangethis I shall, pullaps, strike a note out of the line of outlodes delice and polities. Prace Minister, who are these people from whom we fear disturbation? No doubt they have caused found le su fait. Are our nous-mes l'ere not designed to e heiliate then? Are these not par heatery steps that we are taking? Letter to technistal t win over once nore their Learts to : o w. It by and of red progress? Believe the they are et accelerary caiminals, they ne not savage larbarian hordes; Int ore not the swarm even ies of Great Britain or of British interiors They are in a cf callure men of heaver, Last of the or act who have ande their mark in the professions. The et ent, menternia spirit and hy bload. It is a sense of I the letter in other la de dillemin this position, which we view with sea with district and a much disapprobation. Remove that discontent and you will find them alongside you, working the real constitution that we shall frame to its highest issues, and driving from those new institutions that we frame all the benefit of which they are capable.

The toils and thals of public life are well-known to us all. I am on the side of law and order. I have never been within proximity of the gall, but I am a political agitator. I knew how near I are to those who e methods I join with you in condenning to-lay. Omen in my life has the Government viewed my activities with suspicion and set its spies upon me. My life has not been one of viallored happiness; my way us not been free from thomsand. Mr. Prime Minister, your experience is not altogether foreign to trem. Let us not be carried away in this matter, then, too much it a no of self right outstess. Very little indeed divides these was new changen has and order and those who, impelled by the purest patriotism, have found themselves on the other side. Adopt measures form of conciliation; set the constitution of India in proper order; and we, whom this political difference has unhappily divided, will tall conselves once more co- operators for the welfare and contentiment and ordered progress of India. Therein lies the sarryth of the situation to-day. Our elemies are not laid then; they are good i on who i we have alierated by unfeitunate political Lapperings. It is easy to bring them round. Let us racke an hoth here and in Indic, and we shall find India once more not only Lappy within her borders but a contented partner in the British Commonwealth.

Sardar Schillanda Sultan Ahmed Khan: After the many cloquent speeches to which we have listened during these three days, a very large amount of ground has been covered and it would be futile for me to go over the same ground again. There are a tew considerations relating to the States to which I desire to draw attention in very simple words.

That the future Government of India, in which the States may participate, can only be federal, admits of no doubt, for in any arrangement that may be made for the future government of India the States will have, and rightly have, an adequate share and an exective voice. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala yesterday d d well in emphasising the great services the States have rendered to India as a whole, and that is a truth that cannot be emphasised to strongly and too often. There is one general misconception about the States which I should like to attempt to remove. It is generally thought by those, who have no inner knowledge of the conditions, that an Indian Prince is an arbitrary ruler. Nothing can be more removed from the truth. I speak not as an outside observer, but from an inner and a most intimate In while of f. ts. I have been serving the Gwalior State iew for more than a quarter of a century, twenty years of which were spell to the closest of administrative association with the

late Maharaja, and, since his death, I have been a member of the Council of Regetary Avery herder regard for the feelings and sentiments of all class soft the mople, strict meting out of justice, minfluenced in any way by case, race or religious leanings of prejudices, these have been the cardia d and guiding principles of tule in Gwa on The Wisharaji I ved a most simple life, indeed a anged lite, and worked hader than invone else in the constant mistrical the good of his people. His privy purse rever exceeded three has of supers a year, and every pie that was sived was carried stirctly for once State purpose. Such a rule I would not designate as arbitrary. If I can coin an expression I would call it Democratic Autocrary This might sound a contradiction in terms. but it has the essentials of Democracy, namely, that the supreme 4. governing all actions of the Government is the sentiments and wishes of the people, and there is the added advantage of quick decision and action. I make hold to say that the States in India would not have lasted, as they have lasted, if they were not the to a expussions of the sentiments and feelings of the prople.

Now stepping out of the States boundary, we are contracted by a riest four idable, complicated and intricate problem in British It lia. The solution of that publical requires all the columness, sandy, understanding and sympathy that both the Indians and the Inglish can being to bear upon it. This can only be if we are fair and just to cos another, resegnish a and sympathising with each ther's point of view. A just and unliased observer will fird ample evidence that, despite defects and dr. whateles, Englishmen lave rendered great and end ming services to India. They have in many directions have thy and carres by worled for the betterment of the centry and its people. Even the Irdian National Congress owes its list, to an Englishma, the lite Mr. V. O. Home, a member of the Indian Cvil Service. Englishmen in every walk of life have . -si ted in its growth and development. The rate Mr. Yule, a I stellart prince of Calcutta, was once its President. So was Mr. Landlaugh a Member of Parlianert, and Sir William Wedderburn, also a member of the Indian Civil Service. And I need laidly mention the litelong and devoted service to the cause of Indian uplift of that great Englishwoman. Dr. Annie Besant, who, though over \$2 years of age, is still giving her best to India. And it is the result of their great work in India that ve are gathered together in this great and epoch-making Conferever It is no small tribute to the great work Englishmen have donce in Ind cand by Inda that there should be in India a protically universal demand for the establishment there of British is titus,ons. On the other hand, I feel no doubt that Englishmen will be the last not to appreciate the desire of Indians for the direture inferitor of the rown altairs. That desire is embedded n landa rature. When God sent down manner to the sempte or esto s of the literate race, a universal prayer west up that they should be turn shou with the means of obtaining their own sustemat, e, as a result of their own efforts. There is nothing to prevent Indians and Englishmen werking together in harmony. This

statement I have up a my personal experience. At Gwalior, at one time, working in various departments under me, there were Lo less than ten Englishmen, and yet I found not the slightest difficulty in leading with them, and they obeyed orders as any Indian suberdinate did. I have Inglishmen working under me to-day. An Englishman by his upbringing and training is a well-

disciplined individual.

As regards India being made a Dominion, I taink the question Lastwo very distinct aspects. One is India having the status of a Dominion, and the other is India functioning as a full-fledged Dominion. Indians are a highly sensitive people; especially on matters of their hand and Lonoui they feel acutely. As they are situated to-day they cannot hold up their heads vis-à-vis the people of other countries; they feel a sense of interiority which car not but be bunneletting. I connot think that Englishmen, to whom matters of hono r and self-respect are of supreme importance, will not sympath as with that sentiment. I think I am right in saying that there is no thanking Indian who believes that, to-day, India is in a position to shoulder the entire responsibility of a full-fledged Denimer; that position can only be reached by stages. Therefore, there is no foundation for the fear that, if India is declared to possess the status of a Dominton, an immediate demand for transferring to Indian shoulders the entire responsibility of government and defence will be made.

The declaration of India as a Dominion will serve a double purpose; it will satisfy the natural desire, may, the intense craving of Indians to be reckoned as equal partners in the British Common wealth of Nations, and it will be a sure earnest of the falfilment or the premise that English desires India to le, in fulness of time, a cull-fleeged Dominion. I am not without hope that the Indians and English will labour whole-heartedly together for the happiness and prosperity of Irdia. The happiness and prosperity of India mean greater happiness and prosperity for England.

Wr. Mody: In the 10 numbers' existence allowed to me I would have liked to confine anself to a few general observations on the place of commerce and industry in the India of to-morrow viol, we are met here to fashion; but the trend of the discussions it the last few days makes it impossible that I should remain alt gether silent on the political issues that confront India and the Empire.

In the earlier stages of the discussion we heard a great deal of the value of conservatism as a force in the adairs of men. While I admire the courage of those who expounded that deal, I am afraid I was irresistibly reminded of a schoolboy howler which said that another name for conservatives was preservatives!

Sir, this Conference will fail, and fail miserably, if it does not its gaze steadfastly on the goal in view, and if it does not stoutly refuse to be obsessed with the dangers and the difficulties on the way, many of them imaginary.

I if Read y in the or planch hole raise before the Contion of the control of the pare. If the galacter, I to a small such a real maps shot a maple sectowards to a collected such such years of this Contenue should be a collected a such years of the halit last where a lessafely on, I to It ma. Their should be the madalental being The conclution Inglied to-day switches to take India into the Contion only of the Empire as a free ord willing partner, or to drive a complete the process of despet documental deisorder.

In the process, Sir, y a would assethe triendship and goodwill of those powerful chases, buy ray not be powerful a random to day, that they are properful for everything else which counts in the lite of a nation. Which are triendly to you to-day. It may be not exactly near the else set, have not at the moment the cut of our estativities, but we shall have it to norrow, and at any race, we represent the exactly are on the side of ordered very race, we represent the earlier and which are the strenge temperatures of constitutional progress.

I represent at the Contention, and I would begin by saving that a more read constructed to his blood of a ration. Political form is not come which a little good one, which is defined as the result of the first of the result of

I have a great profit from for Lod Incing a star everyone that it is in accord with the wishes of the people.

Led Per, ventured on a call by of British rule, and I am act to with him where betalks of the act overacts of the British are in It by disputed these achieved its recommendation. But it will not be disputed that if the horacter is a long to be a great; and let in a long to the late have been a any dark pages on which the vinter arranged by stances of the way in which the industries and a consequence of India have been we enally neglected or deaths and sacrified.

Lord Peel did not think that even the mild observations of my tried Mr. Joyakar, in repard to me appolies should be allowed to go at hall need. I am afraid toward be impossible for me to tempt a reply to that statement here, but I would be prepared to take up the challenge in any other place. I will only content toyed to-cay with saying that Lord Peel has entirely misread too history of the economic progress of India in the last fifty years, to side of the hand caps to trade and industry all these years, though there has been a welcome change of policy in accent times.

the suppose is at that India has achieved so little, but that she Last in all nything at all. And when Lord Peel talks of ellithe process of a sprise low. Il cor ede that it is only by the exercise of the very varies, a nely, of energy, enterprise and efficiency, that finds, las been also to roake the progress sac has made in the Less titty years. My fried, Mr. Jim ah, a few minutes ago stated that the control olars were ranged with the other interests in determine a continuous aking to that of the Dominions for India. I would just like to amplify his tenants. The present novement is the work of one man. That man's word is law in the Province the a verer I come: have masses of people blindly follow his lead. It is leause, and I say it without rancour or ellerer, the connertial classes, which form the most important section in my Prevince, have come to the conclusion that unless In his is politically tree she cannot be economically lealthy and al. counter hull up has note and industries as she would want to That connect in is at the not the movement which we all d plone, and which largely derives its sustenance from the con-Lid in thans.

Man't been said to India's contain position, but the here 11 '. l. vs. 1 Logebed, be rand singularly Al-equipped to withstand the consections of more highly organised countries. I do not here. Sir, Ion you will ralish being quoted in this connection, but the period collison have ben about pithaly or effectavely pur the other you have stated that the poverty of India was not an opposed it was a fact. And it could not well be otherwise when as nowle as resenty per cent. It the population is dependent on . wird me, with a per seil and a capricious monsoen. So long es this sade of things continues and industries do not absorb some or the unlikens who press upon the land. India's position in the world will continue to be weak. That brings me back to my point, that pelicial tred in without works he free lem may mean a snore and a delus at the Inch, may not be able to work a modern system of tox inment, the all the burdens it entails, unless she is able to build up a vigorous indistrial system. Tiscal and financial autoromy are from that point of view essential to her, if she is to occupy an honoured place in the British Commonwealth.

Mr. Fail-nl-Haq: In the cerseless flow of oratory which you have permitted, and which even the ten-minutes rule does not seem able to restrict or restrain, there is just a chance of the real issues being concletely swap and or getting act of sight altogether. It seems necessary, that fore, that semeone should, at the close of this debate, try to embhasise the task before us. That India wants a full resame of self-powerm ent, the fullest that can be accorded for, is layered controversy. It requires no amount of cratory to convide anyone in this Conference that that is at present the manufactured anyone in this Conference that that is at present the manufactures in the way, and the real problem is how to give India the fullest measure of responsible government consistent with the

difference of the peritors and the responsibilities of the Battish nation. That being the simple problem, I subject that no amount of crattary, however, offely conceived, will afford a real solution tarbess the Delegates assembled at the Casterone tacarelyes, by real, and regardations, come to some soft of concession of each others' each so and present to this Centarence an agreed constitution for the government of India. I ask my fellow Delegates to remered of their or before is one at two alternatives; either we while the end great and present a united from or we will leave it to the British people themselves to prepare for us a constitution for the ration government of India, West the Delegales law to complet is this, that there are considerable elections to the latter peart of viva. If the constitution is framed by the 15 test, people it will be to med with some obvious con vantages. In the first place, we will be income that I still to the British Lation, 11, all r sitting a low months here and diseasing the questio, of the future constitution for India, we peet a our indulity to come to some agreement, and tell them that we are leaving the question in their own hands to decide. Secondly, it will be unsuitable to the Indian people because anything combig from British brains or state manship would be unacceptable to Yar to as classes, especially the politically-minded people of India. This ly I would refer to the colossal ignerance about India whick generally prevails among political leaders in this country. Only the other day, Cemmander Kenworthy, a Member of Parlian ent and a very prominer triember of the Labour Party, who had been to India and who set hiraself to say something about the complexities of the Indian problem, contributed an article to the Review of Reriews under the leading of "British Policy in India," and there he says:

The communal (or religious) differences in India present pulsaps the most serious problem of all. It is a fact, admitted to me personally, and regretted, by such great leaders as Gandhi and Malaviya on the Hindu side, and Jinnah and Moonje on the Muslim side, that if anything, the communal differences have become worse in recent years."

I ask the Delegates to emsider whether they are not going to a a tenuous effort to sittle and compose their differences and come to some settlement, or are they going to leave it to Comman ler Kerworthy and his colleagues to frame the Indian constitution?

It is to the interest of us all and of the present Party in power to transe a Constitution for the future government of India. The Millar macan position has been explained by Sir Muhammad Shafi and Millar had and we should compose our differences and come to some engineerant which will represent the progressive ideals of our land. The Mussalman is principly clear. The moment we are access of that in the future constitution of India, not merely Mussalmans but it mino items. Indian Christians, Siklas, Parsis, furtoneaables," the communicial interests and credit interests, will

the same and secure, that all the various interests will have the their consume at self-determination and self-advancement, we shall not only regular our consent, but we shall go much further than the rest enthers a time nember of the Indian National Congress in demanding the fullest measure of responsible government for India.

But Si, it that is the position, consider for a memorit the treating and the study of what are suggested as safeguard. It is not every dignited that. What is really meant is this, that it a democracy the government of the people by the people must be the covernment of the people by all the people, not the government of the people by all the people, not the government of the people by all the people. I wish to real out to this flows two or three sentences from the words of John Strutt Mill in his workshown box on Representative Government. That great authority says:

That the necessity rust yield to the majority, the scaller en al 1 to the greater, is a familiar idea, and accordingly teen I in the table is no necessity for asing their nines any truther, and it does not crear to them that there is a wedness hetween allering the scaller armaber to be are endly everify the ender and blotting out the saller accer the literal in The rejuite of electors would always have a i about the electors, and a minority of the electors verel, hays have a minority of representatives, but in a fer rate they should be as fully represented as the majority. Unless they are, there is no equal government, but a government of mequality and privilege, one part of the people rule over the re t and there is a part whose equal share of influence in the representation is withheld from them, contrary to all past givernment. but above all, contrary to the principle of demontery, which professes equality as its very tool and foundation."

I are reading these few lines to this Conference because I want to commend them to those brother Deligates of mine who are to term the Committee which is going to be proposed. I submit to this Conference that the present moment is one of the most i mortune for settling all those liferences which have disgrand the that have a fide. We have in India a Viceroy the very nerton . Those range evoles the most enthusiastic gravitude from our jedie. We have in pewer a Party in England who are pledged te dancier; and to breck down all the barriers of resonality letweek han and man. We have a genuine atmosphere of exampathy, of tolerance and of good will pervading England, which has indiced the other political Parties to co-operate with the Porty it tower in evolving a system of administration which should be "to the to all. Above all, we see present here a galaxy of In han Propertion less come down from their high probestal to bush the last it' can orers in trying to find a solution for the int " In the but of falls. In these contractores, we are the



new, a special for a power, and by the although we very ranch learn life-court off, both a fact that the life-povering off, and the property of the contribution of the act of states from a part of the rest of states from a fact that the patron of a fact that the patron of a fact that the patron of the fact that the contribution of the leaf of the contribution of the leaf of populations and the fact of the population of the population of the leaf of the leaf of the contribution of the leaf of the leaf of the contribution of the population of the leaf of the contribution of the leaf of the contribution of the contribution of the leaf of the contribution of the

Before I at does, to my come try nosu who constitute the majority cor namely I wish to make a acreed appal. I wish to tell them that they must take due rose of the awakening of feeling amorgst the Michard number of Delia, and partial they have ventured to warn thalls to congain the car ster agreeing the political upheaval in It is, I also waite the again that distanted on the account in the M In comments It well by aposit, it the Toslins had In a state test by the ampulse of the political and one white acte finding expense all ugl a faces. There early Mussalicens has a raited imposters to tell influences? He lead of the show the form in our case butil mental as Mussalmans I d the seate of samint of their at takens with their lend of the classical and the second states in in her a ser to determine the control of indication of indications over if your little the cited & stem explication is seen been bette better nd of the states to an event to the test to the face here. ca ply tord, and vill to I will confine the thought fullest recognition of their legitimate rights.

To the Bir of Coverno et, I were to the and that note a working. It be any charter to Be of the in Both of the constitution of the interview of the interview of the interview of the interview of the Berly and I would be the total and the Birt's formal and the Berly and I would be the constitution of the Berly and I would be the constitution of the Berly and I would be the second of the best of the best of the second of the best of the

So Phis School Mr. Prize Minister, this Rour! Table Continues is the first of its field since, in the product the dispensation of PrixiPense, In John come and a British rule. At the smooth confishing the field at such Common factor, here a find a los nor reached a field at the pursuit product, here a find a los nor reached a common in its remember the

cannot be made by Great Britain alone.

The second of the proposed and investigation have in mind the recovered blooms and the second block of the proposed and the second block of the proposed block of the second block of the

My (1 in a 1, we stimulated sategorals are carrain's he es
(1) in the table are reliable and periods by an die matter of

the control of the control of the part of the part of the section

in the control of the control of the control of the control of

the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of

the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of

the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the

As a business man, I will confine myself to those remarks which Il from le d'en les lije tré pase l'interes 1 the frances er or my in bolia. Helical sen eraverel to remeasurable In Many ve terder and by a v Land Su C. P. Rapaswanu Avial by Mr. Mear took v All that I want to represe to the 1' (' en i that it In letter are given the content to will printer the section of a section at a section of a section and a section and the section of the teastell the and the same will apply to be Arma, has me end the tree of the thornes and the land of the desideral into of the filter that the state of I set to be a destruction of the state of th " or ist still attentions of the a. Terms all tell large event on. May I ask the Right Homor Je lle Somethy of Some in the trade and the wife, the working of that Department, or white is a Deposite as interior in its cold as organist to ith Prother Departments of the Government of India? Sir, t is the keeping luck of Indaes which has belond the European community, the La quan comercia, community, who, If they have not been given natiopoles, have been shows more renes, which proference Las resulted in voropolies, as I will try to explain. Dr. Moonje and Sir C. P. Ramasaami Aiyar quetel instances of monopolies Lor g but those rent uv. I will give you astances of m mo-I les bitore out exes. About fixe veris ago the contract which a

Impre Landel steamship company capted for the carriage of coad from Calcutta to Rangeon for the Burmese milways was about to lapse. An Indian shipping company offered to tender, but rece ved very evasive replies, until one fine day they were told that a fresh contract had already been entered into, and entered into for the long space of ten years; but what is more, although Governaest were as ed as to the rates at which this contract was placed, to this day to asswer has been given. May I ask Lord Peel if that or stitrues: meropoly or bot? It is preference but which amoras to a ' or opely. That is not all. Take the case of railway freights. Teat is one soudil history of the Railwy Board endeavouring to by the puperter of non-Indian goods to the detriment of triban enterprise. Take, again, the case or shipping relates, which arrounds to nothing less than the crashing from the start of any Indian-ownel steamer company. In a communication by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce it was asserted that European companies had entered and an agreement with the jute mills or Bengal whereby the jute mills promised not to buy any jute carried on Indian vessels. To make it st 'l vane difficult, insurance companies, which at that time were nastly non-Indian, raised the rates of insurance prenium on jute carried in vessels which were Indian. Is this Let a monopoly? Is this not unoue preference? This, Sir. is what Indians have suffered from for all these years. My noble hos said that they were not Lichopolies, but these were vested Literests created by skill, by energy and by commercial enterprise. I submit that Indians are capable of showing the same saill, the same energy and the same connervial enterprise, given the same opportunities. I submit these facts, not in a spirit of animosity, but I quote their in the hope that they will not occur in the luture. I say Indians are not given the same apportunities. Blood is thicker than weter. An English merchant has read, access to an oliver Her an settle things very ersly, thought the online then at his club exert a pag of whisay or a gless a verti nth, whereas the lidi macrohim might have to kind his leads or days, perhaps for works, before te car even gain adr. ission to the room of the Highshodicial. There was more of this formerly than there is to-day. If that is changed to-day we ove it to that Secretary of State of Illustrious memory, than whom no one has dere note for India, I mean the late Mr. Edwin Samue' Moutager. I must not forget one other item in regard to mon polics. Are there not many instances of regencies during minordies in It han States where the Resident because he was all-powerful a pring the dinority, has given monopolies to Emopean firms to the exclusion of the subjects of the State and of British Indians? I am surprised that my roble Lord is not aware of the facts which I have given, and which I could easily multiply and which he must have known in his capacity as Secretary of State, which high position he has held more than once.

I mentioned Mr. Montagn's good work to India. I reduce to find that every single Indian present, who never the name of Lord Inwin has been mentioned, has applied it, and rightly so. But. Mr. Prime Minister, there is one other rame to which you will

per up retorde and monnection with which you will allow me to than a you yourself, in that you selected him for the office of Secretary of State for India—I mean Mr. Wedgwood Benn. We recognise the worth of Mr. Benn. We recognise his goodwill and we know that it left to harself he would go as far as he possibly or dain the matter of helping India and the Indians.

In the trovernment of In lia Despatch it is said distinctly that . A leasons advanced therein, filance should not be transferred but Let the maler the centrol of Parliament. May I ask how much the trovernment of Inlia has contributed towards the alvancement of India's reduce Let me refer to an instance which occurred in India less than six nonthango. I do not know whether it was of to your indicate, or whether it was with the permission and les al der et the Grant ment of Irdia, that the Government of I unlay issuel a circular from the Centrel Government Press of Bondy, which they broadcasted by the thousand, in which, in e der to a est the boyest movement, they depressed every Indian. commercial enterprise. I will quate but one sentence in regard to Looking. It ay . " Built-h banking is the mainstay of our banking system in It had It provides wile tabilities and the strongest so unity. What doubt people in this courtry ignore these securcarretts in twom of much less stable ones; "-meaning thereby I with concerts Is that the way the Covernment of India propose that I would say that, then India is entrusted with he, own finances and when she knows "at sie will have to borrow morey from outside countries, sho , ill so mara\_o her finances that ler crefit will be very greatly enhanced.

Let l'ével complamed that none of the speakers who preceded and the any reference to the devoted services of Englishmen who had general to India in the different Services. There was no occasion to do so. We are always prepared to admit that Englishmen out if a case certainly given of their best. At the same time the volt admit that India has rewarded their services on a scale in which to other country pays either its Civil Servants or its other services. Against that had not be torgotten that India pays to the torgot of the civil and military, to Europeans.

Whet do worsk to? As Mr. Jurnah pointed out, we want to be a sters recur own house. We do not want to rob our European friends of their vested interests, but I would ask this Conference to rot on her that the vested interests were created by them when I draws had not the glost of a chance to come in. Are we asking to to do any reach that what yet are doing in your own country? The time time is dustry. Because you discovered that the British to the affirm a lastly was not getting along as well as it ought to being, you imposed a quota. Then there was another case of the letteral company in regard to which you haid down by little the percentage of shares held by Britishers must be no less than 51 per cent., so that its control may rest with you.

If we exact to improve position to consider the first of the controlled to the control to the contr

· [77, 7' / , le ver of the fat that next of the literal has been consorted by the Person the Holian States Designition I al sall test bares there is not the train the Representing Tree . If a live lied Tieler the Nizer. I feed I connect sit silent In tould at mess in a current education the control if the light and St. . that we hall to be and be light, dar ling wing and soft record believes of busines about a normal gave prount MITH All South to fine a properties and wish with - nessally under the his mir conditions that prevail in living ' - ' v. I vo Il rendy - k the D lyons from British Daha, sho some al were and, trerest, by doned president in it meets, it is the set in the opine then at the object to verily be a constitute tier will east of C. v. moont national in every sense up what he its sharlite, will reduce, and not mently a constitute al villative a the never of the restructed. In the - 12 or it but a skather name and its cover the British Parlich end have and a not or return a report of the surface of per the the last tent in a father dements that make the field of the contract of the preservation of the er er og trekter, het betit het, het til et der ato Ir car at entrance and artered area para from assure is the tile a leader of your court youet, who have done or tarely to I to a fat, and by the telephone of the end of the in the India of the future.

that is not for nothing that this island set in the vestern seasons on the last in the vestern seasons on the last in the vestern seasons. I believe that we are now here to respect harvest of the experience and discipline in a greater and more united India than our history has ever recorded.

So Chemanial Scializad: You, Sir, and other members of the Bri is believations must have been struck with the manimity with which the Delegates train British India of all groups, of all communities and of all sections as will as the Indian Princes, have demanded all self-government for India. To the Indian Princes who have so patriotically stood be as our obligations are due, and I have very hope that, when we it down to hammer out a dedenated constitution for India, the It lim Princes will therein occupy their rightful place.

Here is an a series of the continuous and Mr. Fazl-ta-Here is an action of the remaining that in any continuous which yet, is the minority communities must be able to agree to such safeguards as will satisfy them.

I' . le. . ! In il of tention the member of Lend Peel: it I . I . I . . I . . . . . . I letere that we Deligates here Lave . of mad . - . he, cut acknowledgment of the very good work done by Land in 1. I. in the depart ent of education and in various et . . . . To my mind it is profit eas on the present eccusion to I ut to see dest'ous, locause ore may well feel disposed to ask who ther it is an achievement of which anyone can be proud that, in the callet followeds of British rule, the percentage of literates in But I lide to ror on thin a et 9 per ent., whereas you find 1 r' n li l. .. li li... in progressive States like Mysoite, Baroda . I I to the the permitting is very nearly (1) parent. Can I was a conserved to if entirely to us? It has been dirially 1 . . . I .. t mony in lands of hunden beings in British Inda e in the state of . . I sature to say you will not had that on I turn of another ti In a

I have all that you or all to go by easy eage, that you child agree and the state of the first the State of for son. When that was mentioned my trief I Sur Tej Bahadur Sand the state "Begue," and I entirely agree with him to that ces on a cut the provincial autonomy described by the Statutory Corn, ier. Can that provincial autonomy be described as a real carrier which you will have clicial Ministers? There would will lead to existing at the project in a votable, and all the Servicesin without, draipline, and some would still be in the hands of the Secretary of State. If you call that provincial autonomy you v. but I do not call it commine or real provincial autonomy at all. 'I are to say " (In slewly: do not quicker, the pare " are like . . . parats, who will never realise that the ward is no longer a v rd but has now become a self-determining adult. Those parents at I the politic as who take that view are sailly mistaken. The war!, who has now be once a self-determining adult, is determined no have his way, to come into his own, to have the management of I - - or estate in his own hands. It does not do for the guardian to say " I: I hand over your inheritance to you, you may mishaning it, verify is mage it in the jearly, and you will commit neistakes." Mr. Prese Minister, we are perfectly conscious that we may con mit In the sont that for some time over administration may be conpositively in arient, but we are determined to go through that stage, or we want to come it to our own. We may not manage things as other intly as your are doing now, but it is our affair and we want to be allowed to manage it ourselves.

It has been said that if you take a constitution from level a tall ber oratic government, the new ert that is civen, power will be wrested from you, the Delegat's who come here, it the progle who have recently created if the trouble in India I will not report the answer given very off efficient to that sage set in by lay friend Mr. Sastr. You have to make up your minds what you will lo, and I beseech the Bri ish Delevations to think of the alternatives lesore them and to the ewarts. Y a consitisy It lim aspirathe Established to Pederal legional chairs, and the assure as .ate, the e people whem year all haspons, ble at present, who are now creating all the trouble in Endi, will be the firs to concern and work that con titution in at or had manyer. On the other hand, t den danet do that, you can make up your rivis I do not say this as a threat, but with all gravity and with all the empress 1 can contratid—that the future is very black indeed both for India and England. It you do not grant now what India wants, the posture will be this: you will have to enter into a long-drawn sure cle, increasing every day. You may put down desorder; y a are bound to put it down, and you will do sor but at every tage it will, somer or later, again break torth with a cosed vectors, and you cannot rule 320 million people continuously by force and by military power.

I trust, therefore, you will make a wise choice. You can a the ladia discontented, which will mean rumation to ber and may near mination to England, or you can make now a contented india which will be the brightest jewel in the Empire and its greatest ploty, and which will enhance the reputation of the Empire which, with all its faults, has excited not only the almiration, but even the envy of the rest of the world.

## THE GENERAL DISCUSSION-, or premieral).

## Plenary Session, 21st November, 1930.

Ray St. 1/ he a 1 Kha: Before I begin my speech I welcome the distance that there should be a time-line on the contract that there should be a time-line on the contract of action, not of words.

In Pin Wriste, as the representative of the Army, and there ore of the classes in a which it is drawn, my first and foremost luty is to a lite year them steadfast loyalty and unshakable divotion to d's Lore hal Majesty the King-Emperor and his Throne. We see the seven ready to uphold the cause of the British Commonwealth a which I did forms as integral part. It is not without considerable didden e that I have risen to address this gathering, wherein i collected together the intellect, the character und the expect to a cribidia and terest Britism. I am, and have been, a sold or, content to a rise in the Army to the best of my humile and line and one wing pulse in the performance of these routine duties y' me e ever a e otomous they any appear to civil aire, are the to shours of the descriptine and, through discipline, of in the beat the creat and noble contribution which the Area were the, and has made in the past, to the solution of India s , odd or a strong, self-elant, vigoria and self-comment Indian nation, cemented by those bonds of contabelig, pressional pride and military discipline which the people of links have always displayed in the hour of greatest glory.

I am a strugger to politics, ignorant clike of the niceties and sultletics of parliamentary caucus, indifferent to the arts of the deringog actival unpervious to the appeals of self-alvertisement. My life has been spent or the battlefields, on the snowy peaks of Asia Minor and the fertile valley of the Nile, and on the rocks of the Frontier, where Sir Abdul Qaiyum owns the land. China, Iraq, Turkey, Lgypt and India have been the chief theatres where the regiment, to which I have the honour to belong, has fought. I went through the ordeal of the world-wide war, supremely confident of the justice of our cause, and determined to fight for those principles which were so gloriously vindicated on many a battlefield through ut Europe and Asia. Even now, I can picture to myself the scene. I can recall the field which seeme! covered with poppies and call to become y the herore deeds of thousands of my connades in and who laid down their lives with a smile of supreme satisfaction "Id the mully obeyed the call of duty on the inhospitable rocks and inaccessible creeks of the Frontier. While the politicians we busy discussing torms, modes and aspects of the constitution, while they are busy with the permutation and combination of policies, programmes and principles, we martial races of India guard the Frontin from the incessant raids of the stranger. It is the Arr v which acts as a bulwark against the limitless au bittens and low less greed, not only of the Trans-border Frontier reople, 'ent also i trein powers. The long const-line of Madras and

British shops are sufficient, ever the aday, the reconstructions of Made so at Bookey would be exposed to the fury of powers which I need not mention.

I have described at necessary to state these to the assisting and a contribute which has given a plendid account of itself in the past. Its achievement in deed to in of at, culture, learning and some the contributed in the fact to the ecountly million in Italia, have easy in the great that them more answeries. As nonustants, the record of its achievement is entacline in these great materials are which have stood the test of the card are now the foundation of another. Italia. The Punjah, the Province to which I have the harmonic belong was ruled by the land lines for severentimes, and though it we or apically Renjit Singh, and his now, or the hier space of thirty year, it is, and must renard the centre of Muslim activity in India.

It is the east Maslin, indecember, Maslin erer vand Muslin en; a practial, thatk and harrowing life. No only las of the mer table to table to breating betalist the to I a mission in deam daid that parts of the Previoce. and I referred a for what is a that of a Practical is use, the Parent, from a season a source of the tholive the rear princial fraction the freights of distillation alaste the terms of the terms of the terms of title by its association with the flower of the British Army in and the second of the second o (+ wills, so MI do Hiller, who is I for the lase present, The state of the s Propriet to the first of the state of the st at other or it a Vieter, The plant of the field of meliters, who per rel " Par, It I have de l'est est lind averter d'al in the prode a C it is a strong in the grant weld. At the laginaing on the I'. in it he had an a me but bed to cond my at all taid in the Artis. At the close of the Wer will satisfial a Illert. I served with the Celema The number of fighting men I condition the authorization was no 2 ly 300,000, raged ... Lalt the total run ber raised in India.

Fitter at Ravalpind, on Felmany tab. 1921, His Royal Internation Dule of Community used these momerable words:

then before the War the Punjab hal a more temiliar in the filter care to Empire. But do ing the War she becare a house off vail, a temly a mount of the number of non-tion the Punjab who joined the Chem, but has on account of the phone in the phone in the Punjab who joined the Chem, but has on account of the phone in the Punjab who joined the Chem, but has on account of the phone in the Punjab who joined the Chem, but has on account of the phone in the Punjab who joined the Chem, but has on account of the phone in the Punjab who joined the Chem, but has on account of the phone in the Punjab who joined the Chem, but has on account of the phone.

The Mol resident community supplied more than half the more than balf the more than balf the more than balf the

two Muslim di tricts of Rawalpindi and Thelum, out of a real, to population of a quarter of a million, sem nearly thirty thousand not with the Coloms daring the last year of the war.

Wi Prime Min ster. I have supplied the a fewres, not it a spirit of thingh, you solie place. I have done so becar I feel there is a per lility or our line sight of the moderneral fact that the readminist supportment of the and constitution carnot be real med to order. It ist be a specifies, and then and environment of each country. I have no desire to d cuss the political previous a high confront ton; I do not wish to at lee on either the resenty a the deficulty of Dominion Status. Ny point is that cur entire scheme of constitution would be a compere failure unless to nake acceptate prevision for the Indian Anny. If In I. was to to be a mi-ti -- is her own Louselold if she is keen on ar amang a states which will ensure her equality with the Deminions, the problem of the Army met be swed by her with entre ar lord tr. The position row - that the number of I. Lans who have convence nondescous in His Majesty's Perces is at mirgly be. The or prisciple which must be kept permarently in view is that there should be no du by in the Arry The they comment has propounded a scheme of duality in the Certial thorament, the Indian Statuory Corn its on has deviced a still on one of the practical when The recommend the The first the Legeral Area and Daniel ... Aller. In the Larbie er der Judey is the An v will be aganise the whole i crites of the lines the pitaria. It will preduce constant in the plant of the trailing and lead to extravalance and even chaos. The Army in India must be one and indivisible.

Having stood this I see principle. Let me deal with man of 's naber one. If India actieves a tederal Government, and I is not conserve any of or torn, of Government in such a vast our by, she will have a national Army, time the highest stand-: 's, arguest a the resources of their and materials and focussing be needs through the building up of an edicient and striking that it is not sine the national Arra inest, however, he suppleme tel by cirizen militra or military relie maintained by each "detal Prevince of British India. The powers of the national Army over the citizen militia will be varied. There must be coor briation of supervision and control. I cannot contemplate the presibility of a citizen militia of each province acting independently of others or of the national Army. This would produce chaos and liso, ler. As British Indian States g. in in experience, this control "...ight be relaxed to some extent Whilst it is essential that the rdiviluality and freedom of the citizen militia of each Province should be maintained intact, it is no less essential that there should be supervision by, and co-ordination with, the national Army. The national Army must be under a Council, consisting of the Vicerov, Commander-in-Chief and other members of specialised experience, and must be free from the ebb and flow of Assembly politics. This is my conception of the part which the Army will play in the centre as well as in the Provinces of federal India.

The brings me to another modern when the formal Table Conference will have to discuss. One aspect of this is the provision of odies at the Indian Arry Lan convoid that excellent material courts in India or of our and that it opportunities were provided for Indians, the require involves of others would have bere fortherming in large rund it. It nust be admitted that the nothed adopted hitherto in the suply of others have not been satisfactory. I need not go into details, as these problems were I soussed is haustively by one Sar drift Committee. I am saragly of the open in that ar Ind n Sauthaust should be eleated, and that the ann ber of commissions to be given to led ans should be rapidly impeasel. It is o'vious that the rate of advance will depoted upon numerous factus, and I am not gone, to lay dissebeen the mineman men ber decre der an which to be ledgen Army Should be Indianised." Anonymous and on Indianism, we must not exerbook the impetant fact that cot all parts of India ent, produce recruits in subscript mutale. When yet the theory six that say about the about e et nor-i attail i e s in India, the pely a derical visit of real visit on our the anti-intental rests of history an' place, generality one recet and dinate must be lept per manerally in view. The same sorte parts of fron where fee tats or the requisite stamp can be aised. There are other parts where t distre of markal tradition, the problem is not dimate and solved the desired the feet the tenteritation is a service in a salde. It the Areyet Aco India to to be element, it ever e , to the force of it's muluml, the energy of surely. It must e or a who we determed and property is a . O. I not log 1to the transfer of the first of the property of the transfer of the property o a the lateral Harrist and a lateral design and a second design and . He - ne H. util - lett pro e This sant une to be an udaspenable preliminary to a visit and experiment or the 1 . I I II. I AIMY

Apply, it is have I dealt viril the range of rapport of parties at the Apply, it is have I dealt viril the range of a cine to obtain which is unnecessity for me to loss, as I think it will be than their a Committee of Deteror, which this Conserve health establish, will be the project look to the purpose. Such a Committee seems to raise the obsclutely necessity, as the structure of our constitution will be shown and very tassound intil at a based on a practical and entrient system of a national Army from the common Matherland.

To, Chadrentee Mr. Pring Morister, as a hondermether of the Delegation from British India, and as almost the last speaker tome arrong its ranks. I does it not dott and privilege to express to projoud and respectful appreciation of the valuable contribution of the their Highnesses the Ruling Princes have in that the success of the so deliberations. In the future India—a united greater India—the part which the Princes baye to play will be even non-important than that which has already tallen to their late and specific as a Hindu with the made in the propose a first race for

will find the lost of releads, philosophers and guides.

Next, I ask your permission to express my appreciation of the potiest of the potiest of the numbers of the British Delegations have listened without a word of interruption to make an unpolatable trials which has been driven home to their public by the speakers to be a yeometry. This spirit of discipline, which is but one of the many traits of British character of which I am a prove tod advance, conveys to us its own lesson, and I trust I shall have the good tortune, as previous speakers have had, of heir given, an equally patient hearing for a few minutes.

I am not in the less Esturbed by the speech of our ex-Secretary of State, Lord Peel. I real leng years ago that the British Tory hes a led it of hence the rost vehencent in his protestations just on the point of surrendering a hopelessly untenable position. Sir, the at all of Lord Pool were mildless itself compared with the strident 1' . Here I settle of he colleagues in his Party, and if I were he I alouded indules to them of what preption would be accorded to i, a by the Chambells and the Beaverlineks of the Party. I hope. Sir, it of hearty will a pear itself, and that the Party of which Lord Parl is a diming one to it will not be slow to justify the example or to greatest fory backer of the last century. Mr. Disraeli, and ' - ' jes' as he at he a circulate of the Liberal Party and intro-A critic Reor B. Hi. 1807, on well be with Lord Peel's Party and that, if the opposition ty falls to them, they will not be slow to tabe advantage of the spade work that your Party is now doing in wder treather up a Irdi, the gift of self government. Lord Peck, as the batter of a great and historic name, may also profit by the example of his good uncester, who had no hesitation in giving up I'r tecter and repealing the Can Laws, that the great grandson will have to best the in realising that to obstruct the political cival er. Indicis to stand by a lost cause, and that he will be wise L'is day it be will job our ranks and will help us in our a lyance.

But one word I half permit nyself to say with regard to his derivations on compact in appolles and the conditions by which all strade and contacted ladicance is guided. As he evidently the last there is not justice or inequality operating against It has I also exist all respect to make a present to him of this had I also exist all respect to make a present to him of this had. To like of the greatest of India's great industrial captains, I. Not to, by an II elishman, Mr. F. R. Hadris. If he goes the up'this lock I are seen he will see from many illustrations, it down a week, or derive, that there is justification for the complaints which we utter.

At the commercence to few proceedings I was by no means are whether hard Reading had come to pray or to cause, and after list may to his speech of vesterday I am still left in doubt as to what and de he is going to adopt when the stage comes for concrete 11 per ds. But, Sn., true to the definition of Liberalism, Lord Reading has not stood still during the days that have elapsed since its return from hadro. The confessed yester lay that he was respon-

sille for a certain utterance in the Legislative Assembly some years ago, when it are someth to explain that respectsible convernment was different in a and less than Dominion Status and the latter had rever been proposed to us. He made a confector vesterday which was pratity to a tradition out I decade a confector of the less inherity to the product of out I decadism, he will care more to the Libertham of this cramy of it is entry has known. Mr. Challet be the Libertham of his colleague, Sinder, Sinder Mr. Challet be stated a proposition and enunciated a proveigle, which I be perfolly be to bring to the notice of Lord Reading. He said:

I have just on the notion of the pride that guide there just out in the protect, we took he try, that all the left of the prior trength, and that I lation has contain an analysis of the guilt rests up a the

with it will the offer the week."

## Again, and to this I invite his particular attention:

determine finally the question whether our power in India is or is not to continu will be to will at the 240 millions of people who include the Leder. The question who shall have suprementable in India is, by the lows of right, at Indian question and the claws of right are from day to day growing into how or fact. Our table to be the redepends on a first condition, that our going there is profitable to the Indian nation, and on a second condition, that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable."

This, Sir, is the true, and hould be the guilling, principle, and not the latter day imperialistic doctrine which seeks to use what are called coloured people as the root-stool, upon which the colourless people haight build their prosper ty and power and rise to fame.

Sir, it is a great privilege and adv. ntage that this historic Conterence has for its President no less a man than yourself, the first subject of the Crewn, the holder of the greatest office in the British Empire. We lidians have many reasons to be grateful to you. Early in your public life you showed an interest in India and a concern for he weltage and progress which led to your visit to my Awalening of helia." Your publication of the book called "The the Indian National Congress invited you to fill the office of its Pres. con in the very 1911, and you expressed your maliness to neept that postice but tor domesti political circumstances, which madered if hopes "derivatoro. Three years later you showed. when the war broke out, that in you there was not the so-called pick bull politician, a sellier of feature, but one who had the compact the byat on aid va teally sof impopularity. Fix years efforthat voir a be existed in a country, a gift which I find to be et parterla, value. Il i is the teitt. It is a constat friend of in the house the wester I, in the exprese of my vection as all

In I declare, to the here to pay the principle to the Government of India, I find therein. The Coverament of Ladia," by J. Ramsay MacDonald, in which there is pleaty of alamanitien with which to I a ratherar out to the tall ment. In the pretace to part book In the Trale of the later of the net by an adjustment lete and . und det and there. They have only your lim their wide -v. cop." In 1.28, presiding at the Buttsh Commer wealth Labour Conference m Iorden you said. " The jettle twittin a genodef menths rather that your thin will be a lost I) then thed to the Common we but the neters a D. Bick of another tree a Digition that will me. Here per the an equal to then the Bill h Country wealth. I . der to India." And your Party, in 1929, on the eye of the . lection, sail- and the is what your Party is committed to-the I dear Party believed in the right of the ladian people to selfcomment and adf-determindant, and the policy of the Labour (towers ment would be one of continuous co-operation with them with the elipster estall shing India it the earliest possible morent, the by her consent, as an equal partier with the other in labers of the British Commonwealth of Not on .

Sr, I trust that this Conference, unique and unprecedented in mary never, will propose a measure that will establish a lasting i nd-lig between our two great retiens. It is no good following I d Resel or and writing eta .crey on a clean slate. Lihe, ency of old in tracion which coes not lead to the prosperity, contentment and hopirss of the people has no meaning and no reality. After nearly a contury of I a Lalf of British bureaucratic rule in Indicines is still the badge of the finder. There is poverty which a f riger Secretary of State the Duke of Argyll, described as poverty worse than any that could be witnessed anywhere in Listope, and there is con numal tension, there is incapacity for will tary desence. For all these things it is British policy and the In cancient: sistem of government which are responsible. No leager should the Government of India be maintained as what it has been called a despetism of despatch boxes tempered by the creasional loss of keys. No longer should roll tape he King and selling was Minister. The Government of India car be a reality in the interests of the people of India when that Government is carried on by the representatives of those people, and not by others who may elaim to be tather, mother and guardian, all rolled into case, of the uneducated masses.

It this Conference does not lead to the fruction of Inlia's rast legitumate hopes and aspirations. I shudder to think of the future. The present system of government stands discredited; there is definitely an end of peace in Inlia on the basis of the present system. A system which can be maintained only by casting into good two such roble beings as Mahatma (annthia and Pandit Mahat Mohan Mahawiya as a doomed system. I hope that statesmanship—which has been described as the foresight of common sense—will recognise the visitor of avoiding a crisis and of solving this problem in a trivilly spin. As in the city that has adopted me, Allahabad—pear on me, Sit, it is the lest city in India—the two sacred rivers,

the Ganges and the street and a country that a control that control but on the progress of lancountry, permut here, ingularity of the progress of lancountry, permut here, ingularity of the advance progress of the permett, not only of their selves, but of the entire human race.

If the conduction of the control of the control of the control of the conduction of the control of the control

I sope at the the South to patter a the holder Preside 5 perform a They probes to be to be a later of a . . It does then the the things of Marin Heart Tree did noted to the state of the state of the state of the n his process are exhibited; slutch as hith that war. I need the first property of the transfer of the first the Latera content good le of har office to the transfer to the it to sa teat west for war be dos ript on very ly ne gallent triend from the Purpole, le R. jee. Dimei, will ply to the race to be the honor of the Mil attention well In the property of the second of the , a the Congress to be the some distincting of 1921 they light then over quit a radil not a tricipate, the asy extent, in the troubles that were caused by it. In order to show to the desire to the Heart William to the etablish the terminate the terminate the terminate that the terminate the terminate that the terminate the terminate that the terminate of the state of th the first the sent to the sent in the sent in the M. It Proces, the lite Maleria e Kolinger and Gwaller. Thy are a direct challe go to be seen sof the ron-co-operation. mere out at that sime list and a bar barged and minds have I I . Programme there has been a season there has is a see of the nationality of the Main ma people, and the said adviture of Martin Cardai's ant with a good deal et a e ll. Mach atta pea ditra les solles, under the sell of pro - en a tamber of the first of the gardening of job (h) I am, Tuioni, and somether es are, Suidable per le who go out into the torests to contrit what is technically alled "torest satva-" As the responsible Whise in charge a the forests of the Belay Conillant, I had then day to let to beat and go through reports, to one what was a degree of the President, will was early support of a self at the items to the still end of heen e milt to sel an extent by the fett, gant the we and small Binnia. who was despised a few years before.

What is the second of M. Ata. Goldha's suress? He has awakened the second self-respectationing the people, and everywhere the able to a "We must be rest is in our non-house." That is a very great achievement indeed, but at the same time let me assure years, as every one of his had an included his w, the whole Indian is transist broughly loyal to the filters. Although we all—Hindus

and the income and value we may call ourselves—water to be the test income house, the visuo thought of disloyalty. We distort want to separate from the British Empire; we want to live within a madeven in these days of unit, if any nomber of the Royal Periils will come to India, I am quite sure that not only the Madesalt and solutions but the Madesaltes and other Hindus from every Provice will show their loyalty and their love for the Empire, under which they have empired a many benefits. We are generally a lawfull they people, at laithough during these these saryagen as some little day agents lone, it is down too with any object of private protection, it is system which is grinding them down.

The G vermost of Borday have recognised these aspirations control 1. They call not suppose the recommendations made I the smith for the second of the little has at option to be le out, e dit . ? Pres have bell hake hipotius VIV fee il dall. in live in the exercise of to look at there. The Ciex-Ti-1 . 1 . B b b . t. it D .- J. t. h. . cut w et -he while he was I to a territoria of India adiation I am very gladite by the : . n. . . - list, of In the wing upon I alle prover to have . It bettery is to reprinted The Government lave is no readed entime assertations and certain safeguerds, but . . Fir a the Crare has been abounted, and that I bring to be of a this figurate, but it is a very important thing. A contract to the value of the provincial automative uly and that terms with a the say advance at the Centre. Provincial , it is a relied sometime. We have northed the Mertagut come a di Re un sa ma tre harchie sy tem, and I may assure the Care ence that the esponsible Ministers who took part in I oliver - ation will not look at Dyardly again. Dyarday has less on to ned and amplete provincial autorony nust be given : the tire of the system will not work. Much has been - i. it is the in valiet of Law and Onles. I do not preself sar . It i Walts thore. The Hands and the Maskins de term compressed We have been the part to new and or done in a ser a destruction of the Marthan Court of the Marthan In the The born with district. The above the mand. I are withten sand at which parts to destruct of the art sand the Sandibilian Haranen Halavatell h were made Minister in cause of Lay and Order. to This is could ever erterial, any rear. Will, pardonable pride It is say, Su, that it I am put in the good that office of responsi-It'is a Mui at radar triends will always trust me. Difficulties i in de la matte de la refet. We have willed them before. in the Army Hinda-Mulembandan c. stins wer aris. When fighting shoulder to shoulder the Harda is proud to trust a Mulamual in and the Muhammadan to tiust a Hieli. When a regiment contains some Hindu and some Mulanamadan companies, the Hindus take part in Muslim festivals and the Mul annuadans join the Hindus in their sorrows and sleate in their joys.

I had been a second to the sec

In verte say a radding, he about the Array, or thas time is timited freeducate, youngle. As we weeks noted had a talk with a British General and I discussed with him the scheme which is it present nonpertureas a step in Indiani ation. The General agreed with a clear the present over a various assumpt. He said that a last the horse in har one as would bookly get new training in term of this. I will have been it young a lieus were made lieutenants as a contract before any invents, and than those roung offers are a contract other and tary adding a could be put and rather. Then the would be easy for there there there that tary knowledge and reaches a distance that in this present your and a distance of the last any offers are made than under the present your and a distance of the last any offers are a last any offers and the contract the part and rather than the present your and the present your all the very official to H.N. The Mahataja of Patrala for offering help in exactly the same direction.

I was very a really suppled to lear trout the speeches of the Praces that they are ease, to come within the Pederation. I had not expected that bet the ewo like the sequenchy. I had expected that the Indian Princes would like to must their own confederation and their to come a of the greated select after some years of expenses. If they are already easer to join the general Federation I would not blue to stand in them way, although I think that perhaps it would be better for the Indian Princes to develop their own Indian Charaber of Princes, by forming a Federation of their own, and the Laraber of Princes, by forming a Federation of their own, and the laraber of problems in which the Rejas and Melarajes to not bested, and melass way build up a tradition of their own,

headr ving British Irdia to develop along its own lines. The disorber out at British Irdia has been all along on the line of a more by system of government. Divolution is doing its particularly, and when the provinces are properly developed there will be very short when British It has a large that will be very short when British It has a large that will be united. We shall then be able to the ather the spirit of a it and triendship that has pervaded to a that the spirit of a it and tions, that Irdia is an indivisible the control of the large triendship that has pervaded to be at large triendship that has pervaded to be a large triendship that has pervaded to be at large triendship triendship that has been at large triendship tr

I sld be. He to the shear proceedings to-day by moon. It is now to coty minutes past obeyon, you have still got to sum up, and you not have made in this is now in the entitled to have in the entitle

your time and I shall try not to do so. This Conference, it it has not arready to meetly done so, will appoint a Committee to consider and record the principles on which the future Government of In l.a she ild rest. That Committee will report and this Conference will examine the suitability of its recommendations. For this reason and expression of views at this stage as to how the factive should be cidenal appears to me to prejudice the issue or to be at be t superfluors. Let by the all of this Centerence, the oppositionty for a general discussion has been extended from by to cay and I can hour to hour. I take it, Sir, that the object of the general discretion is to bring about a comprehensive attitude of mind in this Conterence—an attitude of mind which will result tell every the ber of this Conference becoming acquainted with the dit or ut points of view, to the end that the final conclusions of ta - Caderence but be it consumer with the general west, and related to the power: I factors which constitute the could's problem and Tagland are to-day conficuted

M. v 1. with your permission, trace for a moment the general of this Contente to a point of time auterier to Sir John Smon's in an indiction, and communently express my view of the reasons which revest this Conference with such tremendous importance. The ceallt as which led to the Government of India Act of 1919, I sala, it, It of already come into existence forty-five years before, and so it was that in 1885 the foundation was laid of the Indian Not cond Congress at the instance of no less a person than Lord Duncting then Viceroy of India. The conditions which led to the Recerms of 1919 Lad also been so created. By the Government of I dia Act of 1919 it was provided that, after the Reforms had been It operation for ten years, an enquiry would be held in regard to certain specified issues. When England made this provision, it cons lously desired to review the result of the big experiment it was land Ling. But subconsciously. I submit, by that very provision it brought on record the fact that the experiment it was trying, hold though it was, did not cover all the factors of the publicum vlanch it had set out to solve. In the inner consciousness of England there was the feeling that the Act of 1919 had ignored the existence of the Indian States. This phase of the problem has directly little little ince in the attention both of the British Government . .. d of the people of British India. But I must pass on to the resistions of the Act of 1919 and show Low the existing unhappy " notitions in India are the consequence of that Act. In British In the that let created an appetite which grew, and has grown by vist it fe i on. Sir, it has been remarked that the present con lucous it ful a onstitue a problem of British India. I beg to submir Il a the problem of British India is also the problem of the Indian S ites, because the conditions that have arisen in India are every day in a greater measure affecting the Indian States. It has been said that the problem of India is a racial problem. It may or may be the sa. I believe that it is so to a considerable extent on ac out of the relative position of the Englishuan and the Indian in India. Whith a that position has existed by design, or in consequence of

The Giveno enter I dia, it in space of it, is not the point. That it have seed as a fact. Let very Englishman search his he it and it die at secret to the question, how he would feel it the position acted to sed, it in his home in England his position became sorter hand like what the position of the Indian is in his own home. But whether incident entitly the problem is a radial problem of the soft not be a deeper season hum in problem? I do not think the any natural force indea that every hadian—Prince or possant—lead, in consequence of the continuous which have prevailed for each only a pured of 60 years counting back to 1870, bod, and feel to a give that the might be saved to on his miends. I subtrate here one, that the publication of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of a thorn that the public of India may be viewed as a problem of the content of the content

I, musel the ablain how the present position in Indicisalize to to Received 1919. I do not acquarte review the legislacion i tre but ter years to illustrate how that hemislation has abutsely were the rights of the States in more ways, critical its given i er the feeling i Bentsh India that neasures can be extrict " o'r the so thare heels pro opposed to its in a rest. I shall do use I one example. Take the faction of the exchange ratio it 1s. Gd. It was a measure which was carried. I need not recall the veled sown e reun stances in which it was carried. It was a neasure when a rected British India and the States alike. In ha mor well voude how a measure, to which there was such strong and deepsould opposition, could be carried against the wishes of the country. In any case the States old not even have the appointmity of expressing a any proper sphere—and such a sphere does not ever exist to-day and of joining the chorus of disappreval against that measure II stay therefore be said to the credit of the Retorns of 1919 and the Government of India Act of hat year that they I ve served be very metal purp e or emilling India, British India ed the States to det mire what ned cal changes are researed m It is notificable for the sefegueral of her vital intrests. This one illi, tratte alere should stiffee to explain, firstly, British India's er to the master of restonsibility of the Cente and, secondly, in a view of the States that, or methers which affect then and I'm hilliam comman, they should have melotive voice in the the grand execution of pulcies.

Show the less been expressed in various considers that the States lave lower north set ieds at with British India, even though, and the all the all raday, they always maintained that they and Pairish I II maturally should have no economy with each other. This is to rectailly a rizing. Is the attitude of the States not had been beginned as a last had a pick each equation of the Reforms?

While on the point I should like to oner two further observes. The first is, as I have the that the conditions in British instructional accretionation the problem of British India alone; they will be a successful a problem of the States. The other is that, it

the States whole-heartedly support the demands of British India, if they desire to unite with British India in a Tederation which will rest upon their vital and fundamental rights being recognised, they do so, not to gain any exclusive advantage for themselves, but with the object of keeping the Empire whole and entire. They do so out of their legalty to the King-Emperor. They are once again doing for England what they did in 1857, namely, coming to England's rescue. In just that lies the true inwardness of the attitude which the States are taking to-day. They are desirous of restoring peace and contentment to their unhappy country and of rehabilitating the bonour of England in India. If the unitary form of government remains, I coubt very much if England will feel the confidence to concede to India all that India is asking. If the States come in, and there is a federal form of government. I am sure that that fact would inspire England with sufficient confidence to entrust to India the management of her own affairs.

What better can England ask of Providence than a united and contented India behind her, to face with her all the risks of the factor and to help ber in solving her many domestic problems? A united India, I believe, has been the goal and the ideal of England in India, and the States have come along to make the realisation of that ideal possible. They are asking England to put the coping stone on the magnificent edifice which she has raised in India, and, it deed, by consenting to let the people of India manage the affairs of their country according to their own genius, they are enabling Ingland to win the blessings of the 320,000,000 men and women of India, who, according to their taith in Kismet, actually believe that the day of their deliverance is now dawning.

11.11. The Aga Khan: Mr. Prime Minister, I did not intend speaking here either to-day or at any stage of these proceedings but some of the members of the British India Delegation have told me, as recently as last night and this morning, that it was my duty to express my views. I have come quite unprepared, but the best preparation of all has been the proceedings of this Conference. You. Sir, and the British representatives of the three Parties of the State have heard practically every school of Indian thought. From the Hindus to the Muslims, coming down across the centre, nearly every school has spoken. Their Highnesses, the Princes, have spoken. If we eliminate all differences, there is on one point complete unanimity. We all ask for a full measure of self-government. I think, as Chairman of the British India Deleextion, working in co-operation with the two other Delegations, I an say that we are all unitedly asking for that. We ask you to promise us the framework. If the picture that we are to paint on it is unsatisfactory to any of the important minorities, or to the Princes, or to a small section of the minorities, we will try againand if we fail we will try again: and we will continue trying till ve produce something that will be generally satisfactory. I, for one, am particularly anxious that it shall be in a form which will ensure that, not only every Indian minority, but the British commercial clonent in India shall be satisfied that their interests are sate in our hands. As to the interests of this country, a united India could offer her a far greater security as to her commercial interests than anything sle has at present; could offer her a long-dated treaty on the lines of the German-Russian Treaty of 1964. For many years that would ensure your commerce this and equitable treatment, and that would give your people a sense of scenity. The same applies to debt and to other interests, which would be into tely sater than nearly relying, as at present, on the strength of this country and not on a consented agreement with India.

Mr. Prime Minister, there is no reason why, if we can produce a redetal scheme that will please the Princes, that will please the Hindus, that will please the Muslin's, that will please the smaller tanorities and that will satisfy all the legitimate commercial interests, and at the same time is a period reserve certain objects, there is no reason why we should not at this coment start on the basis of tull self-government and responsibility.

Chareman: Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is now my task to conclude this part of our proceedings, and in doing so it is my duty to try and survey the field as it is at the present reoment. Of course, the very first thing that enters into one's mind, at I remains in one's mind with growing strength, is the simple objective fact that we are all here together. It has never happered before. This surely is a union of India sitting at the council table, not only with the British Government, but with the British Parliament the bottsh Parliament represented by members of the House et Loids, by men bers of the House et Commons, and by members of the Cover durant in existence for the time being. My Indian friends, those of you with a keen and lively imagination, when I wrote those things that were going to satisfy the heart of my well-armed friend, Mr. Chuturani, did you ever imagine that this would have happened under those circumstances and in such a brief space of time? Do remember this, that the first thing you have to do regarding this Conference is to assure yourselves that we have reached a milestone that indicates a different future from what the past has been.

I said to you, when you elected me to this Chair at the beginthere, that you were doing me a very great honour. The sense of
that bonour has grown from hour to hour and from day to day.
This is not only an historic Conference in the sense in which I
have used the word, but it is historic in other senses that ought to
put pride into the hearts of every one of you here. You have listened to close magnifice it speeches, so full of promise, of the Princes.
You have listened to speeches, and it is impossible for me to individualise and particularise them, from representatives of practically
every interest, every community, every differing group in India.
You have dure more. You have listened to a chaiming new voice,
which, a itself, marks something great and something most significant in the evolution of Indian self-government, the voice of the
women of India.

This, then, is a recognition of status. This recognition made here mever can be departed from. It is impossible to go back, to pass a pen through the last four or five days and to declare in any man's vanity that it rever existed. It has been born in order to develop. We have harened to remarkable speeches, speeches dispay by the mind of India, speeches when differences were declared. not meant to send us all away, you home to India, we back to the House of Cornions, full of despar, but speeches which were meant, and reast be taken to mean, to bring us face to face with facts in order that those facts may be overcome and titted into a system of agreement. And, my Indian colleagues, do remember this. This is a small place; we are few; but we have not been your only audience You have spoken to the great andience of the British public outside. Mr. Sastri, in pursuance of that henourable character which has always been his, told you quite candidly that he had changed his opinion. Mr. Sastri, you are not the only man who has changed his opicion within the last few days. We want opinions to change, not in lundamentals, not in aspirations, not in ideals, not in those great basic bumen claims; but we want opinions to change in this sense, that every new fact brought before us challenges us to accommodate it in the practical systems which I hope we are going to construct before we leave this Table.

There has been a great influence on public opinion here by your speedes. Every time you spoke you have had effect. Our friends opposite, who belong to the minorities, and who feel. I dare say not only say but feel -that they are minorities. I give you this word of cheer and this word of comfort: the case you have put up has not fallen on deaf ears.

Another observation I want to make is this. The speeches Lave not stated problems for the purpose of debate; we have gone past all that. We are not here to debate; we are here for action. Every ore of you who has been in polities-and I dare say some of you w.ll be a little more in the centre before you depart from this lite w.H. I think, before you go from here have a new angle from which to consider polities, the sort of angle that my honomable friends ly me and myself have had to occupy, the angle of the responsible man whose problem is to relate the "is" to the "is to be", and to cruste in the "is", from the vital surength that it gets from the "is to be", an evolution which will work itself out in accordance with the lives of its own being. It is not for us here to be a conders of "Lie happered in 1800. We are not the recorders of the past. We are the extend anset the future. The policies of 1800, prushed by as all livevery other nation, were pretty much the same. The policy of 1950 is to depend upon the situation which has been created by the pessing of the years since then. That is the next important thing that we have to consider in our work.

I hear it somet mes said that, somehow or other, some group or other vishes to go back up in what has been said and what has been accepted by you as pledges between, say, 1917 and this normal. That is not true. The Government accepts everything

that has been officially said. This Conference has been called because we accept it. This Conference at its meetings will have proof that we mean to carry it out. We have to face-and again 1 taink of speeches degivered from the section of the Conference numediately in front of me-we have to face practical requirements. I do not like that word "difficulty", because when a man says he is in difficulties be aiways implies, to some extent, that he is overcome. But there are two types of mind and two classes of men who hever can fire difficulties with success. The first type and the first class is the man who, when he comes up against a difficulty, imagines either that it is not there at all, or that he can jump over it without any trouble. He conce a cropper. The other type of man, who is equally in decrive, is the man who says, "Oh! there's a difficulty. Let us st pour pilgrimage. The read is blocked. It is not our home, but we cannot go home. Let us patch our camp in front of the difficulty." He is no good. Neither of these types is of any use. The rain of practical action, the type of man and the type of hand that is going to serve both India and this country with success and with honour and be a blessing to both, is the type of man who says: "Yes, there is a difficulty. Come on, let's get over it." That is the spirit in which we approach the problems before us. We have precisely the same sort of problem which, although different in its content-very, very different in its content-but the same type of problem, the same class of problem both in thinking and practical action, which we had to free the other dry at the Imperial Conference. 1926 made a great declaration. 1930 had to put a content into that declaration. That is the position in which we are all here at this present moment.

As one of the speakers this morning said, our friend in front, government is a government of men, and constitutions cannot be made to order. Constitutions are not made at firesides. May I, with due respect, as one who belongs to the same fraternity, who honours the fraternity, but knows its weakness, add that neither can constitutions be made in the editorial offices of newspapers? I include myself in that. What we have to do, as men of knowledge, men, of experience, men who have thought out problems, is to corre and sit together, full of the faith, as a pre-liminary necessity, that we can find our way through, and that when we have found our way through we shall feel proud of our action, and will see our action fractify in the peace and the happiness of our people.

What has emerged from this? I say first of all that status has emerged. We are here altogether—Princes. British Indians, Hindus, Muhammadons, the minorities grouped in their various sub-divisions, some with great grievances, some with less grievances but yet, very considerable grievances—some like Burna, whose case we shall have to consider before this Conference is finally wound up. Here we are altogether—my friend Sapiu, myself, our friends over there, all at the same Table, working at the same problem, listered to in the analysis, enjoying the same needs of extression, and taking to imposely and rightly, the full right of criticising.

objecting, negotiating, bargaining and accepting finally, or rejecting. I repeat, that is a gain which is marked by the meeting of this Conference. Let it be noted that it is not static; it is not for this time only. This has established a relationship of active cooperation between us, in which your part is as conspicuous as ours.

A second thing is this. The speeches have been extraordinarily practical in their character. There is another word I do not like that this subject shall be "reserved" and that subject shall be " reserved ". That seems to imply the idea that we are sitting here, and that we are wishing to exercise a control merely in relation to ourselves and not in relation to you. The problem of the reserved subjects -and every speaker has said that that problem must be faced—is a problem of how things are to be fitted into the conditichs which exist to-day; not to stabilise and ossily these conditions, but as practical men who know perfectly well that within six weeks of our agreement you will have to bear responsibilities for it and we will have to bear responsibilities for it. You will have to go and race public opinion in India. You will have to go and lace agitation in India. You will have probably to go and face those black flags which bade you God speed, and may be displayed again in order to give you Inda's welcome. So shall we. So shall this country. All I say is this: that as practical men we must fare those facts, and in the agreement we make give them a place. It is not reserving; it is not withholding; it is not withdrawing; it is this: it is an lanest study, as between responsible men and responsible men, of the facts relating to the conditions in India and the facts retating to public opinion here for the time being. We have to recegnise the objective nature of our task, not merely its subjective nature.

This is another point. The declaration of the Princes has revolutionised the situation. Supposing we had met here without the Princes, supposing the Princes had come and had said nothing, or supposing they had said, "We are here merely as spectators." What a different situation would have presented itself to us! The Princes saying what they have said has at once not only opened our vision, not only cheered our hearts, not only let us lift up our eyes and see a glowing horizon, but has simplified our duties. The Princes have given a most substantial contribution in opening up the way to a really united federated India.

The final point that I need mention in this connection is this. We have made a great contribution here, you have made a great contribution, to the style of the architecture of the constitution. I had an Indian illustration in my mind. I do not think I will give it. You know, I have wandered up and down India, I have seen your beautiful old architecture. Under its walls and standing in its shadows, I have tried to pour out my Western—prejudices shall I call them?—not exactly, because I do not think they are prejudices, but my Western upbringing and I have been able to revel in that extraorlinary blossoming of the artistic Indian mind. Style of architecture, my friends, remember this has a

; is to est. Hing without on the mind that allides with it. Give a on button which is earner and alien in its constitution, and ' all a maj us. Give us a constitution which is in accordance with experience, which has become part and parcel of your spiral I oughts, i.e. that will help you. And the contribution I make to the tyle of the architecture of your constitution is this. The most characteristic foundation of our common Aryan chilisation. It in said yesterday, united in the village, the village united in the district and so on - India a Federation, a Federation which is Persite, . Tederation which needs the bistorical inheritance yes hor the got it so the as it is worthly to be carried into the future, a belowing which enables mergings to take place, a Federation vi. in a lies in itself the authority of the State and the liberty the indudial; the superiority of the combination, and homege at the same time to the containing smaller co-ordinating groups with the Federation; that is in accordance, I think, both with the Indian genius and the British genius, because as a matter of for a contundamentals we drink at the same historical fountains and are remeshed by the same historical reminiscences.

With legard to the practical points, I have a series here which I have taken down. They are not systematic: please do not criticise them as that. They are casual. I took them down from the specifies as they were being delivered, not by any of us, but I, con. What will be the nature of the component units which are to be fitted into a scheme of tederation? What will be the nature of the central co-ordinating structure? What will be the relations of it to be structure to the Provinces? What will be the relations of it to the States? What provisions will be made to secure the willing co-operation of the rink rities and the special interests? What is the the subjects with which the general structure will deal, and in the subjects with which the general structure will deal, and

thod debath g speeches are not going to carry us over those poblects and provide an answer to them. I always delight in lesening to a yvery nimble Indian friends when they are in debate, and I must contess to a sin on my own part: I love to take part in them. But that is not for here and now. Your problem and to problem is to sit down together and supply practical answers to those questions, which can be embedied in an Act of Parliament.

This constitution, this Federation, or whatever it it as he, must it set two but did cotal requirements. In the first place, it must vota. The elist he good producing a constitution which will not work. That vall is t get you out of your difficulties and will not get as out of ours. The other point is this: the constitution must evolve. You are not in a position here to produce a static constitution that your grandsons and your great-grandsons and the degreat-grandsons will worship as though it was one of your so ted inheritances. Therefore, the constitution must work and the exclusive moust evolve. It must be a voltinging thing, and in the evolving limbian opinion and lindian experience must be the

Lore important manating power. That is the history, as a matter of fact, of all the constitutions of our Dominions. The saying what I have said I a mot asking you to take up any special position at all. Look at the history of our evolving Dominions and you will had that they had ardent men in the days of the evolution, cursing. swearing, going to prison, boasting that they had been in prison. It all had to be gone through. These thrings, although we may say it in our rishings and our thoughtlessness, are really not the acts of man. They are the things that are inevitable in relation to the great fundamental laws which govern the life and provide for the changes in the life of the world, and nobody knows it better than the great II.ndu and Muhammadan philosophers. You have to apply this to our procedure. We are not hard-headed business men always counting material gains. No, the politician is different from that. The politician has to have his spiritual draughts in order to enable him to be practical in his political proposals. I want you to remember that in your negotiations, and I hope we will still more.

That is all I need say. Final words will have to be reserved for final ametings. Between final meetings and this is the honest, laberious thinking, considering and prodering of the problems in front of as Leaving the Chair, as I shall now proceed to do to-day, I only leave it so that somehody else may go into some other chair, and this Plenary Contrence may resolve into Committees. All I car, say of hat is that in the worth of those Committees you have the best will, not only of His Majesty's Government but of the British Parliar ent, Ho es of Lords and House of Commons together. We shall want with expectition, a little bit anxious perhaps, as I am sure you will be, with perhaps a little anxiety, but all the same with expectation and in the hope that, as a result of the work of those Committees, we shall be able in our final meetings to register agreement which will send you back to India happy men, powerful men, men able to fee your difficulties, and which will give us a chance of doing the same thing nere, and which above all will enable both of us to go our various ways with the friendship which unites us strength ened and the besire to co-operate which is still with vs amplified enorm usly levend what it is at the present moment.

#### BURMA.

Discussion in the Committee of whole Conference (1st December, 1930) on the Quistion of the Separation of Burma from India, which present the stating of of Ste-Committee No. IV (see Paragraph 6 of Introductory Note, Page 3).

Wr. Ba Pe: Mr. Pr me Minister, the question of Burma is for us a very simple one. The question whether Burma should remain within the Indian Empire or not is, for me, a question for the Burnese people to decide. The people of India support the principle of self-determination, and the people of Burma wish to see the same principle applied to them. I do not expect my Indian friends will in any way seek to deny us the privilege for which they tremselves ask.

The question has been thoroughly discussed all over Burma. As a matter of fact, Burma came into the Indian Empire by a mere accident, and against the wishes of the Indian people and without the consent of the people of Burma. I say that it came into the Indian Empire against the wishes of the people of India because the Indian National Congress in 1885 passed a resolution opposing the inclusion of Burma in the Indian Empire, and the people of Burma were never consulted as to whether they would care to be in

and to remain in the Indian Empire.

However, the question was raised from time to time and came to a Lead in 1917, when Parliament made its historic pronouncement promising responsible self-government to the Indian Empire. A deputation was sent from Burma to Calculta to see Mr. Montagu when he was in India, and he was asked by this deputation to separate Burma from India. Later on, when the Government of India Bill was before Parliament in 1919, another deputation was sen., this time to this country, asking for the same thing. Unfortunately, instead of framing a new constitution for Burma in accordance with the wishes of the people of Burma, the then Leutenant-Governor, Sir Reginald Craddock, framed a very reactionary scheme. The whole country was against that scheme, and again a deputation was sent to this country. The ultimate result was that the reactionary scheme of Sir Reginald Craddock was smashed, and, fearing there would be delay in giving the Reforms, Burma was included in the Indian Empire again as a major Province.

Since then, the feeling of the country has been to press for the sine thing, namely the separation of Burna from India, and a slies of important events took place in Burna. In the meantime, a 1928 what is known as the All Parties Conference in India laid dwn a very important principle which is in accordance with the wishes of the people of Burna. In the Report of the All Parties Conference occurs this very significant pasage: "Thus we see that the two most important considerations in re-arranging Provinces are the linguistic principle and the wishes of the majority

of the people. A third consideration, though not of the sandar portained, is administrative convenience, which would include the pregraph call position, the economic resources and the finance of stock of the area concerted. But administrative convenience is effect a matter of area general and must as a rule how to the wishes of the people. The wishes of the people of Burna are that Burna should be separated from India and according to the principles laid does by Indian leaders Burna is entitled to that.

Burna has been suffering for various reasons. As is well known to the Indian people, we have nothing in common with them. Our rale belengs to quite a different stock; we are more Mongolian then Aryan. We have customs and manners which are quite diverent from those of India, and our women are quite as free as ary woner, in this country, if not more so. Literacy in Burbia is very high; in fact, the same Lieutenant-Governor of Burmo, Sr Prginald Craddock - who is not a true Burman, by the way s, al the Burna offered a very good ground for experiment in de nociatie institutions. I will quote his exact words. He said: "There are features in the social system of Burnaa which mark it out as prome price a more premising soil for the introduction of electoral institutions than can be found in India. The widely diffused primary education already mentioned, the eman ipated condition of wemen, the freedom from violent religious antipathies. the great telerance of the Buddhist religion, the absence of a landed aristociary, of caste distinctions, and of hereditary occupations -all the strengly in favour of the ultimate series of detectable fiestitutions. The great development of Compensive Crobt So ieties and their allied associations is the streezest proof that the organisation of local self-government in ru al Burma fas been most unduly deferred, and is one of the most pressing wastes of our administration." We feel that with all these conditions we are not getting so advanced a form of government as we should have, and in the meantime we find that as a part of the Indian Empire our was national status is disappearing altogether. We are known as Statutory Indians and we do not has to be cold Irdians, not because we are anti-Indian but become we do not want the Barmese race to disappear from the cartle. I hope that feeling will be appreciated by all.

When Sir John Sir on and his collectures visited Burma, in the course of L. investigations Sir John put a very pointed question to the seven members of the Burma Legislative Council who to pet it dewith the Commission. He asked these members whether the teding in favour of the separation of Burma from India was still strong in Burma, and whether, if a resolution in favour of it was moved before the Burma Legislative Council, it would be carried. Out of those seven members, six answered in the administracy; the seventh, who represented an Indian constituency, doubted whether it would be carried. I raised the question in the Burma Legislative Council by moving a motion to that effect, which was carried unanimously, thus testifying that it was the

or more wish or the people of Burne, that Burn a should be epicoted from India without any further delay.

When the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission was published, the people of Burma welcomed the recommendation to eparate Burma from India. After that, the present Governor of Lumma wished to knew whether Burma still held the view that it healthe separated tion India, and he wanted it to be tested in the Burma Legislative Council. Another resolution to the same evertures, condingly moved, and was carried without a division, having that we still hold to the view that we should be separated from India.

Now, why do we want to be separated from India? As I have already said, conditions in Burma are very tavourable to a great advance in democratic institutions. We want to be a separate entity, enjoying the fullest measure of self-government or an equal forting with the other self-governing Dominions, and of course under the same Crown. That being our aim, we want to get away from India as early as possible. The point where the Indians will be interested is this. What, after separation, will be the position of Indians in Burma? How will their interests be looked after by the new Government of Burna?

In the aest place, we have no such thing as communal, religious or caste questions in Burma; all the communities there live very conductly and amicular together. In fact, it will be a surprise to most of those who have not studied the Burmese question to learn that only lately, last October, when we had to return three members to the Lagislative Assembly and one to the Council of State, one candidate for the Legislative Assembly, who was a Pasce, not a Buman, was returned by a large mapulity of Bunnese votes, while for the Council of State the gendeman refund has a Mukamanadan, who was also refurned by Burmese votes. This shows that the people of Barma do not look at race, religion or colour, but at the merits of the people they choose. That has been the case with my old friend Mr. de Glanville who is the leader of the Independent Party, which consists of Burmans and members of other races, thus showing that race, colour and ersed are no lar to leadership in Burma. We have not the acute problem of communal, racial or minerity antagonism in Burma, vet for the safety of minorities we are prepared to do all that lies in our power to devise ways and means to protect their interests.

The next point about which the Indians would like to know would be the financial adjustment between India and Purms. I do not know whether this Conference can go into the details, but it seems to me a matter for further inquiry by a special Committee.

The third point is the trade relations between the two countries. As for as possible we want free trade between India and Brira. India wants our rice, our oil, our teak and other timber, and we want things from India. Burma requires manufactured

Foods from India, and it is in the interest of both countries to be taken to the seals against each other. We must live peacest it is gather and decise ways and means for our unitual benefit. I do not see any difficulty in that direction.

should be separated from India without any further delay, proveling for the minorities safeguards either in the constitution in the in the Instructions to the Governor, which ver may be found lest to meet the case, and also making reasonable manifal adjustments as between India and Burma, and having a Trade Convention between the two countries. On these terms I believe

no objection can be raised to our proposal.

I we mext question with regard to separation is this. The Ind an caestion will be settled by this Conference, and India will have a new constitution in due course. It will be a very theesnable thing for Barma to have a constitution later than Ind: : - .e u.ust have one at the same time it possible. For that we shall have to work out the financial relations, the trade teld one and so on, and we must start work now. Instead of se due a for mission to Burna to raise the same old questions that were raised by the Simon Commission when it vi-ited our cunti, we think it would be better to have another Conference in landon, to which would be invited representatives of the retions parties and interests in Burma some 15 to 20 in allwho would in here as this Conference sits with the representatives of the British Government. That would economise time, avoid tiould, and be more conducive to the peaceful working out of a constitution for Burma.

I think I have touched on all the important points which I ought to deal with here. I need not go into further details now, but it recessary I am in a position to supply further information. I hope by Indian friends will help us in our request for an early settlement of the question of the separation of Burms from India.

Indian, the point of view from which I look at the question of the separation of Rurma is this, that the will of the people of Buna. Should be the sole determining factor in the settlement of the question. If I looked at it from any other point of view—if I thought that the interests of India would be jeopardised by the separation of Burma, and therefore that the interests or the will of Burma should be subordinated to the interests of India—I should be guilty of the same mistake and the same injustice of which we accuse the Imperialists of this country when they proceed to grab the territories of other peoples.

I am glad that the last speaker gave prominence to the resolutive possed by the Indian National Congress at its very first session. The Congress opposed the annexation of Burma, and further resolved that, if Burma must be annexed, it should not be overlanded with British India for administrative purposes

but should be treated as a separate entity. It, therefore, the people of Burma have a grievance, it cannot be against my countrymen, for dey were not parties to the invasion of Burma and its annexation but in fact profested against those measures and explicitly urged that Burna should not be made a part of British India.

The ground having been cleared by these preliminary observations. I should like to join issue with the last speaker when he chin ed that it was the unanimous opinion of the people of Burma that there must be separation. It may be that a very large majority of the people do wish it, but certainly it is not a unanimous opinion. There have been expressions of opinion to the effect that the separation of Burma from India would be detrimental to the Burma a themselves, and that those Burmars who were agitating too separation were really playing into the hands of the British orangereral interests which have been established in that Province, and which would mean that if Burma were not a part of India with all its political agitation, the field of exploitation would be the wider and the easier for them in the future than it might otherwise be.

Next, reference was made to the recommendation made by the Simon Commission. Sir, no particular value attaches to those recommendations or to the authors of those recommendations in my estimation as it does not in the estimation of any other Nationalist Indian - but there is one particular circumstance in connection with this particular recommendation to which I think it my daty to invite the attention of this Conference. One of the Mer or ords submitted to the Simon Commission was practically market by the Commissioners as if it were their own, and newspapers in India have been able to print in parallel columns passages from that Memorandum submitted to the Commission and from the repeat of the Commission passages which showed that the thrung ion not only smallowed in its entirety whatever was contained in that Memorandum, but did not even take the trouble of altering the language in which the Memorandum was submitted. We all know that only one hady of opinion went before the Simon Courtission. Dissentent opinion dil not and expression before it, taking the country as a whole. I hope this circumstates will be burne in mind when we proceed to assess at its proper value the reconstruction that is er bodied in the report of the Smann ( 1 mission,

There is one more discussion, and I consider it a very regrettable duty that I have to call attention to it. The question whether Burma shall remain a part of British India or shall be separated is a question that has yet to be decided by competent authority. The Government of India have not declared their decision upon the subject. His Majesty's Government, to whom the Government of India is under the present law subordinate, have not yet pronounced any decision, and yet the Governor of Burma has no hesitation in converting

himselt into a public propagandist in support of separation. In specific speech which has been published in the newspapers the Governor of Burma has advocated with separative vehemence the advanages and the necessity in the interests of Burma of the separation of that Province from British India. It is not my purpose at is that of the Secretary of State for India to say how far this action on the part of the Governor of Burma is at all in conformity with the notions of official discipline which are nigidly entoreed in my country whenever any of my country men happens to be an offending party. But in assessing the value of the agitation in Burna for the separation of that Province, this factor also should be considered, namely, the important and open part which the head of the Government of Burma has played in it.

The next point I wish to emphasise is that if separation be decided upon, an equitable financial adjustment of outstanding drims is an in perative necessity. Every pound of the cost of the bond Burmese War was borne by the Indian taxpayer. For as ong as the Province of Burma was a deficit prevince, the deficit v is rich out of taxation contributed by the people of British India. facto was a high officer of Burma, Mr. F. C. Gates, who raised or the old Indian Legislative Council the question whether Burma us a gain r or a leser in a financial sense by its connection with India, and he sought to make out the case that Burma was really relieving the Indian taxpayer to an appreciable extent. His conor tion was challenged, and very effectively, by Mr. Gokhale—and wher I make Mr. Gokhale I need not tell a single member of the a sombly that he was not in the habit of making a single uncon-- denied or untested statement. Mr. Gokhale challenged that staterent and expressed the opinion that far from Burma being the loser it was India which was the loser under the financial conditions which then existed.

There is one more point, and that is discriminatory legislation. Although Burma is still administratively part of British India, during the terime of Sir Harcourt Butler legislation was placed on the St. ture Book which discriminated against Indians who migrated to finite it I sattled in that country, which was penal and prohibitive it its nature, which was insulting, and which led many neonly to say that while Mr. Sastri and others were worrying over the question of Indians in Kenya, there was a Kenya nearer home which was in a Province of British India itself. When the question of the separation or the continued connection of Burma is considered, this question of the future position of Indians migrating to Burma, and the question of the position of Indians settled in Burna will also have to be considered.

These are the points which I thought I might, without wasting the time of the Committee, bring to their notice.

Raja Sher Muhammad Khan: I have every sympathy with the desire of those of my friends who desire the separation of Burma from India, and I think the general opinion of this House is

in taxon of the separation of Russia, from India, but the important per tren which I would desire should be brought to the after up of this House and of the Computer that is appointed to a usubar the separation of Burner, is the deterce of Poura. The Indian Army is still in Burner and has served in Burner two or three contaries. I bring this point to the notice of the Computere because I am afraid that whosever our constitutional Indians here want to add to the number of members of any Committee they simply go to the men who have been exeministers and barristers. They never think of defence, or of the Army, which questions should certainly be in laded in any scheme of the separation of Burner from India. That is why I suggest that when the Burnese question is being considered, the Committee must think about the defence of Burner.

Land Reading: May I first of all curbuse what has been said by the operation of the debate. So far as we can judge from all the evidence before us, and inhead non all the reports note there seems a corner six of opinion in favour of equivating Burman in in Bruish India. The Simon Commission, and I was a little surprised to have that it was a nation of conclusion, and I was a little surprised to have that it was a nation or reproach to a Commission that it has been so impressed by a Memoraneum which had been presented to at that it endorsed practically all the popos is of that Memoraneum of the commission and I found that the Commission tool almost everything, it is the Commission tool almost everything, it it I and I should be extreasely pleased, and I should be much note convinced of the party towisdom of that Commission.

Ore other observation only before I deal with one or two practies points. It I understand Mr. Chintameni aught some complanet was made of the action or the Governor of Burma, and it was nestioned by him whether be had followed a course which Was one of constitutional property. I happen to know the Gever i of hat Province, who served as a member of the Executhe when I was in India, and I know of his very long and dist gashed services in India. It would be difficult indeed to find a be who is more careful of the proprieties of constitutional in the then Ser Charles Innes, the Governor of Burma. It is ur cos av and certainly I are not go be to waste time, to defend son the sol a servant upon the point that is made, because I si all '. w thought if there was any ground for the reproach, it vor one which would be dealt with by the Viceroy and the force occur of India, and if not by them, by the Government at here and not, after all, by this Round Table Conference, which is not charged, so fer as I understand it, will entering into a As asson as to the constitutional propriet; of speeches which are made by a Governor in India.

My liteler to one other observation of Mr. Chintamani, whose remarks I raturally followed with the greatest are, and with which it is somy to say for the nomes I full possibly in a little

disagreement, but I do not think it is anything very material. He said, as I understood him—I am not sure I was right—that the Government of India had expressed no opinion, and that we were waiting for that. Looking at the Report I doubt whether that is really accur to because I have in my hard the Government of India's Despatch which has been circulated by His Majesty's Government, and of which we all have copies, and, as I understand it, there was no doubt whatever that they did accept in principle the recommendation. They point out that there are difficult matters still to consider. I will only read two sentences, and I would particularly draw Mr. Chintamani's attention to them. I quote from page 84:

ment will be made between the two countries, and that their respective economic interests will be safeguarded by arrangements which we hope may be mutually advantageous, we support in principle the proposal that Burras should now be

separated."

Then they go on to point out that, of course, there are questions to be considered:

of the whole constitution of government in British Ludia supplies an appropriate occasion for making the change."

That leads to these that having endorsed the principle, the Government of India -I do not intend to read passages drew special attention to certain points, and which I think we have to consider: that is to say, in order to determine what course should be taken by this Conference.

The main purpose of my observations to the Conference is in order to suggest that we should be careful, if we do send this to 1 Committee, to remember that most of the questions which will lave to be considered can never be settled by a Committee of this Round Table Conference. There are questions of finance; there are questions of economics; there are questions relating to the military situation: there are questions affecting strategic positions in Burma; there are questions affecting the Army; there are questions affecting the conditions of Indians in Burma-there are numbers of questions which can only really be settled by, as I should have thought -and I think the Government of India agrees -a special Commission which would have to be set up to deal with them. Indeed I rather understood that the opener of the debate himself favoured that view. A Conference he called it. I do not mind the name; it is quite immaterial: we have exactly the same purpose in mind whatever it is called. It is a meeting of specialists and of selected persons representative of the various interests, who can bring their knowledge and intelligence to bear upon the subject for the purpose of laying down what are the main things which will have to be safeguarded in the constitution of Burma

The point I want to make and it is the only matter to which I want to draw attent on here now—is that that is a matter which to Committee here can possibly handle, and that it must go to a special Committee. Whether you, Sir, think after this debate, assuming that the Conterence were all agreed in regard to the principle that Burma should be separated from India, that any isoful purpose would then be served by appointing a Committee, is of course a matter for you and the Conference to consider.

I would suggest that the whole matter should be dealt with quite apart from it, and it would not be necessary to have the authority of this Conference to deal with it. If you had, it could only lay down two or three principles which were suggested by the gentleman who opened the debate. Trade relations and matters of that kind must be dealt with and, equally, care has to be taken in the constitution regarding unfair discrimination, and I was very glad to hear the observations made by Mr. Chintamani, which were very pertinent, and which will have to be borne in mind. If there is agreement, and a Committee were set up, it could do no more than deal with one or two of the main principles referred to in the Government of India Despatch. I think that should be dealt with by a separate Committee.

H.H. The Maharaja of Alwar; Perhaps my Burman colleagues might have least expected that one from the Indian States would rise to speak on a question concerning them, but I am doing so, because in the Simon Commission Report, if there is anything emphatic, anything definite, it is about the separation of Burna. They have definitely suggested that this separation should take place as carly as possible. I only want to convey my own sentiments to my Burman colleagues at this Conference, wishing them every success in their endeavours. Let us hope that when they have succeeded in achieving their end, we may have a friendly competition as to which shall reach the Dominion Status first. Perhaps they may even be flitting with a new Secretary of State, because, to doubt, with the separation of Burms they would have arother trovernment here dealing with their affairs. But all I wanted to say was that my sympathies are with them in desiring their national ty to rise to its full stature within their own country. May I therefore express my full sympathy in their request and demand for separation, and I earnestly hope that they will achieve it with full glory and honour.

Lord Peel. I only wish to say one or two very brief words upon this subject because I myself have a good deal of sympathy with the point of view expressed by the Burmese representative. I am not at all surprised that so wide-minded a statesman as the Maharaja of Alwar has expressed a similar feeling. I spent some little time in Burma last January. One always gains much more from personal observation than from any number of Blue Books. My experience was, during the weeks I spent in Burma, that there was an extraordinarily strong and widespread desire to be separated from the Indian Empire. Wherever I went, whether the people I was talking to were or high position or not, they said to me, "There is scrietling special I want to say to you." I replied, "I suppose it is that you wish to be separated from India," and that was generally the secret confide I to me on these occasions. I was not it surprised to hear this ritheism of the Government of Burma, because apparently the Governor and the Government of Burma did not separate themselves from the almost universal opinion of Burma itself. I should imagine that if the view of the Government of Burma had been the other way we might have heard some criticisms on that subject.

On the practical issues we have before us, I think myself it would be a good thing it this subject were referred to a Committee. I do not say, of course, that a Committee could draw up an elaborate constitution for Burna, but after all we are here with many representatives of India, and as has been intimated in the speech of Mr. Chintamani, this affects not only Burma but Indian interests as well, and therefore the main lines for any criticism that may be made by representative members from India on this question of separation and the subsequent relations with Burma might very well be said here, so that we could be seized of the difficulties of the situation both from at. Indian and from a Burmese point of view. It seems to me an eminently useful suggestion that after we have dealt with the subject as far as we can, a Conference, as suggested, might assemble in London to work out the general lines of the transework of the future Burmese constitution. I prefer that to a Commission examining the whole thing. I quite sympath se with the view expressed by the Burmese representatives that if too long delay occurs there will be a hiatus between the establishment of a new Indian constitution and a Burmese. I should support both propositions, that this subject should go at once to a Committee and, secondly, that some sort of Conference should be held as soon as possible.

facous of meeting the approach made by the Delegate from Burms. You desire a Committee of this Conference to be set up to consider the restauntal that the purpose of that Committee should not be to attempt to draft a constitution for the new Burma, but that it should take note of certain conditions which have to be met in the purpose of separation; and further, it may assist us by recommending to us how the process should best be carried out, by Committee, Commission or anything else.

I have roughly had put down these terms of reference to the Committee:

"To consider the nature of the conditions which would enable Burma to be separated from India on equitable terms, and to recommend the best way for securing this end."

I take it first of all, that you wish a Committee to be set up, to her all assent.) You want it with the terms of reference which I ave read, that these should be the terms of reference to the Connectice. (General assent.)

We. Shira Rang. Is the question of separation an open one, or is it not?

Chairman: No, as I look at it, it is not open.

Mr Chintanani. It should be open not only to consider the method of separation, but whether there should be separation.

Chairman: I have only got eyes and ears for what the Conference says, and I take it that there is an overwhelming opinion in tayour of the suggestions made. (Applause.) You see, the applause is all along the line.

II.II. The Maharaja of Bikaner: I only wish to say one word in addition to what has already been said. The general feeling on the part of the Indian States is that this is a question almost entirely for Burma and British India, and, of course, His Majesty's Government, to deal with—If and when any question arises which alreads the States I feel sure the States will have a say in the matter. In the nearwaile I simply centent myself with stating that we have the riest friendly feelings for our Burman friends.

chairman; You are in tayour of that being done? (General assent.)

Lord Reading: That is a separate Committee.

Marian: Yes.

# Committee of Whole Conference.

Pages 188 to 397 contain the discussions in Committee of the While it the Reports of the sub-Committees.

In I Report is printed immediately before the discussion which relates to it.

(See paragraph 7 of Introductory Note, page 4)

#### Sub-Committee No. 1. (Federal Structure.)

INTERNATIONAL CONTERNATION OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE

#### Introductory

the sub-Committee was appointed to consider and report upon the following four of the Heals of discussion which were framed for the Federal Relations Committee:

No. 1.—The component elements of the Federation.

No. 2.—The type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist.

No. 3.—The powers of the Federal Legislature.

No. C. The constitution, chara ter, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.

The sub-Committee thought that it would be for the convenience of the Conference to present an Interim Report dealing, in the first instance, with Nos. 1, 2 and 3 above. In view of the large issues raised by No. 6, which cannot be separated from those connected with the relation of the Federal Executive to the Crown (No. 12 of the Heads of discussion), it appeared to the sub-Committee that this Head, on the discussion of which they are proposing immediately to enter, should form the subject of a separate report.

2. The sub-Committee are in a position to report that a most ercouraging degree of agreement on the matters comprised in Nos. 1, 2 and 3 has been secured. They recognise that any measure of l'eleration involves for the States sacrifices in a sphere to which they have always attached the greatest importance for practical reasons as well as on grounds of existing treaties and sentinent. They recognise, on the other hand, the natural hesitation of the representatives of British India to accept any form of constitutional change which reight be thought to er langer the unity of British India or these positive advantages which are derived from a miform lody of law and administrative practice. All parties of the sub-Cormittee were unanimous in preferring the welf, reof India as a whole to the individual chains of the interests they represent and in the conviction that only in the larger unity can the diversity of interests and polities be completely larmonised. The sub-Committee are not dismayed by the criticism which may perhaps be made upon their conclusions, that the links between some parts of the Federation and others are but slender. A new State is not born full grown; it must contain within itself the capacity for growth. The attainment of full maturity must depend upon the efforts and levotion of the statesmen of India herself from whatever territory they may come.

# The sub-Committee's conclusions are as follows:-

#### CONCLUSIONS.

## 1. Component elements of Federation.

- 3. The component elements of the Federation should be on the one hand
  - (a) the federating Provinces of British India, and on the other hand,
  - (b) such Indian States or groups of States as may enter the Federation. Provision should be made for the subsequent entry from time to time of such further States or groups of States as agree to enter the Federation.

The important question of the position of the Crown will require further examination when the relation of the Federal Executive to the Crown is discussed.

- 4. So far as British India is concerned, the federating organism will be neither the Government of British India as it exists at present, nor autonomous Provinces released from the central tie. The process of Federation will involve the creation of a new State which will derive its powers
  - on in part from the powers which the States will agree to concelle to the Grown, to be placed at the disposal of the new Federation; and
  - (b) in part from the transfer to it of such of the powers of the Control Indian Government (and also it may be of the Provincial (revenuents) as may be agreed to be necessary for the purposes of the Federation.

# II. Type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist.

- 5. The Federal Legislature should consist of two Chambers, each containing representatives of both British India and the States (the proportion which the representatives of British India and of the States should bear to each other will be a matter for subsequent consideration under Heads not yet referred to the sub-Committee).
- 6. The method whereby the representatives of British India are to be chosen was not referred to this sub-Committee, but Their Highnesses made it clear that in their opinion the method by which the States' representatives should be chosen will be a matter for the States themselves. If and so long as there are any reserved subjects it will be necessary for the Crown to be represented in both Chambers.
- 7. Differences between the two Chambers might be determined either at a joint session or by other means, by vote, whether by a bare majority or otherwise being a question for discussion at a later stage.

#### 111. Powers of the Federal Legislature.

sable to is appended. This not is travel on the assumption that the I so tal Legislature will be obthed with power to be slite upon all the stojects included in it. The inclusion of certain subject, e.g., Detente and External Abia is, was not specifically considered, since these subjects in particular though not exclusively taken the quistion of the relations between the Executive in India and the Crown a matter not within the sub-Committee's Terms of Referency. It is of the essive of a Federal constitution that the end thents of the Pederal Legislature acting within its legal scope should have full for e and effect throughout all mats comprised in the Federation.

Provision should be made by since constitutional procedure for additions from time to time to the list of Federal subjects.

10. In relation to Federal subjects a distinction is to be drawn between policy and legislation on the one hard and administration or the other. The same l'elital systems there is a complete separetion between l'ederal and State agency in the administrative is well as the legislative sphere, but in others the administration is chira-ted, subject to certain Federal rights of inspection, etc., to the some and circs. The choice is a matter of convenience rather that, or principle, depending upon conditions existing at the time of I oderacion and the practical advantage or disadvantage or last thing the status one. For a variety of reasons there are cases in whit States may desire to retain, in those matters in which they agree that the control of policy shall be teleral, most of the a ladiastrative powers which they exercise at present, but it, so for as they continue to exercise those powers, they will do so in conformity with a policy jointly determined and with regulations jointly fungulated. Provided that the conditions for a harmonious evolution are established, it is an advantage that there should be a nominum of disturbance in the practical arrangements which already operate.

11. The precise delimitation of the functions of the Tederal and State Governments respectively in these spheres will be a matter for settlement in respect of each subject by negotiation.

12. The sub-Committee are strongly of opinion that there should be only a single Legislature to deal with Federal subjects proper and with any subjects which cannot at present be either federalised or completely provincialised. Such a Legislature will no doubt contain representatives of units of the Federation which will not be retreated with some of the subjects with which it deals. But the partial acceptance of this anomaly is preferable to the difficulties and complications involved in any expedient for completely avoiding it such as the creation of a separate British Indian Lauishana with a separate Executive. How to deal with this anomaly will have to be considered at a later stage.

St. James's Palace, London, 12th December, 1930.

#### APPLYDIX TO INTERIM REPORT OF SUB-COMMUTTEE No. 1.

search the of soft ects provise hally agreed to as "Tederal" with notes.

N.B.—The enumeration is that of the present list of Central Subjects—Devolution Rules, Schedule I.

Notes.

- 5. Communications to the extent described under the following 11...ds, namely.....
  - (a) Railways (including railways to be constructed or acquired in fature).
  - (b) Aircraft and all matters connected therewith.
    - c) Inland waterways.
- 6. Shipping and navigation, indiding shipping and navigation on inland waterways in so far as declared to be a Federal subject in accordance with entry 5 (c).
  - Lighthouses (including their approaches), beacons, light-
- 8. Port quarantino
- 9. Ports .

- 10. Posts, telegraphs, trunk telephones and wireless installations.
- 11. Customs and salt

12. Currency and coinage

Policy and Legislation to be Federal. Administration to be Federal to the extent of powers now exercised by the Railway Board.

Federal

Policy and Legislation to be Federal in respect of inland waterways affecting more than one unit.

Federal for Legislation and policy.

Federal.

Tederal so for as international re-

Such ports to be Federal as are declared to be major ports by rule made by Federal Government or by or under Legislatical by the Federal Legislature, subject in the case of Indian States to such extent as authority may be delegated by the States under

Federal; but with such qualifications as may be necessary for the purposes of adjustment with the States in matters of detail.

Salt: Federal. Maritime Customs: Federal, subject to special adjustments with Maritime States having regard to their treaties, agreements and engagements, Customs on external frontiers of Federal India to be Federal on the lines of maritime customs subject to the special case of Kashmir.

Federal, subject to adjustment with the States concerned of such rights as are not already conceded by them.

Notes.

13. Public Debt of Federal India. (Power to raise Federal .oans).	Federal.
14. Savings banks	Federal for policy and legislation regarding Post Office Savings banks.
15. Federal Audat	Federal.
17. Commerce, including banking and insurance.	Federal for policy and legislation.
18. Trading companies and other associations.	Federal for policy and legislation.
20. Development of Industries .	Development of Industries to be a Federal subject in cases where such development by Federal authority is declared by order of Federal Covernment, made after negotiation with and consent of the federating units.
21. Control of cultivation and rianufacture of opium, and sale of opium for export.	Federal for policy and legislation.
22. Stores and stationery, both imported and indigenous, required for Federal Departments.	Federal.
23. Control of petroleum and ex- plosives.	Federal for policy and legislation.
24. Geological Survey of India .	Federal.
26 Botanical Survey of India .	Federal.
27. Inventions and designs	Federal for policy and legislation.
28. Copyright	Federal for policy and legislation.
21. Emigration from, and immigra- tion into, India.	Federal.
31. Federal police ergan sation .	Tederal.
32. Traffic in arms and ammunition	Federal for policy and legislation.
33. Central agencies and institu- tions for research (including observatories) and for profes- sional and technical training or promotion of special studies.	Federal as regards future agencies and institutions.
35. Survey of India	Federal.
33. Meteorology	Federal,
39. Census	Federal for policy and legis- lation the States reserving administration.
39a. All India statistics	
40. Federal s rvices	
44. Immovable property acquired and maintained at the cost of the Federal Government.	
45. The Public Service Commission	Federal for the purpose of Federal services.

("MMENIS IN COMMITTEE OF WHOLE CONFERENCE (16TH DECEMBER, 1983) ON INTERIN REPORT OF SER-COMMITTEE NO. I (FEDERAL STRUCTURE).

Charment. Paragraph I is a matter of procedure. You will note paragraph 2, and in the following paragraph there are set out the component elements of Federation. What is set out there is just the facts. Certain suggestions are made, and we will take note of them all.

(The Chairman then read the numbers of the paragraphs down to No. 12, and of which were noted without discussion. He then similarly read the schedule of subjects in the Appendix from No. 5 to No. 11.)

Sir Chin mobil Scialrod: With regard to No. 11, we have "Salt: Federal. Maritime Customs: Federal, subject to special adjustments with mardone States having regard to their treaties". The difficult, is that some of these are called treatics and others are called a recenents and engagements. We ought to have the words. "Treaties, agreements, and engagements".

#### Lord Sankey: I will accept those words.

the Chairman of a sub-Committee must not alter the Report, but the Chairman of a sub-Committee may accept an alteration on behalf of his sub-Committee, and Lord Sankey does so. We note No. 11 in the Appendix as amended with the consent of the Chairman of the sub-Committee.

(The Chairman then read Nos. 12 to 45, and all were noted without comment.)

Sir, to the fact that the Princes are absent, and these matters have been noted in their absence.

#### Chairman: That will also be noted.

In I had ar: I should like to raise the point which my friend Mr. I he made before we aljourned. The Lord Chancellor, as the Ch. in an of this sub-Conmittee, invited some of the Delegates to sub-it any views they might have on these particular natters, and a new Delegates including myself submitted a letter to the Chairman of the sub-Committee, and expressed our wish that that letter should be submitted to the sub-Committee for consideration. I do not find in the Report any reference to that letter, and I was informed by Lord Sankey that that letter was not placed before the sub-Committee, but was sent to you, Sir, as Prime Minister, I do not think that that was quite a proper way of dealing with it. The letter was submitted to the Chairman of the sub-Committee,

for the sub-Cemmattee's use, and it expressed certain definite views we held on the question of Federation. I am bound to make this containt because, speaking for myself, the Report as drawn up is so much at variance with the principles expressed in the letter that I had we shall have at some stage to raise a debate on this question, and I should like to know what steps the Lord Chancellor proposes to take.

Lord Sankey: I am very much obliged to Dr. Andedlar for raising the point he has done, because I should have the to have raised it myself, and it gives no the opportunity of saying a tew words which I should have said at the beginning. First of all, I should like to thank my Committee for the very great help and consideration they have shown me. We had a very difficult task, and tay task as Chairman was a difficult one, but I have reverted such a pleasant task, and I could not have tail a better Committee to assist me.

I want to say a word or two about the Report which you have in your hards. Get there is would you raind looking at that pi ture (Morac's painted g of George II on househool). I do not suppose the artist pointed the man and the horse at the same time Or of these has to be painted the other, and if you had been invited to the studio at the time when he had only painted the horse and had not painted the name you would not have been alked as now a satisfactory opinion of the whole picture. I have invited you to core to the "studio" to-day, but you are only letting in the "horse" in the picture. Soon you are going to be present d with the complete picture, and then Dr. Ambeikar, I still went your assistance.

The car prestions recited to us were (b) the compenent slauerts of the Federation: (2) the type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist, and (3) the twees of the Legislature. But the most important question is or we still have to discuss, namely, the constitution, charalter, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive. Everything depends upon that. The work done with regard to the first three questions may have to be modified or revised when we come to our final report upon No. 6.

New with regard to that letter, Dr. Anthedan, that you were good chough to send to rie. I have considered it very carefully, and it will be vital to discuss it when we come to No. 6.

Dr. An bedlar: All I should like to know, if I may say so, is whether you will place that letter better the Committee. At what stage you may do so is a matter which I must leave to you

Lead Sackey: One monorat. Dr. Ambelkar I am going to do a good deal more than that: I am not only going to place your letter before the Committee; I am going to draw the Committee's attention to it myself.

# Dr. Ambedkar: I am obliged. That is enough for me.

Let Simble ? One notaent. I have not finished. When you are as old as I are, you will not be in such a hurry. It stead of leaving to do the job myself. I personally should very much like the gentlemen who presented the letter to come and do the job. If I have to do it myself. I shall not do it as well as you gentlemen would. But I will do this: not a word of the letter shall be left out; but it is not quite the time to consider it yet, because it must be considered at that important time when we come to No. 6.

May I say just one other thing before I sit down. While I an anxious that every one of you should be sate and secure and have your rights, I am not here for any particular party: I am here for India, and my ambition is that we should go away from this Conference and that you should have something to take back to India. With a little patience you shall have semething to take back to India. My ambition for India let me repeat it for the first and last time is that we should not have these unhappy divisions, but that we should see an India, as the result of this Conference, companioned by content and prosperity.

Sir Phirote Sethna: May I ask a question with regard to the item-which appear in the Appendix. They are evidently drawn from the Devolution Rules, under the heading of Central subjects.

# Lord Sankey: Quite right.

Sir Phirace Sethera: But in the present Devolution Rules there are several subjects under the heading of Provincial Subjects which are subject to legislation by the Central Government. May I ask whether these are to hand yet, because there is no reference to them now.

Land Sankey: The answer to that question is three-fold:—
(1) they are not yet telen in hand: (2) they will be taken in hand: (3) they will be taken in hand: (4) they will be taken in hand: (5) they will be taken in hand: (6) they will be taken in hand: (7) they consider them which we come to the Executive question: (8) it may be necessary. I do not say it will—to have a joint meeting of the Provincial to halftee and my Committee. They shall be:

Chairman: That is all noted.

#### Sub-Committee No. 1. (Federal Structure.)

SECOND RIPORT, PRESENTED AT THE MILITING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WIGHT CONFERENCE HELD ON 15TH JANUARY, 1931.

		IND	EX.							
									Para	graphs
Introductory .			4	•	•	4	*		-	1—6
The Executive .										7—23
						•	•	•	•	_
Responsibility of							*			8
Method of providi								•	- 1	9
Definition of response					*	•		4	•	10
	v +							*	4	11
Governor-Coneral's								*		12
Position of Govern									*	13
Governor-General's	1 Owers 1	n rela	tion	to re	eervo	el su	bict	7 a	*	11-15
Governor-General's	special	power	rs	-	4				4	16
Use of Governor-C	deneral's	specia	Гро	wers	4			4	4	17
Finance—Special	provisions	;			٠			4	4	18-20
Governor-General's	ordinary	powe	816	4						21
Bills affecting reli.	gion and c	Oli Jac.	tcial	disci	m in	ation		+		22
Breakdown of cons	stitution	4			•	•	*	•		23
The Legislature .										24—38
General principles									•	25
deneral principles	*	•	•	•	•				•	20
The Upper Chamb	er—									
Size, qualificati		ambere	2 1711	1 met	hod.	of ala	otion			26
Life									•	27
Distribution of										28
Distribution of								113	,	29
Distribution of	seats be	rween	1.10	vince	S	*		*	*	29
The Lower Chambe	7									
Size .										30
Distribution of		9		•	•		•	*	•	31
Method of elec			*	•			*	4	•	32
		•	#.	•				· ·	•	
Life .						-			-	33
Legislature	special .							L'ede:	ral	34
Means of securing							•	•		35
Position of State										00
affecting British	India on	ly	, ,			4		uaute	512	36
Competence of Fed										37
Residual powers							,			38
								•		0.5
Control by the Federal	Governm.	ent or	er 1	Provis	neial	Goz	ernm	ents		83

1. Introductory.—The sub-Committee consisted of the following members:—

#### British Delegations:

The Lord Chancellor (Chairman).

Mr. Lees Smith, M.P.

The Earl Peel.

The Right Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Bart., M.F.

The Marquess of Reading.

The Marquess of Lothian.

#### Indian States Delegation :-

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner.

H. H. The Nawab of Bhopal.

Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Hydari, Hyderabad.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Mysore.

Colonel Haksar, Special Organisation, Chamber of Princes.

#### British India Delegation :--

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Madras.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Madras.

Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Madras.

Mr. Jayakar, Bombay.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Bombay.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, United Provinces.

Mr. T. F. Gavin Jones, United Provinces.

Sir Muhammad Shafi, Punjab.

Sardar Sahib Ujjal Singh, Punjab.

Sir Sayed Sultan Ahmed, Bihar and Orissa.

In addition, Sir B. N. Mitra attended most of the meetings of the sub-Committee and gave it the benefit of his advice and assistance.

2. It must be clearly understood that although agreement has been reached by a majority of the sub-Committee on many important matters, such agreement is only provisional, and every member followed the example of Lord Reading, who said that the understanding had been from the outset that it would be open to all members, when they came to consider the complete proposals for the Federal constitution, to modify or change any provisional assent they might have hitherto given. Every member of the sub-Committee reserves to himself the right of modifying his opinion before the final picture is completed. This is the attitude of British and Indian members alike. Over and above that, upon the basic

a anjato, set out in paragraph S, Lord Peel and Sir Samuel If are, with the information at the redesposal, and with so many go cors still undecided, we unconvinced that the kind of Exercitive cryisaged in this Report can be successfully adapted to the spond consitions of an All-India Federation, They, therefore, desire to see further explered methods for increasing Indian contrib over the Pederal Government that are better suited to All-India a eds than those founded upon British precedents. Apart from this Lord Peel and Sir Smarrel Heare are not satisfied that the salegua ds ecommended for securing Imperial obligations wal prove effective, and, in particular, they fear that the financial proposals outlined in paragraphs 18 to 22 inclusive will distrib the confidence of the commental classes and impair the stability of Indian credit. They wish, however, to place on record their appreciation of the progress that has been made in the elucid: ton of a contentious and differ It problem, and their readiness to co-operate with sympathetic and unprejudiced minds in its faither investigation.

Upon the question of firmee, Indian opinion was that even the sureguards set out in the Report went too far, especially those giving special powers to the Governor-General.

- 3. The vexed Hindu-Muslim question was referred to by Sir Muhammad Shafi on behalt of the Muslim Delegation, and he made it clear that as far as he was concerned be could not consent finally to trame any constitution unless the Hindu-Muslim question was settled. To this view Mr. Jinuah gave his adherence, on the ground that he constitution would work unless it embodied provisions which gave a setse of security to the Muslims and other minorities. He further objected to some details of the Reput. Other Delegates, again, stated that their final opinion upon details was not yet formed, and that they desired, before they came to a conclusion, to oscertain public opinion upon such details, both in India and in England.
- 4. The Indian States do not desire either to discuss or vote upon questions which concern British India alone, and are of opinion that these questions should be definitely excluded. Nor do the Indian States confound are that any question of paramountey will come at any time within the purview of the Federal Government.

The sub-Committee publish the Report subject to these reservations.

is the interimental Report of 12th December, the sub-Commutee indicated their view of the component elements of the Vederation, which is contemplated as the future polity for India, and recramended that these elements should be represented in both Charders of a brownerd Pederal Legislature. They also put forward a provisional list (which is reproduced in the Appendices reterred to in paragraph 37 of this Reports of the subjects upon which this Legislature should be empowered to pass laws having application throughout all units comprised in the Federation. In a later part of the present Report it will be the duty of the sub-

Committee to supplement the provisional recommendations thus made with regard to the competence of the Federal Legislature. There are some matters which, although the Federal Government and Legislature will not at present have jurisdiction in respect of them in the Indian States, will none the less require co-ordination in the areas comprised by the British Indian units of the Tederation. These subjects also are indicated in the Appendices referred to in paragraph 37 of this Report. The sub-Committee desire in this connection to emphasise once more the conviction, to which they gave expression in paragraph 12 of their previous Report, that it is the Federal Legislature itself which should pertorm this co-ordinating function. Their reasons for this view are in part the desire to avoid the inevitable complexities which would arise from setting up a separate authority to deal with subjects not completely federalised, but an even more important reason is that it is, in the sub-Committee's opinion, essential to the development of the Federal idea that the new constitution should contain within itself facilities for its own development, and that nothing should be done in designing the structure embodying it which would be calculated to hamper the natural evolution of a Greater India.

The further Heals which were referred to the sub-Committee and are now under discussion are:—

- (1) The number of members composing each Chamber of the Federal Legislature, and their distribution among the federating units;
- and from the Indian States are to be chosen; and
- (b) The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.

These three Heads the sub-Committee now proceed to discuss.

6 The sub-Committee do not, of course, claim to have evolved in all its details a complete plan for the Federal constitution. They consider that the best service they can render to the Conference is to state certain general principles and record conclusions on certain points with regard to which there appeared to be general or substantial agreement, and then to indicate the lines which further detailed examination on the subject ought, in their view, to follow. Many points have necessarily been left open which will have to be settled later after public opinion both in India and in England has had an opportunity of expressing itself upon them, in order that the completed constitution may be based on the largest measure of public approval in both countries.

#### THE EXECUTIVE.

7. The sub-Committee consider that it will be convenient to deal, in the first instance, with the last of the three Heads, namely:

Head (6). The composition, character, powers and responsibility of the Federal Executive; since, as was more than once

pointed out in the course of their deliberations, the view taken ipon these matters may materially affect decisions upon the structure of the Legislature, the nature of its functions and the methods adopted for chabling these functions to be performed.

8. Responsibility of the Discontract. The Report which follows proceeds on the basic assumption that the constitution will recognise the principle that, subject to certain special provisions more particularly specified hereafter, the responsibility for the Federal Government of India will in future rest upon Indians themselves.

- Ommittee the proper method of giving effect to this principle is, to lowing the proceder to fall the Dominion constitutions," to provide that executive power and authority shall vest in the Crown, or in the Governor-General as a quesciting the Crown, and that there shall be a Conneil of Ministers appointed by the Governor-General and holding office at his pleasure to aid and advise him. The Governor-General's Instrument of Instructions will then direct lam to appoint as his Ministers those persons who command the confidence of the Legislature, and the Governor-General, in complying with this direction, will, of course, follow the convention firmly established in coast tational practice throughout the British Commenwealth of inviting one Minister to form a Government and requesting him to submit a list of his purposed colleagues.
- 10. Deficition of Responsibility. The Governor-General having thus closen as his Ministers persons who possess the confidence of the Legislature, it follows that they will retain office only so long as they retain that cent lence. This is what the sub-Committee understand by the responsibility of Government to Legislature, in the sense in which that expression is used throughout the British Commonwealth. The expression also implies in their view that the ranistry are responsible collectively and not as individuals, and that they stand or fall together.
- It is, lowever, admitted that this broad statement of the principle of responsible government at the Centre, which will be the ultimate achievement of the constitution now to be from all requires some qualification. There was general agreement in the sub-Committee that the assumption by India of all the powers and responsibility which have hitherto rested on Parliament cannot be made at one step and that, during a period of transition—
  - (1) The Governor-General shall be responsible for Defence and External Relations including relations with the Indian States outside the federal sphere) and that
  - in it, contain situations, here free specified, which may also outside the sphere of these off ects, the Governor-General must be at liberty to a form his own responsibility, and must be given the powers necessary to in plement his decisions.

<sup>\*</sup> e.g., Ss. 9 to 11 of the British North America Act, 1867; Ss. 8 and 9 of the Union of South Africa Act, 1908; Ss. Cl and Chaitle Commenter Ith of Australia Constitution, 1900.

12. time, streeties planers on reserved subjects .- It was generally agreed that the presence of a person ocupying the postthen of a Mar the world be necessary to explain the views of the (por un die en l'ejence matters in te legislatue, since the west in place upon supetly jederal matters; the same is time of External Relations but there was not an earth measure of agreement with near the apportment of a person to represent the Voctor in this latter sungert. It is clear, however, that the Covern 1-tiene, al 1 aust le at l'onty to select as his apresentatives in the reserved sphere ary persons whom he may homself choose as hest invel for the princese, and that on appointment they would, it Lold to Ministerial portiolios, acquire the right like other Ministers or a whichee it will a Chamber of the Legislature. The suggestion was justed that a persons so appointed should be regarded as or daily combine of the Council of Ministers, now that anding that they we ild be responsible to the Greener-General and not to the level at me, and that they should be regarded as hable to dis-Listed to erge they would remain eligible to read printing Lt by The transfer of with the rest of their collingues. It is die, at however, I see he a this position could be reconcil at with the procept of a committee responsibility of Ministers, and the sthe benefit of the selpes malle treone to any demaite conclusions in the natter, though they are of our ich that it menits made in the control of the theory that they have, in the time of their disposal, been able to give to it.

Wich this subject is a some degree involved the quest on of whether the towers or Conord should himself preside over the receings of his Ministers. In the view of the sub-Committee no hard and fast the case by laid down. It is clear that, specially in the transition period, or as it is may often arise in which his presence would be desirable, and indeed, in certain contingencies, necessary. In these consists may, it appears to the sub-Committee that the better course would be to provide in his Instructions that he shall preside when he thinks it desirable to do so, leaving the matter to his own discretion and good sense. It is, however, essential that the Green a-Commal shall be kept at all times tally int made or the state of public affairs and have the right to call for any papers or

into not on which are at his Ministers' disposal.

It is flows to in the fact that the Governor-General will be himself responsible to the administration of the reserved subjects described above, that he should not be dependent for the supply required for them upon the assent of the Legislature, and that the annual supply for their service should be treated, along with other matters to be presently specified, in a manner analogous to the Consolidated Fund Charges in the Unit of Kingdom. The budget allotment would be settled upon a contract basis for a term of years. It would further be necessary to empower the Governor-General in the last resort to take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that the invals required for the means as hay be necessary to ensure that the invals required for the means as hay be necessary to ensure that the invals required for the means as hay be necessary to ensure that the invals required for the means as hay be necessary to ensure that the invals required

ROUND TABLE

gency supply for these subjects in excess of the contract budget only, in connect on with a sudden outbreak of hostilities on the frontier. It follows that he should be empowered to secure the enactment of such legislative measures as may be essential for the discharge of his responsibility for these subjects.

15. The sub-Committee in ticipate that in the event of its becomity necessary to ise these powers the Governor-General would not admarily do so without consulting his Ministers, even though the responsibility for any action taken will be his and not theirs.

- (b) Coremorsticheral's special power.—With regard to subjects in the administration of which the Governor-General would normally act on the advice of his Muristers, it was generally agreed that arrangements must be made whereby in the last resort the react and tranquillity of any part of the country must be secured, serious prejudice to the interests of any section of the population part be avoided, and members of the Public Services must be secured in any rights guaranteed to them by the constitution. It was further agreed that for these purposes the Governor-General mast be empowered to act in respectsibility to Parliament and to implement his decisions if occasion so demands by requiring appropriation of revenue to be made, or by legislative enactment.
- 17. Use of the General lineral's special powers—Stress was laid in some quarters of the sub-Committee on the necessity of so demaing the use of these powers that they should not be brought into play, in derogation of the responsibility of Ministers for the purpose of day-to-day administration. It is obvious that the Gevernor-Cloueral would consider his relations with his Ministers and the Legislature boto e making use of these powers. He will have every inducement to stay his hand as long as possible and to be show to use his owr powers in such a way as to enable his Ministers to east upon him a responsibility which is properly theirs.
- 18. Finance. Speeml programmes. -In the sphere of Finance, the sub-Connittee regard it as a fundamental condition of the success of the new constitution that no form should be left for doubts as to the ability of Italia to maintain her financial stability and credit, both at home and aboad. It would therefore by recessing to reserve to the Covernor-General in regard to budgetury arrangements and burrowing such essential powers as would enable him to intervene if methods we e being pursued which would, in his ophica, seriously prejudice the credit of India in the money . Tha kets of the world. The sub-Committee recommend, with a view to ensuring confidence in the management of Indian condit and currency, that else is should be made to establish on sure foundstions and free from any political influence, as early as may be found possible a Reserve Bark, which will be entrusted with the nadagement of the currency and exchange. With the same object again, provision should be made requiring the Governor-General's previous satation to the introduction of a Bill to amend the Paper Carrency of Coinage Acts on the lines of Section 67 of the Governmort of India Act. They are further agreed that the service of

In a with adequate provision for redempt on, by Sinking Funds or otherwise, and the salaries and pensions of persons appointed on guarantees given by the Secretary of State, should be secured, along with the supply required for the Reserved Departments as Corsolulated Fund Charges.

- 19. With these finitations the sub-Committee to not contemplate any differentiation between the position of the Finance Minister and that of any other Minister responsible to the Legislature, and a regard to taxation, fiscal policy and expenditure on objects other than those under the Governor-General's control, he would be responsible only to the Legislature. In this connection the sub-Committee time note of the proposal that a Statutory Railway And only should be established, and are of opinion that this deal he done, it after expert examination this course seems desirable
- 20. The sab-Committee recognise that it may be difficult in existing conditions to set up a Reserve Bank of sufficient strength and equipped with the necessary gold and sterling reserves in mediately, and that, therefore, until this has been done some social provisions will be found necessary to secure to the Governor-Gorar diadequate control over monetary policy and currency.
- 21. Governor-General's ordinary powers.—The sub-Committee assume that in addition to the special powers indicated above the Governor-General will continue to have, as at present, the right of refusing his assent to legislative measures, and of returning a Bill for two sideration, and, subject to any Instructions issued to the Governor-General, that the existing powers of reservation and disallowance will remain.
- The quest on whether Bills relating to such matters as the religion or religious rites and asages of any class of the community should require the Governor-General's previous sanction to introduction will require outsideration, as will also the question of discrimination between different sections of the community in matters of trade and con merce. There was general agreement that in these matters the principle of equality of treatment ought to be established, and various methods were suggested for the purpose. The sub-Connected on tent themselves, however, with saying that it is one which should be further examined and discussed in consultation with the various interests concerned.
- 23. Breakdown of Constitution.—In the event of a situation unlappily a sing in which persistent and concerted action has succeed d in making the constitution unworkable, adequate powers will have to be vested in the Governor-General for the purpose of enabling the King's Government to be carried on.

# THE LEGISLATURE. STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION.

24. Such being their views as to the character and responsibility

sider in relation to these views—

- (4) the number of members composing each Chamber of the line of line of the production and units; and
- (5) the method whereby the representatives from British India and from the Indian States are to be chosen.
- To be and lederal onsultutors has been top exile ore leg share chamber which represents pain only all the redenating miss someth, effection a basis of equal representation but one or but, and a lower chamber which muresites permaitly, the pulation of the schole is brill area; and in deposite this place to statution - a cas have much by provided that the openendatives it the indentition of somethe distinctively and rabel and reshable close a by the Governments or begishines · : thos musts, while the representatives of the population of the icasal are sail be setuad by so concerpopula ieum of what he related the last the distance of the d tively I lead do mber should the smaller or the two But Inda's ow, practical needs and conditions has beethe governing factors, and no constitution, however theoretically perfect, and concret cheelt model. I wrem procedents adepted elsewhere, is limity to sure the tests of experience unless it con office to the needs and genius of the courter which adopts it, and unless it as capable of adiptation and nod to atton as the character of these needs is proved in the working. To meet these needs the federal organ sation maist be echceived not as a rivalry of conflicting elements, but as a partnership for the devising and encient application by common consent of policies required in the common interest. Let such a partnership the stability of the Federal Government is of the first importance.
- 16. The Upper Chamber .- The discussion which took place in the sub-Committee on Heads 4 and 5 proceeded without any prior decision upon the all-important question of the relations between, and the respective powers of, the two chambers; and it may well be that some of the opinions now previsionally expressed will require revision. But proceeding simply on the basis that there will be two Charabers, the Upper smaller in size than the Lower, and without any became as to the relations of one to the other, the bulance of opar or was to t'e elect that the I pres Chamber-which might be described as the Science—of the Federal Legislature should be a small body, of from 100 to 150 members, whose qualifications should be such as will ensure that it is a lody of weight, experience and character. It was the next that this object might be secured by prescribing to the condidature of the British Irdia members und ications sin that to those now in force for the Council of State: and the substitute mittee have no doubt that the Ruless of the Indian Stere of schooling their representatives, will excite that they .. 200 1 c - s of stall of stateding.

What is a second of the first the lines a indian members of the second legislatures, by the second legislatures, b

27. Life of the Oppor Orciclier. The Sen is itself should not be able to be a hour, like the Lower House, but a fixed propertion of is then bers would retire and be replaced on re-elected as

the case may be) at regular periods.

- 28. Distribution of Scats in Upper Chamber. As regards the Istr.but.on or scats in the Senate Letween the States and British India respectively, the sub Connittee have to report a difference of vien The States representatives on the sub-Capritlee pressed strongly to condity of distribution as between the States and British India. The British Indian representatives, on the other iand, were disposed to claim, on such grounds as area and peptiartien, apreponderance of seats for British India; but though opinions differ il as to the precise degree ci "weightage" to be concerted to the States, the sub Committee are unaumous that's me " weightege i must be given, and that a distribution of scats as between the States and British Inda on a triet population ratio would reitien be a tersible in theory nor desirable in pratice. The sub-Conn. Her trust that it the Conference fails to reach unanimity on this point, a satisfactory solution may yet be found as the result of despession and a commodation hereafter.
- 29. P.S' Pation of Seats in Upper Chamber between Privmers.-Granted a solution of this question, it has still to be concloud how the scats available to the States and British India respectively are to be distributed amongst the individual units of each class. So far as the States are concerned, this must clearly be a matter for agreement by their Rulers in consultation between themselves and, it necessary, with the Viceroy. Difficult problems of grouping are involved, but these matters are outside the scope of the Conference. As regards the Provinces, precedents of other Federal constitutions could no doubt be cited in favour of complete equality as between Province and Province, and there was some coinion in the sub-Committee in favour of this plan. But while the opportunity should no doubt be taken for departing from the malitional apportionment as between Prevince and Prevince which has survived in the Chambers of the existing Indian Legis-Latine, the sub-Committee are doubtful whether an arrangement which gave, In instance, to Assam with its 7, millions of inhabitants, and Bengal with its 463 millions, an equal voice in the counsels of the Nation, would commend itself to general public opinion. On the whole the sub-Committee would be disposed to regard a distribution as between Province and Province on a population ratio as the most convenient and satistant my arrangement.
- of the Lower Chamber—Size.—The trend of opinion as to the size of the Lower Chamber was that it should consist of approximately 100 members, thus providing roughly one representative for

cach million of the inhabitants of India. On the other hand the year was strongly expressed that the requirements of efficiency would not be met if the Chamber were to exceed 200 as a maximum. The start manttee as a whole regge of the strong of these considerations, and also at the desire for a Chamber of sufficient size to atcil a re-southle approach to adequate representation of the population. But street not real approach to the fatter ideal could be seemed with a cultargueze the Legislature to at and we exemt, the sobstonial title think that having regard to the great in portable which must be attached to effect new of working, 250 should be adopted as the number of seats to be provided in the Lower Chamber.

31. Distribution of Seats in the Lower Chamber.—In the Lower Charaber the Lad an States Delegation do not claim, as they do in the Semice, equality of representation with British India, but here also if y claim some greater representation than they would obtain on a strict population ratio. The British Indian representatives on the sub-Committee were ref, however, disposed to contemplate a distribution as between themselves and the States in this Chamber on any other basis than that or population. On this basis approximately 76 per cent, of the seats would be assigned to British In lia and 24 per cost, to the States. But while the latter view must be receded as that of the majority of the sub-Committee, a substantial minority would regard so great a disparity between the two classes of units as meonsistent with and inimical to the ideal which the Contererce has set before itself, and the minority wish strongly to arge upon their colleagues the desirability of subordinating themy to expediency in the interests at goodwill. No Conterence can hope to lear fruit unless its members approach their task it a spirit of accommodation, and accommodation is this matter is, they are confident, not beyond the reach of Indian star smans, p.

The question of the respective powers of the two Chambers, which has been to wheel upon in para. 26 has also an obvious bearing on the matter.

32 Method of election to Lower Chambe. Here again the sub-Carn the regret that they are unaffe to record a manimous view. It - Bruish Indian representatives almost without exception towour direct election by constituencies amonged on a plan generally stadas to that of the "gereral constituencies" for the existing largestative A sembly. They martain that this method of electo I las not proved it practice me invertient or unworkelle, that s. inconvenience is it has hithert presented will be dualished we the titlesse whal trevelontemplate in the Lumber of sea's available and the intercuent decrease in the size of constituencies, the tote veats' experence has fittily established it in popular from, and that reson to any nerhod of indirect election would not to excepted by Indian public opinion. Other members of the sub-Committee are mad be to contemplate as a fitting repository of power and responsibility a Clareber whose members would lave so exignous a link between then selves and the population of the

areas they would import to represent as would be provided by any system of direct election. Assuming for the sake of argument that as many as 200 souts were available for British Indian representatives, they note that the average size of a constituency would be some 4,000 square miles, and that it due allowance is made for the comparatively small areas of the urban constituencies, the general average would be ever higher. They note that the Franchise sub-(outmittee have retrained from making any recommendation on the tranchise for the Federal Legislature; consequently they can-Let bring themselves to regard as popular representation according to the accepted canons of parliamentary government a system which provides for the "election" of members by an average number of some 5,000 electors scattered over an average area of some 4.000 square miles, and this difficulty would not be removed ly an marease in the average number of electors by a lowering of the tranchise; to an increase in the number of the voters in such vast constituencies would merely increase the difficulties of establishing centact letwien the candidate and the voter. But apart from these practical difficulties, some members of the sub-Con.mattee teel st onely that, in the geographical conditions of India, any system of direct election would seriously prejudice the success or the bederal ideal. In their view it is of the utmost importance that the tie letween the Centre and the units should be as closely knit as possible; and that it should be a tie of natural athorty of carlook and interest and capable of counteracting the centrangal ten lencies which, but for such a counterpoise, will be liable to develop in the Provinces from the increased autonomy now in prospect. In the opinion of those who hold this view the only satisfactory basis for representation in either Chanber of the Tederal Legislature is election by the Legislatures of the Provinces. This need not it volve the mere reproduction of the Lower Chamber on a smaller scale, it, as is suggested in this Report, special qualifrations are prescribed for membership of the Senate. But it this plan is not adopted, and the view prevails that the men bers of the Assembly should be chosen to represent the populations of the units rather than their Governments or Leg slatures, those members of the sub-Committee who are opposed to direct election desire to point out that it is not a necessary consequence of a decision in this sense that the populations of the areas should elect their representatives directly. Various devices are known to constitution-makers as alternatives to direct election, and they would strongly unge that every possible alternative should be explored before a final decision is taken.

33. Lije of the Lower Chamber.—The sub-Committee are of opinion that the term of the Lower Chamber should be five years, unless sooner dissolved by the Governor-General.

24. Representation of special interests and of the Crown in Federal Legislature.—Two further points remain to be mentioned in regard to the composition of the Federal Legislature. Of inion was manimous in the sub-Committee that, subject to any report of the Minorities sub-Committee, provision should be made for the

representation, possibly in both Chambers, and certainly in the Lower Chamber, of certain special interests, namely, the Depressel Classes, Indian Christians, Luropeans, Anglo-Indians, Landlords, C millette (Europe is and Irdian and Labour. Secondly, in their Interna Report, the sub-Committee expressed the view that sublig as there are any resurred surports the Crown should be represented in both Clambers Achde the abeter matter thattenaously meditall that reconficientality, Luther discussion has disclosel . due, on a alway as to the functions of the Crewn beauties, and as to their numbers. Some members if he sub Cona, the consiler that their after can e-should be solely for the purpose of explainits the Covernor-General's policy on his behalf, and that trey should not experie the right to your in divisions. Others me of opin as that the equal of should be full members of the Legis-Le ve. Some mor lers or the exhibition little consider again that tready norme stantisms is liberthe promepal advises i P + Gov in i-General a the administration of the reserved sadjects. will others think that is too unor-Gerud should be exposed to reminde a special curber operats, for excee in a say, 1). to each Chamber.

- 35. Herry I am excellent to the Francis The set the ettisted Charles the mother has been torcied on a use, but at tental aspers to relate the Chambers to the Exective The analytical of the test of the specient of the state o me stonelinee. For the proposed secreting greater stability to the Executive the state of the war about the language transmit of appear, that Mice stars should be the composited to resign save in the event of a vote those of the passed by a majority of at Lest two-flittle of the two Churchers sitting together. Miristers against whem he that, two thirts I he votes have been as cha ton of no conder e ward not, however, for that reason flore count the took of the contract that before the confidence of the Logislation who would be all able to other was to take who have they hart of the reduced But the substitute, the are open a that see received ould be devised who bet in the fit insta of stability, an adverse rate should not on every many to assa li ing be the resignation of the Manistry, and that the subject should be further explored.
- We be Briefle It in arby.—Si or the functions of the Federal Greenment will extend beyond the range of federal subjects and will endowed by a notification which are strotly the concept of Briefle in along it be noted by disciplinate above the first along it be noted by disciplinate for the Federal Legislater. Should take any pet in the debates of decisions on this later class of netters with which to be said a decisions on this later class of netters with which to be said a few in continuous lateral problems of the legislature as extended and the disciplination of the decision of the few along the contributions of the Legislature as extended and the disciplination of the disciplination of the legislature as extended and the disciplination of the disciplination of the legislature as extended and the disciplination of the legislature and the legislature are also also be above to the legislature as extended and the legislature and the legi

with tell, like the Legal, reader and and appears in the of both States and British Indicate defrenentate to innerious of Mil. ster it such a var as to have the proper - . latie, of State representatives to l'el dal maners; no work, lle s leme oud le ceval tall this object al. ! would be wat the roct of the Franciph of tale its responsibility in the Cabiret. Ich is recon the States desire with the general and the stafferst matter that their representatives in the Legitarian she ill play to a part equally will their British Indian colleagues it expressing the decision of the Legislature on any question which mychys tie existence of the Minister, evan it the matter which has given rise to the question of confidence is one which primarly fleets British India only. At the same time Their Illiganesses would prefer that the States' representatives should take no part at the decis of or matters aloch, being outside the range of teleral subjects, have ir direct intenst to the States. It would, no doubt, be joss ble so to arrange ous mess in the Legislature that Bills or Budget dem, ads et this har ever should be dealt with ently exclusively or in the Committee street by a Committee calcilegous to the Sectish Collemittee of the House of Comeons consisting of the Pritish Indian represent titles alone. Some members of the sub-Committee think. newers, that it would be untertanate to initiate such a system of d. I vertidien, and that, whatever conventions might be observed, " would be unlesir, ble in terms to deprive the Legi lature of the contribution which are of its members might be alle to riske on ony watter within the Legislature's priview; and they think that it would be touch in practice difficult, if nor in possible, to elissity a given matter as being one in which the States I are to interest a creet, direct or indirect. The sub-Contritted recombend, inducted, that the lab fee be further explored

37. Competence of the Tederal Logislature.—With reference to paragraph 5 of this Report, the reports of two sub-Commit ees are appropriated to this Report in which remainedations have been 1. 1d. as to the classificat in as federal, central or provincial, or all the subjects which are it present within the competence of the Indian Legislature. The sub-Committee enderso generally these recount, a lations, though they recegnise that the rather expert executation which the matter will undoubtedly be like may slear the roles ity of some medification and adjustment. It will be also well that, apart from the specific recommendations made with regard to the treatment of the several items in the list, there is a general recommendation that legislative co-ordination required in respect of certain provincial subjects, or aspects of provincial subjects, should no longer be secured by the process of submitting Previncal Bills on these subjects for the previous sanction of the Covernor-General, but firstly by scheduling ce tain existing Acres ord the same poices would, or course, be applied to certain Acts of the Federal Legislature in the 19thre) as long ireand le I and I limert in their application to a Province by the Provincial Legislature without the previous sand in the Govern -General rd, som liv, by granting energy - r persons r legislation to the

Federal Lagislature on certain spects of spectred proximetal subjects. It would be recessar, to include a provision that any Provincial Act relating to trace subjects which is repugnant to a Federal Act is, to the extent of the repugnancy, to be yord.

- 38. Residual process. The sub-Committee draw attention to the fact that, however, carefully the lists of Federal, Central and Provinced subjects are drawn up, there is bound to be a residue of subjects rate included in any of them. Whether these residuary powers of legislat in the to rest with the Federal Government of with the Provinces is a motter on which the sub-Committee have come to role conclusion. Its great importance is, however, manifest, and it will rosed most arctul consideration at a lity stage.
- 33. Control by the Ecderal Government over Provincial Governments.—This topic leads naturally to the question of the powers of control to be exercised by the Federal Executive over the Provincial Executive and their nature and extent. It goes without saying that within the range of Foleral subjects, the Federal Executive must have authority to ensure that Federal Acts are duly executed in the Provinces; it also goes without saying that within States' territary there can be no question of the exercise of any such authority, direct of indirect, cutside the strict range of Federal subjects. But it seems equally evident that in matters affecting more than one Province of British India, even where they relate to subjects classified as Provincial, there must be some authority capable of resolving disputes and of co-ordinating policy when unctormit, of policy sonth sit rests of India as a whole, and the sub-Court consider that the constitution should recognise this authority as vest by a tiel detail Government and should make suitable provis to fit its evere se,

Signed on behalf of the sub-Committee,

SANKEY.

Ches 1 1 .

St James Late.

LONDON.

13th January, 1931.

#### APPENDIX I TO SECOND REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE No. I

### CLASSIFICATION OF CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS

REPORT OF JOINT COMMITTEE OF SUB-COMMITTEES NOS. I AND II.

The Joint Committee" of the Federal Structure sub-Committee and the Provincial Constitutional sub-Committee was appointed to consider in detail the lists of subjects circulated as R.T.C. (F. (S)) 3. Categories A, B. C and D only, and to suggest a provisional classification into three categories:—

- (a) exclusively Central;
- (b) exclusively Provincial;

and which might therefore be subject to central co-ordination, and to make my suggestions that they think ft as to the method to be adopted for securing this co-ordination.

We have considered the various subjects and make the recommendations down in the meht-hand column of the attached Tabular Statement. The enumeration is that of the present list of Central and Provincial subjects, Devolution Rules Schedule I.

,(Signed) ZETLAND, Chairman.

6th January, 1931.

Proposed Classification of the Indian Central Subjects as detailed in Devolution Rules, Schedule I, Part I.

Engageration is that of the present list of the Indian Central Subjects.)

A: Those which are proposed to be wholly or partly federalised.

B: Those no portion of which is proposed to be federalised.

A: Central subjects which are proposed to be wholly or partly federalised.

The description of subjects in the Devolution Rules.

The recommendations of the Federal Structure sub-Committee regarding the extent to which they should be federal sed. The recommendation of the Joint Committee of sub-Committees Nos. I and II regarding the dassification of the residue into three Categories.

> (a) Exclusively Central.

> (h) Exclusively Pro-

(c) In which both the Centre and Provinces are interested and which might be subject to central co-ordination.

<sup>\*</sup> For membership, see list at end of tabular statement.

5. Communications to the extent describthe extent describto lucer to 1 lowing heads, namely;

(a) Railways and extra municipal tramways in so far as they are not classified as provincial subjects. Railways (including rail ways to be constructed or acquired in

rederal for policy and the latter to the extent of powers now exercised by the Railway Board.

Present position should be maintained.

(b) Aircraft and all

Federal

(c) Inland waterways to an extent to be

corleted by me

made by G. G. in

C or of comper

legislation in respect of inland waterways affecting more than one unit.

The Committee is informed that as the administration is pronincial ilore is no residue left for classification. But for steamships see list C,

item 31.

legislation by the Indian Logislation by the Shipping and navi-

Federal for policy and

The property as tell should be maintained.

I I have relia.

The I approve a series of the series of t

Federal

Mario Harak

Federal as far as interare concerned. There are no marine hospitals. The only contain a shipping who has a shipping central subject.

2. Ports declared to be major ports by rule made by the G. G. in C. or by or under labeled to be Indian Legislature.

Such ports to be Federal as are declared to be major ports by rule made by Federal Government or by or under legislation by the Federal Legislature and the States under a convention.

There is no part of the which is not federal-ised.

1 Property 121 - 121 - 122 - 123 - 124 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 125 - 1

les les alle varietés

les les alles des varietés

les les alles les tenses

les les alles les tenses

les les alles alles les alles les alles alles les alles alles

Billians I. Billia

Posts translates,

to proper ex
property of the ex
property to the e

11 CITTES

Martaur factors: Fecota, subject to speall alpestions with
and face States lasting reard to the
traces engagements
it agreements.

Pront or of Federal
Lili Federal on the
tes of Lant nor costes of Kashter

Inches Tax .

present. Whether any structured, whether any structure should be not be present to present the Provinces are the Provinces are the Provinces are the provinces are the contract of the provinces.

Or or correct of all-Lilla Revente.

A- to the second of the second

12. Carry val Con-

I had subject to a ijustifient with the States concerned of Frights as are not already concelled by thom.

B. Pr. rdelt of India

Public debt of Federal India (power to raise Federal Loans) I. all it is Federal.

The police debt of India on the date of the uniteration of the Poleral constitution show the a central stage to

Since it was not clear to . Federal for policy and 14. Savings Banks what Savings Banks, legislation regarding other than Post Office Post Office Savings Savings Banks, this Barks entry may refer, we lave no recommendation to make. Audit Federal audit to Provincial accounts 15. The Indian should be a provincial Federal. Department. subject. As regards audit the general sense of the Committee was that it should by a central subject but a substantial minority thought that the audit of provincial accounts should be a provincial subject. Federal for policy and Should be Central to (includ-17. Commerce the extent to which it legisation. mg lanking and mstrance). is at present. Do. Do. 18. Trading Companies and other associations. Development of indus-Development of indus-20. Development of intries to be a federal tries should remain dustries, in cases Subject in cases where Provincial to the exwhere such developsuch development by tent to which it is not ment by central au-Federal Authority is federalised. thority is declared declared by order of by order of the Governor-General in the Federal Government made after ne-Council made after gotiation with and consultation 35 .111 consent of the federthe local Govern Link or local Gosating units. ernments concerned expedient in the pulle interests. The position should be 21. Control of cultiva-Federal for policy and maintained as at preter, and manufaclegislation. ture of opium, Sale SE DI. of opium for export. As regords non Federal 22. Stores and station-Stores and stationery Central Departments ery both imported both imported and inthe subject should be and indigenous nedigreens required for under the control of quired for Imperial Federal Departments the Centre. to be Federal. Departments The position should be 23. Control of Federal for policy and petromountained as at preand exploleum leg slatten sent, SIVES. 24. Geological Survey Federal of India. 26. Botanical Survey of Federal

Federal for policy and legislation.

Do.

India.

S \_ 115

28. Copyright.

27. Inventions and de-

The position should be paratained as at present.

Do.

	12 freeze and l	
29 Enagration from and immigration	Englation from and immigration into	
into British India.  Interproviteial mugration.	India-Federal.	The Committee suggests that the question of taking migration be- tween Federal units a Federal subject should be considered.
31. Central police or- ganisation.	Federal police organisa- tion to be Federal.	Central to the extent it is at present.
32. Control of arms and amulation.	Traffic in arms and ammunition to be Federal for policy and legislation.	The position as regards control of arms and analymetron as apart from traffic in them should be maintained as at present. The previncial Governments should, however, have power to grant exemptions from the requirements of the Arms Act in respect of provincial areas.
33. Central agencies and institutions for research (including observatories) and for professional or to line all training or promotion of special studies.	Federal as regards future agencies and institutions.	As regards existing agencies and institutions the subject should continue to be Central as at present—if it is not federal-ised.
35. Survey of India .	Federal	
33. Meteorology	Do.	— —
39. Census	Federal for policy and legislation — the States reserving administration.	Certial to the extent in is at present.
Statistics	All-Ind'a Statistics—Federal.	
40. All-India Services .	Federal Services should be Federal.	be a central subject. As regards All-India services, the question is for the considera- tion of the "Ser- vices" sub-Com- mittee.
44. Immoveable pro- of the Governor- General in Council.	Inhoreable property acquired and maintained at the cost of Federal Government should be Federal	Indicate the property tained at the cost of Central Government should be Central.
45. The Public Services Commission.		. The Public Services

B: Central subjects, no partion of which is proposed to be federalised.

I to the Devolution Rules.

The recommendation of the Joint Nos. I and H regarding their classification into three categories:

In the look Central

In Expression Procureal.

(c) In which both the Centre and the Provinces are little stell and which might be subject to central legislation.

16. Civil Law including laws regarding status, property, civil rights and liabilities and civil

19. Control of production, supply and distribution of any articles in respect of which control by a central authority is declared by rule made by the Governor General in Council or by or under legislation by the Indian Legislature to be essential in the public interest save to the extent to which in such rule or handle is directed to be exercised by a directed to be exercised by a

25. Control of Mineral Developthe many that is said onthe served to the Governortrop of an experience of State, and regulation of mines.

30. Criminal Law including Criminal Procedure.

nat Procedure.

34. Ecclesiastical administration—

36. Survey of India .

37. Zeological Survey
42. Territorial changes—other than
of laws in connection therewith.

43. Regulation of ceremonial titles, orders, precedence and civil uniform.

This question has been considered we therefore refrain from dealing with it. See Appendix II.

The majority of the Committee considered that the Central Gov-

I we can the financial description in a subject but the regulation of mines and later of the extent it is at present.

See No. 16 above.

This should be a central rather than a provincial subject. It is, however, to be considered whether it should not be a Crown subject.

The present position should be maintained.

Do.

The Cormittee understands that this has already been decided to be a matter to be dealt with under are admitted of the constitution.

The Committee understands that the last and the let del to be a matter more properly falling under the authority of the Crown.

The January Community of the making that the same and the making that the same and the same in the same and t

Penny trust to of the from a structs in respect of which some control is exercised by the Centre.

## Devolution Rules, Schedule I, Part II.

Lucian girm will the he present est if the Provincial subjects.)

- C. Prevagal salects which are salect to legislation by the Indian Lg. lature.
- D Provinced to specially excepted and those in respect of which ext a-provinced in exercised.
  - C: Provincial subjects subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature.

Intion Rules

The recommendation of the Joint Committees Nos. I and II regarding their classication into their cate-

(a) Exclusively Central.

do Excusively Provincial.

(c) In which both the Centre and the Provinces are interested and which might be subject to central co-ordination.

## Local Self Government.

1. As regards:

- (a) the power of local authorities to borrow otherwise than from the Provincial Govern-
- rities of taxation not included in Schedule II of the
- Rital Statistics.
  - As regards infectious and contagents diseases to such extent as may be declared by any Act of the Indian Legislature.
  - 5. Education.
    - As regards the definition of the jurisdiction of any University outside the Province in which it is situated.
- 6. Public Works—light and feeder I' in the interpolation of their instruction and management is made by provincial legislation.

- As reports these two matters the Committee thinks that the words "subject to the previous concuon of a central authority to the extent to which such canction of the Governor-General is now required" should be substituted for the words "subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature."
- In respect of the specific matter of infectious and contagious diseases in the sphere of public health, which is now subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature, the majority of the Committee in tayour of co-ordination as against legislative control by the Centre.
- We suggest that the full Comnittee should consider whether this should not be a Federal subject.

C,-4 s, ta

As regards any on L ranways or trainways which are in physical connection with a main line or are built on the same gauge as an adjacent main line.

7. Water-supplies, irrigation and entire kment, water storage and water

power.

As regards matter of inter-provincial concern or offeeting the relation of a Province with any other term ony

10. Agriculture.

In respect of destructive insects and posts and plant diseases to such extent as may be declared by any Act of the Indian Legislature

11. Civil Veterinary Department.
In respect of intimal diseases to such extent as may be declared by any Act of the Indian Legislature.

14. Forests.

As regards distorestation of re-

15. Land Acquisition.

17. Administration of Justice.

As it is by High Courts, Chief Courts Courts and any courts of criminal jurisdiction.

19. Administrators -- General and Official Trustees.

20.—(a) Non-Judicial Stamps.

(b) Judicial Stamps.

As regards amounts of court fees levied in relation to suits and proceedings in the High Cauts and proceedings in the High purisdiction.

21. Registration of deeds and docu-

22. Registration of births, deaths and marriages.

As ognils soll class as the Indian Legislature may determine.

The present position should be

Do.

As in No. 3 above.

Do

forestation of reserved forests

and the exclusively Provincial

Louis ation should be exclusively

Provincial; but the right of the

Central Government to acquire

land for its own purposes should

be fully safeguarded.

the present position should be maintained.

The subject should in future to Provincial.

In both cases the present position should be maintained.

In both cases the present position should be maintained.

This should be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature—

(a) for marriages in the case of such classes as the Indian lagislature may determine.

case of Europeans and foreigners.

26. Industrial matters.

As regards

(a) Factories.

- (b) Settlement of labour dis-
- (c) Electricity.

(d) Boilers.

(g) Welfare of labour, incuding provident funds, industrial insurance (general, leadth and accident) and housing.

23. Adulteration of Food Stuffs and

other articles.

As regards import and export trade only.

29. Weights and measures.

As regards inland steam vessels

33. Miscellaneous matters.

(d) Control of poisons

(e) Control of Motor vehicles

\[ \text{transfer} \]

\[ \text{transfer} \]

throughout British India.

formances and cinemato-

As regards sanction of films

34. Control of newspapers, books and printing presses.

37. Criminal Tribes .

38. European Vagrancy .

39. Prisons and Prisoners (except persons detained under

The Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1813.

Prisoners

The Madras State

Regulation, 1819.
The Bombay Regulation XXV of 1817),

and Reformatories.

45. Regulation of medical and etaci professional qualifications and standards.

47. Control of Services.

As regards public services within the Province other than All-India Services.

As regards (a), (b), (c), (d) and (g), there should be a concurrent power of legislation vested in the Provinces and in the Centre. The previous sanction of the Governor-General should not be required in the case of provincial legislation

The present position should be maintained.

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

The subject should be exclusively Provincial.

The present condition should be maintained.

The subject should be exclusively Provincial (but with contratance of central legislation as regards State prisoners).

The present position should be maintained. The question of making this subject Federal should be considered.

The Committee refrains from making any recommendation as the matter falls within the purview of the "Services" sub-Committee.

The Joint Committee recommends generally with regard to the existrg leg slation on the above subjects that statutory provision should be able similar to that suggested by the Legal sub-Committee on Civil and Chimalian, process and the Process of the process that the process of the process of the Central Law Control of Process of the Central Law Control of Process of the Central Law on Historian and the Central Centr

D: Provincial subjects specially expected and those in respect of which extraprovincial control is exercised.

The last is a time somet in the Devel to Be Ross

The recommendation of the Joint Committee of sub-Committees No. 1 ml II remarding their line training ories:

on Louisevely Central on Excussively Provincial

(c) In which both the Centre and the Provinces are interested and high high rested to central co-ordination.

5. Education.

The following two are not provincial subjects:

- (I) The Benares Hindu UniverSite The Augar. MishaUniversity and such other
  Universities as may be
  declared by the GovernorGeneral in Council to be
  control subjects.
- (2) Chiefs' colleges and any inthe benefit of the meanfor the benefit of the meanand of other public servants
  or of the children of such
  members or servants.

6. Public Works.

Ancient monuments as defined in Section 2 (1) of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. 1904, which are for the time being declared to be protected to the protected of that Act, are central subjects.

- S. Colonisation and disposal of Crown Lands not in possession of the Governor-General in Conneil.
- The cutted is exertised by the Search and State in Courtail under Section 30 of the Government of India Act.

- ties should be central subjects, together with such Universities that of the new constitution as may be declared by the Central authority to be central subjects.
- leges and institutions for the leges and institutions for the leges of their children Federal subjects should be considered; otherwise Central.

The position should be maintained as at present.

subject to be beyond its terms of reference.

16. Escise.

ture and sale for export of

the territor, at his te

24. Development of mineral re-

This power is subject to rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

24x. Control of production, supply and control of production, supply articles.

The extent to which such control is directed to be exercised by a local Government is laid down by

(a) a rule made by the Governor-General in Council,

(b) or under legislation by the Indian Legislature.

27. Stores and Stationery.

jeet to such rules as may be state in Council.

30. Ports.

Such ports as may be declared by
the Grant Clenetal in Council
to be major ports by a rule
made by the Governor-General
in Council or by or under Indian
legislation are not provincial
but central subjects.

31. Inland Waterways.

The Governor-General in Council may declare some to be central

In the case of the Railway Police

conditions as regards limits of

tribution to cost of maintenance

tribution to cost of maintenance

(recommend in

Council may determine.

39, Prisons and Prisoners.

Prisoners defined under the Bergal State Prisoners Regulation, 1819, the Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, are central subjects.

42. Libraries and Museums.

The Imperial Library, the Indian Marian tree Imperial War War Moseum and the Victoria Menoral, Calentia, are central subjects

The present position should be

should rest with the Government-Central and Provincial under whose automity the resources are developed.

See item No. 19 in the list B above.

The Joint Committee sees no necessity for regulation by a superior authority of imports of stationery by provincial G vernments

See item No. 9 in the list A above.

See item No. 5 (b) in the list A above.

The present position should be maintained

See item No. 39 in the list C above.

The present position should be maintained. The question of making these institutions Federal should be considered.

49. Borrowing money on the sole credit of the Province.

Has power is subject to the provisions of the local Government Berrowing Rules.

The production sould emaintained.

V.B. The Joint Committee consisted of the following members: -Ler's Zor and Mr. Sastii, Sir B. N. Mitra, Mr. Mudallyar, Sir M. Shah Sir S. Ahared, Sardar Unal Singh, Mr. Gavin Jones, Dr. Ambedkar, Nawab Sir Alanad Said Khan, Mr. Joshi, Raja Narendra Nath, Sir A. P. Patro, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. Zafrullah Khan,

APPENDIX II TO SECOND REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE No. 1.

## CIVIL LAW AND CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE.

REPORT OF THE LEGAL SUB-COMMITTEE OF SUB-COMMITTEE No. I.

The Legal sub-Contuitive have considered the possibility of giving Provinced legislatures a plenary power of legislation over the whole field it with and crimina law in lawing the Central legislature power to legislate it is matters only which are necessarily the overm of the Certral . it. tr. They took however that it would be deficult, if not increasable, to specify or ever to inducte in general terms all the matters which should I received for the Central legislature, and that, therefore, it will be newsary to a ve the Central legislature a wide power of legislation. The Committee that I to that it is more say in the interest no less of the Provinces than of Rottish India as a whole that the quiferanty in civil and criminal law which now exists should be maintained. At the same time they think that "In Provincial legislatures should have a wide power of legislation as regards and and ermital has for provincial purposes. The sub-Committee think that the objects in version best he secured by giving the Central legislature the is the power of let. . I man all matters of evil and criminal law and Lit. I Privile if least one a concurrent power of legislation except as ; the those that when are necessarily the concern of the Central It worth, e.g., and to attend to international obligations, laws for territories in a street to me Proceed by slatters and laws affecting any power . Come to the Control authority of any law for the time being in force.

la preserve the unit or its which at present exists the present arrangement around a number with beer an important Acts cannot be repealed to the distinct the present sanction of the Governor-General. The Acts to the Petroles and additions.

On all other matters is that as the beginning power of a Provincial logistation is seen invertible that a classification but it should be capable if the entropy of a conflict to logislation by the Central logislature so that in case of a conflict tween Central and Provincial logislation the former would prevail. The LC nemittee think that if this plan acrosadopted Provincial logislatures will have in the field a citational criminal law a power of logislature will have in the field a citation of the criminal law a power of logislature will be sufficient for him needs. To give effect to this plan items 16 and 3 and 11 to the field of the Provincial list and provision should be made somewhere the A tion the trace of section Sta (S) to the some the uniformity desired.

I sometimes to should extend to such matters as those covered by the treatment to the rules made under section 50a (3) (4). The list of the treatment in the rules will require further examination and must in any see be brought up to dute.

31st December, 1930.

M. America Sun Constitute consisted of the following morntages Sr. M. America Slab Sr. Ter Bale dur Super Sir C. P. Ramasmani Aver Mr. Javakar and Mr. Janual und the constitute of Sir Edward Chamin of Sir Maurice Guyer.

COMMENTS IN COMMITTEE OF WHOLE CONFERENCE

154 J. N. 195 ON SECOND REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE NO. I

(Federal Structure).

to the No. 1, the February met of all the Report of sides, to the No. 1, the February Structure sub-Committee, and I will red Lord Sortey just to introduce it. Afterwards I shall call upon He there is The Nawar of Bhopal, who has to leave to-day, and I with the retore given him at appointmity of tollowing Lord Sankey.

Land Sanday: Mr. Pince Manister, your Highnesses Lanes and Genter en. Log to present the Report which has been published by the level Surature sub-tormattee, and there are only two paragrapts of it clack I desce to read. Will you please the Report in your hards and train to page 3, paragraph 5: "Resposstill to et the L. Carre. The Report which tollows payreds on the basic assumption that the constitution will recognise the principle that, oil jest to certain special provisions more particularly sie if d here, tier, the responsibility of the Federal Government (1 India will in inture rest upon Indians themselves." Paragraph 9: " Method of providing for this. In the opinion of the sul-Connutree the proper method of giving effect to this principle is, to howing the precedent of all the Dominion Constitutions, to perior that executive power and authority shall vest in the Crown, or a the Governmeth and as representing the Crown, and that there all be a Courcil of Many ters appointed by the Governor-treneral : I hadden the at his pleasure to ail and advise him. The t. . The telemental's Institute ent of Institutions will then direct here to prodict as it a Ministers those persons who command the confider e or the Levi betre, and the Govern reGeneral, in complying v. 11 ville, v. 1 l. of course, fellow the convention filly established in continuital practice throngicut the Binish Commonwealth of bysting one Minister to I rm a Government and . a strain to stable it a list of his proposed colleagues

In the garthener, while these is that I would have you take have to India. It was worth your while to come for it. The limit pair also have any points open for discuss on both in Indian dead and in India. There is a story in our Bible that the wise not come from the East. I see many of them sitting round this I ble. but I brown the coll that there are many wise i en still in India, wrose opinion and whose assistance are necessary to complete. Conference at I to start the future Government of India on proper and on safe lines.

The interior in the problem of the Prime Minister. On the Trial Section of the Country by the Prime Minister. On the Trial Section of the Asia matrices, have not had not tend of its development, and the constraint of the property of place the section of the interior of the first of the firs

I have no misgivage. Into will see it grow late a great tree, and in whose someday and preferring branches her some and daright is will find the rest and that shelver which there so sorely activities is that will bring you perce at the last.

Marks of appears, a allette Landle, top a tree of the land of the

There is in sightly at the Centre has consulting to penierfly to the noin that we have tade it clear that we can . It fact to me ' . all greening and felerated British India. and the first Burs. India is not self-governed any Federation with the varieties exempted India will it is explaint, be to come own alandary to the time and contact to the test to the te in I is her out to be the brette. Prices in express the the term of the procede to Feleration have The facility of the control of the facility of of the fire our courses to be written. I believe that the rapid progres of the federal idea will be selected by future historians as a refer est to at able characteristics. May I recall to mind t' ' t' - " ' use pres symbol by the Repett of the Statistics Circle of the last dir. and distant one that even the Despatch ती में कि तम कारों कि ती ति कि कि कि का कार कार कि का कि का का कार कार तहीं the in the part of the little The sing is a practical issue, intersuporting for which we can 

I don't like to the the opportunity of raking clear once more the moment in which this issue presented itself to use brother like a said to red his little Please Series on the field Sir Teir Liberton and the wast to be a said to be said to be a said to

As a Klair, and others. Sir Tei made an appeal to the Indian Princes which was ecuched in the following terms: "I think the Indian Princes every inch as patriotic as any one of its, and I make an earnest appeal to them not to confine their vision increby to what is called one-third India. Let them move forward with a vision of an India which shall be one single whole, each part of which may be autonomous and may enjoy absolute independence within its horders, regulated by proper relations with the rest. I therefore ask them to come forth on this occasion and say whether they are prepared to join an All-India Federation."

Sir. I do not desire to stress the fact that the appeal was made to us by British India, for I say quite frankly: if British India had a suggested to us the federal idea, we would have suggested it to them, for we were and we are convinced that only through Federation can we, all of us, British India and the Indian States alike, contribute our quota to the prosperity and well-being, and to the grey of our beloved Motherland. Our country is too vast, too variegated in its resources, in its population, in its cultures, to be content with a sterile uniformity which will confine all of us, whether we live in Kashmir or at Cape Comorin, in Bergal or in Sind, into a single mould. The greatness of India consists in the fact, that while she marifests an underlying unity, this unity is of a kind sufficiently tolerant and sufficiently all-embracing to permit her sens from a believer part of the Continent they may come, to contribute their sensuate cultures to the common heritage

With these considerations in our minds, what was our especie to Sir Tej Babadar's appeal? The Princes and the representative members of the India States Delegation at once supported the idea of Febration. His Highness of Bikaner, my esteemed and revered brother, but his support on behalf of the Princes, and made the point of view of the States abundantly clear.

Perhaps I may be permitted to quote a few sentences from the speed which I delivered here on the 20th November; "Speaking for myself, and I am sure too, on behalf of my brother Princes. I cordially reciprocate the view of Sir Tei Baladur Sapru of the slare which the Indian States can contribute in a united Federal India. and I particularly endorse his remark that when the time comes they will furnish a stabilising factor in the constitution. I note that both he and other speakers resognise that nothing in a system of Federation connotes any interference in the internal affairs of the States. and that their treaties with the Crown will remain unaltered, unless modified by mutual consent, and that it is in matters of common consent bereafter to be defined by mutual agreement and in nothing else that Federation will be concerned. On that understanding only one feature has to be added to the picture, namely, that the Federation shall be equal on both sides, and that there can be no question of the status of the States in our way being subordinate to the tof the rest of India On those conditions, I say, I entirely agree with the minciple of Federation. The details will have to be weaked out by the sub-Counsitive clready appointed for the purpose,

and must provide that all States who agree to participate shall be

properly represented."

Sit, to this declaration I adhere, and I think I have the support of these all the States represented here. Since the time when I Dade the above statement we have spent many hours in the evaluation of the practical problems presented by the federal idea. T. Pin es have some in the most practical manner that they have laren willing, and indeed anxious, to make sacrifices for the common ead of hida. We have agreed over a wide range of very importand subjects to derogate our much cherished severeignty to federal i. I but I sin unich we of the States will be represented. We have tamaghant. I conture to assert, shown that our first thought has loss for a presperous and united India. If from time to time we have thought a necessary to interpose a caution or to put forward a claim, I has been due to the fact that we are the trustees for our subjects; for owing to the circumstances which are in large measure leyond our control, we in the Indian States have not enjoyed many of those advantages which have brought prosperity to British India. We have been in some sort the step-children of the Government of In ma; we have been isolated from the tide of progress; we have been burned in back waters away from the main stream of economic and political development. We also feel, therefore, that our own people are not as yet titted in all directions to hold their own with the people of British India; we think that some allowance must be mader then, it they are not to start in the triendly competition of service to our Motherland under a crippling handicap. We therefore appeal to all comerned that advantage should not be taken of the fact that we are comparatively undeveloped and underpopulated.

I have be id some anxiety expressed in certrin quarters regarding the constitutional position of subjects of the Indian States. This matter is plainly beyond the jurisdiction of this Conference, since it is solely a domenstal concern of each Sovereign State. But the question is somen my own heart, as well as, I know, to that of my brother Princes, that I take leave to refer to it in the course of these inmarks. I would point out that the Chamber of Princes has already taken it up, and by formal resolution has brought it prominerally to the notice of each constituent member. So far as my own State is concerned, the fundamental rights of the subjects have already been proclaimed, such as to mention only a few, habeas compast alignous freedom, liberty of person and security of property, and the independence of Judiciary, etc.

Lave due similar things. I applogise for this digression into person hand domestic matters and for laving mentioned them here, but I believe it will be useful.

Sir, the question of parameuntey, as we all know, is outside the anabit of the present discussion. This is not the place nor the occasion to discuss in detail the exercise of these powers of paramounter were the States which at least is our view, in one form or

note who see are at present labouring. But now that we are part not to be are at present labouring. But now that we are part not to the question be settled in consultation with the Vice of a time and in a rad in that will not to the States. At this stage the noise which I amd it estimates to-day is this. The attitude which I and my timber lave dopted towards the question of the leder tion that the later dot, to by any desire for solush advantage.

Let us look at the facts of the situation. We of the Indian Star's are chearly in possession of, hay more, we have never lost the empty, and of that Swaraj. Lat sovereignty and internal independence for which the sons of British India are at present negotiating. We have our own private deanestic differences with the Azerts of the Crewr in India so far as the manner in which the power open monates are expreised, but in the main, despite on son longues and discreptione, we feel that are position is an interval of the real of the first solution of the solution of the solutions which have lett us in no doubt far the highest intervals of the Europe emphatically encouse our own view that these fresh are inviolate and inviolable, and that the Sovereigns of highest regard regard the rights, privileges, and dignities of the Processet India is being as worthy of respect as their own.

If d we been thinking parely and simply of the interests of a resolve and of our ding Houses, nothing would have been easier for is that to detected protection guaranteed to us by our Treaties and avoid oning hands with British India in the comand which has been pur toward for self-government. But we did not take this view as loved sons of India which we, not like any one else, have every tight to call ourselves, and also as in ling Princes bound on the corest ties to the Person and Throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor, we believed it to be the advantage plike of our Mother Country and of the Empire that India should through Federation become one great Country.

It is the beginning of this Contenence it has been our desire to bely and not to lunder the progress of our Motherland, and I feel that in any just consideration of the true interests of the country to participation of the Indian States no less than that of British Ir is will be found a requisite and satisfactory constitutional and tell to I advance; but I desire to a some you all that it is not in any case the wish of the States to make any attempt to denomate British It I are in any event to be urreasonable in our lemances.

the Constitutional position which they emply within the Engire that out various the Federation will necessitate joinal regional in the theorem the Vicero, with His Majes vis Government; and the true and nearly and the which they will enter the Federation will have to be entered in Torons a lotween the Criwo and the relationship in the individual Stores.

Singletone concluding this brief survey of the work of the Federal Sintare sal-Committee, it is my front preasure as well as my binden duty to pay my tribute to the Lord Change lor. We owe has patience, power of personal country and ability, the principal measures of the success which this, the Central Channittee or all. If I may be permitted the expression, has been able to achieve.

The Reports of the other sub-Committees are also before us. Much it the spale work has been done, but as they primarily need the internal adams of British India, I will not attempt to s avey the hell in any detail. In their case, however, I find that there also is a great deal of agreement as far as principles are arelyed. There may be some inflatence of opinion over questions or detail: but we have a a tried to work our details, and even if we had attempted we call rever have finished out work even in sax mentus. Indeed, as I have already pointed out, there are still many details to be filled in so far as the Ecderal Structure itself is concerned. There is ample time to work out these details in -mall connuttees in lada or elsewhere. But enough has been done to endle us to take le istons en questions of vial amportaine; and that is exactly what, as I understand, we are here ici. Let us, therefore, it I may respectfully suggest it, confine ourseives to decisions on questions o principle and thus come to satisfactory cenclusions as curedy as possible. Anyhow, whatever be the result of further negetiations and in wha ever manner the details may be fixed, of one thing we are certain. We have laid the Aundators for a self-governing Dominion of India, into the co suttains of which both British India and the Indian States will enter as nomoniable and co-equal partners; which will provide, in the words of a Resolution passed in the Chamber of Princes in Feb. na.y of last year " necessary seteguards and reservations for all vital interests in the country," and which will enable India to take her place among the greatest Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Nothing, I am sure, will shake us from this great legisim. It is now only left for all of us to see that the edifice which we have legun is completed in a manner worthy of its intertion.

With these few general observations on what we have been doing in our Committees and what still remains to be lone, I close these all too inadequate remarks by making two appeals.

The nost I address to our triends at British India, and I make this first appeal with the more contidence in that I personally have always held it to be the first duty of an Indian Prince that he should also be an Indian nationalist. In these has stages of our important work I know we are all agreed that the time has some when Princes and people, leaders of the Indian States and leaders at British India, once again stand united in our letermination to leave nothing under which will advance the requirement and honour of the country which we love so well.

We have set recard before our eyes the ideals fernoulated by Le d Sankey when he adjured us to think not of British India, not of the Indian States, but of India. We hold our riother comity before everything else before our individual claims, before the caras of our States, before the claims of British India; for in Indial truth there is no reason why we should not stand united.

There is nothing in the respective taiths of the Muslims one of the Hin has to lead to ill-will between us. Will it therefore be the rate have expect that whatever communal differences i ay remain will now, in these final stages, be once for all settled? Shell I be considered presumptions if, in the fair name of my Motherland, I appeal to my respected brillian to drown all such differences in the deep sea and to emerge out of this Conference all united as one hoteogeneous body. Hindus, Muslims, Depressed Classes, Sikhs and other minorities, all happy and contented, strong and pure, ready to work out the destinies of our find a, destinies which we hope will soon be placed in our hands?

Let us all, then, labour courageously and with good heart to secure for each interest in India its due consideration and its necessary sategrands, setting charly before our eyes the ideal which we all cherish of an India in which internal rifts and dissertions shall have disappeared.

My next appeal is addressed to the Government, to the political parties are to the people of Great Britain. Before I make it, may I pay my tribute to the manner in which you. Mr. Prime Minister, and your Government, together with the members of the other political parties, have received us in our capacity as representatives of India. I am sure I am speaking not merely on behalt of myself or the Iralian Princes, but on behalt of the entire Delegation to the Round Table Conference, when I say that it has been a source of great satisfaction and encouragement to all of us throughout the meredings of this Conference to feel that the fundamental desire of Great Britain has been to hear India's claim in a spirit of equity and justice.

You own personality, Mr. Prime Minister, has been a perpetual dispiration to us, and I should like at the same time to include in my grateful thanks our Secretary of State, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, who has worked, as we all know, without rest for the success of the Conference.

Since to the manner in which India's claim has been jut it would it is not a got for me to speak; but as on Indian I can only say that I am proud of the service which has been done for my country by her most honoured sons. The statesmanship, the wildow, the moderation and the foresight which have characterised the work of eminent patriots on the other side of the Table would. I venture to think, do horour to the most prominent representatives of any country in the world.

That the manner's which the cause of India has been pleafed has been effective is a apply apparent. I think, from the courageous

and broadm aded speech of Lord Reading. It rd Reading, if I may be permitted to say so, is a worthy upholder of the great Liberal tradition which has contributed so much to the glory of Britain. His speech was in that same lofty strain of statesmanship which in times past converted a rebellious Canada and a seceding South Africa into loyal and devoted partners in the British Companies and that the friendly and sympathetic public opinion of Great Britain, to which I have already referred, will in no long time find expression in definite terms.

To those sections of opinion which are still hesitating may I say this. It is from you that Indians have learned to value free institutions. To you they owe the growth of that sense of common nationhood that now inspires them in their claims on behalf of their country.

We on this side of the Table cannot be classed as agitators. Our stake in India is great indeed, and yet we join with our brethren in British India in urging you to a generous measure of political advance. Should we do this if we did not believe that the time tor a substantial and effective advance had arrived? Are we likely to risk chaos and disorder of a kind what must touch us far more nearly than it can possibly touch you? Are we likely to imperil the idministrative traditions which are amongst the greatest of Britain's gifts to India? I state confidently that Britain has no better triends in India than the Indiar Princes who yield to none in their devotion to the King Emperor and in their attachment to the British connection: yet it is we, as well as British India who now urge Britain to a bold and generous policy.

There may be anomalies in the constitution which we have tried to set up but which constitution in the world is free from anomaly? There may be scope for criticism of the constitution we are proposing, but which constitution can be sate from criticism? The structure may not be perfect, but where else in the world has an attempt been made to frame a constitution for so many varied interests and communities, and what country has tried to bring into one homogeneous whole such heterogeneous elements? Why should we then be despondent if we do not succeed in designing a constitution which would satisfy the fastidious demands of the enthusiasts for a constitution purely on the lines of the British unitary system? Our problems are unique, and we can solve them only in an unique manner.

May I remind this Conterence of the wise words of the Marquess of Lothian, who said that the one, the only, cure for irresponsibility was responsibility. Give Ir dia, then, responsibility, coupled with such safeguards as may be agreed upon to be necessary for the transitory period, and you will at once gain the loyal co-operation, the firm friendship, of one-fifth of the Luman race. Let us go hack and tell our people that "British statesmanship has risen to this, as to so many other emergencies. The way is clear for India's

development to the full height of her stature, free in a tary fer-

Thus Conference has to occur by the an amend of significant extension of the no patriot, no real statest in voile ever dream of spoiling or won i thing of destroying, and it is on the basis of this agreement that I, with all respect, urge upon you, Mr. Prince Minister, to throw your corrige and your patriotism anto the charmels of constructive were which her lie open. This I aggest is the real abswer to the forces et abarely and aissat start in which may at times be misir the u\_ly beads. Help these was been Butish India, I respectively urgex on to save the recountry crou, wheek and ruin. I is for you, Mr Protee Munister, as the bond of His Majesty's Government to proceeding the But he prophentel to tell India that her representato n. In pute o and the error to of the pess n ists, has found a response worths of its part. . It is you to spak the words which will link may a unitary for ever my your ly those ties of affection and of groduall which, snorger that bonds of i.o. will on to within the Butish Comments alth of Nations the peoples alike of East and Wer. India. Mr. Price Mo. St., averts year announcement with is the ata. It a sum to as Butture will not desaporate me

there har : I want you go later to the muther on but a our besiness. In the older is way this Report would be treated as piet a is reports have been trained by this Committee You will Remember that paragraph to paragraph was put, and they were just noted and I the processor roting, these of you who had se du ponts to i le, r ele ther, del those poirts were netel so that the Graciment and has whe are going to continue to we had this subject raight have the bene tof the regard made. The Report, h wever, is in a somewhat different position. I want treeze, isterall to bargoir with you-that is, that the speeches tach less or tris Report will not be reported at the Plenary See, b. A don de speech, I think is quits unneces any fer one lea to a very supreme reason, that we all know each other row quite well, and are so filly possessed of each others views that it voild only be wate of time o hear those views stated twice. I think, however, in view of the importance of this Report, that I will give you an interval for what I might all, in House of Conhave larguage, a second reading delette. That, I think, might be harshed by lunch time, and then we will riest in the afternoon tool we will put the Report paragraph by paragraph.

Mr. Fall-Mark H. H. H. chness. The Aga Khan has been a thorised by the Mr. lin Del Lation to rake a statement toy u. S.r. and to this Canterer e. As His H. Phress is not well. I have been a kell to be lead a statement on his behalf and on behalf of the Mask in Delection. The statement, S.r. rens as follows:—

"M. Pie e Minister, we should like to place or roce of he police that Made about an to the Range I Table ( process regarding the Remarks of the Process and Constitution Sub-

Countities and the Federal Structure saleCommittee The Mission members of those Committees have taken part in and given their assent to some of the recommendations of these - deformittees on the distinct and clear unde standing that tie position of the Muslim community will be effectively sategar ded in the future constitution of India We have throughout acted in a spirit of compremise, and have spared Litelionis to ling about the desired neutre. As you are aware, Sir, we have unfort mately failed to accomplish this object, and to settlement of the outstanding Hindu-Muslim problem has been effected. In these cheums, ances we feel that the only one that is consistent alike with the position of our comments and its position needs, and the smooth working of the new constitution which we have been seeking to evolve during the last numbers of the restance of the that no advance is I II or provicable, whether in the Provinces or in the Cut il Governent, without dequate suformards for the Musling of India, and that no constitution will be acceptable to the Muslin s of India without such sateguards."

Colonel Haks in: Mr. Prime Min ster, we have reached a stage in the control of the lia inscent of in part, as we have had to do so far. We have to getter up the threads at our discussions in the var. as sub-Convidte stand to weave a part in with these. Thus able should be to all no judge the strength of the texture and the effect of colour and design. From the point of view of the States, Sir, we are principally interested in the recomm indutions about the tuture constitution, its component elements, its composition, the powers of the toverment at the Centre, and the extent of its responsibility to the Federal Legislature. We are also vitally concerned with regard to the proposals in regard to intronal defence which deal with the question how and at what rate India can be made responsible for the defence of her frontiers.

Although many important details remain to be worked out even in respect of these points, the material in our hands is sufficient to provide the outlines of the scheep which would result from the completion of these decids and to enable us to estimate its merits from the common standpoint of India and England.

I venture to them, that one cardinal fact is fully appreciated by everyone in this Committee, and it is that India as a whole will judge any scheme by this single criterion—does it or does it not truster to the people of India the maximum responsibility practicable at this stage to remage their own affairs? England, after the unforgettable manifestation of sincere good will towards India and her genuine desire to make India an equal partner in the Breish Commonwealth, will justifiably apply this test: Does the schome provide adequate safeguards for the safety, stability and good government of India, and for the maintenance, for as long as the British Empire endures, of cordial re-operation between

Ledwal and India, such co-operation as would be to the mot a lyntage of both countries, and would engender a force that we stree of the world's moral purpose and direct its activities. The channels of peaceful progress and humanitarian endead Larreconvenced that those two points of view are in no way into a lable. On the contrary, they represent the two aspects of the same problem which results from laudable ambition—ambit a whole is common to India and England. In the case of India, the ambit of its legation of the desire to test her capacity—in that a England of the equally natural desire to see the fruit of the seed cast upon fecund soil.

The vitel question, therefore, is to what extent does the obsertation, which emerges from the Reports before us, satisfy these criteria? How his does it yest in the sons of India the respectibility to govern their own country and make them masters in their own longe? How his does it provide the essential safeguards to the labely and good government of India by a stall of it it tration? I venture to state it as my considered judgment to it the constitution which has been sketched satisfies all these constitution which has been sketched satisfies all these constitution.

Both, theretes a Poderal Contral Government in which I to states and ever, unit of British Indian administration will be received. The Executive Agency of this Government is to be the form to be be believed only to this provise, that is a few to be the responsibility in respect of detence and the money of the vested in the Viceroy, who will fir the life these ratio be under the supervision, director as I the British to be under the supervision, director as I the British to be under the given powers, shall make the contract the Cross, will unther be given powers, shall make the contract the first active and transquillity of the active the contract of opinion as to the adequation of the contract that the active designed to realise it fully accounted and that the active designed to realise it fully accounted dates that conception.

dates that conception.

Now, a regards the Vicoroy reperceptacy and certain other to rivel powers, it is possible to coming out that they constitute such a martion of the body of responsibility as to reduce it to a televisor, and, therefore, what the proposed constitution sets on the action of the body of responsibility as to reduce it to a televisor and therefore, what the proposed constitution sets on the action of the these reservations entirely unnecessary. The answer runst be found to the present conditions of Imital lower answer runst be found to the present conditions of Imital lower than they have been brought about. What is the aim of the found they going to prove a hindrance of a least the state of the difficult period of transition from ninety per contained the safeguards provided have been proposed and accepted here that the safeguards provided have been proposed and accepted here the protocol and honest help theld by both sides that they are it the interests of India, and it is to derived that they will disapped

the issay. Not is India going to be delatred from showing, is soon as that point of alvance is gained, that they have ceased to be justified.

One of the reservations is in respect of defence. In this question are involved the vital interests of the States, several o' whom have as agned or coded extensive territory to the British Government as the price of military protection. Others are paying subsidies. These and the contributions of the States is other numerous ways must come into the reckoning as soon as the subject of federal phancial obligations is taken up for determination.

I will touch upon one more point only, and that concerns the proportion which the representations of the States should bear in the Federal Houses, especially the Upper House, to the representatives at British India. It would be readily agreed that the essence of Federation is equality at status. In it there can be no question of the subordination of one component part to another. No unit or group of units can dominate any other unit or group of units. But, further, when the historic position, the sovereign character and the special value of the States to the Federation in the matter of detence is realised, their claim to equality of representation must be held established: for, after all, the States on the one hand and British India on the other truly represent the federating entities and they are but two.

It would be easy to attack this claim as it is always easy to attack any constitution, and, indeed, to destroy it by the show and shell of logic, and no one car pretend that the constitution, only the bare outlines of which we have worked out in this Conference, can withstand the enslaught of the political logician or constitutional purist. But, Sir, in my humble view, of all the futile people in the world the constitutional purist is the most futile; and for this sufficient reason, if I may say so, that constitutional purisit represents the doctrine of the utterly impossible, which disregards the fact that constitutions are not beautiful dreams concretised but practical methods applied to the practical needs of the workaday would by imperfect men for the benefit of imperfect men. There are no constitutions, however admirable in their working, which are not open to logical objections. We can therefore safely leave aside the objections of the logically minded and of those impressed by the meassity of approximating constitutions to recognised theories. It is the workability of a constitution that matters and however imperfect a constitution, experence has shown that, given men of ear test purpose, the worst constitution can be made a great practical success.

Sir, the constitution which has been sketched in outline is evolved from the play of mind upon mind, and from the interaction of points of view different no doubt but differing in consequence of the approach to the goal from different standpoints. A widespread impression has been in existence that India wants to have nothing

to de with Britain while Britain wants to continue for ever to down ste India. What those of us not only inside this Conference but outside it have found the position in reality to be, is that Enotand recognises that India must have liberty to manage her own attairs, whereas representatives of India here reclise not merely the advantages of the British connection but also the advantage of certain restrictions, at any rate for the time being, upon the suple I buty of India. It it is not a uscless digression. Sir, I would ver are to say that the text from which all the sons of both count its should be necteith preach is contact, personal contact, more intracts contact. If such close contact is maintained throughout the coming menth I see no occasion for despair. Indeed I am full of hope that such an association of thought and will, when the last finil ng toucker have been put to the picture, will produce not so much a be crutiul picture as a living one. In that hope and in that belief I beg that the bulk of the proposals now before us should be gladly and wholel eartedly adopted, by us, in order that the necessay atmosphere may be created for the necessary developmentthat are still to come.

Down Balacher Ran achondra Rao: Mr. Prime Minister, we are thankful to you for civing us this opportunity of making a few general remarks on the Report of the sub-Committee as it has been presented to us. It seems to me without committing myself to every one of the proposals made in this Report that I might, on my own behalf, express great satisfaction that this question of Federation has been placed on a sound footing.

Sit, in the long discussions that have taken place during the last ten years in the Legislative Assembly on the question of the constitutional position of India, three questions have always been prominently raised. One of them is: what is to be the position of the Indian States in the new constitution; secondly, how is India to not self-government without being placed in a position to defend her elf, and the third is the perpetual and difficult problem of Hinda-Muslim relations.

Now. Sir. I may say that the proceedings of this Centerenes in Committee and in Plenary Session have taken the solution of this problem in the three directions to a very successful issue. With regard to the Indian States, it has been my dorn, that the constitution of India should embrace all these States and that we should have a united India as a self-governing unit; and I venture to say that I took up the cause of the people of the States in Conformers of the people of the States and I hope and believe that they will also favour a Federation. The Princes have placed the whole of India under a deep debt of gratitude by coming into the Federation in this way and completing the pelatical structure for the matter which has been attempted in this Report. In debter it is a interest of great satisfaction that the development of the India polity has been a celerated by the consent and by the willing agreement of the P inces to come into the Federation.

Otherwise we should have been faced with a number of other difficulties, if the cuestion of Dominion Status for British India alone had to be considered. But, Sir, His Highress the Nawab of Bhopal has referred to the anxiety which has been felt in the States with regard to the position of the people of the States. I have inculated a rate to all the Members of the Commistee of my views on this sulpe to especially with regard to the position of the people in the Indian States. They are now under autocratic administrations, and it has been felt that the only way in which the question or citizenship rights could be solved is by chaoting in the Constitution the fundamental rights which will be applicable to not only the real e of British India but the people of the Indian States, also citizenship rights which will be clearly defined in regard to all the people of the Federating States and Provinces.

That is the position that I take up with regard to this nation and it is a natter of great satisfaction to pie to how that officenship rights have been conceded in the State of Bhopal, and that other Indian Rulers are also contemplating it. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and other ruling Princes, I understand, have under contemplation proposals for placing the position of the hid an States' subjects on a firm footing; but my contention is that the only way in which this could be satisfactorily dealt with is by enacting citizenship rights in the constitution so as to be applicable also to the people of all the Federating States.

Sir, that is a matter which I expect will receive consideration in the near future, and I trust that this matter will be placed on a satisfactory footing. Perhaps it is only necessary to say that the Neura Report, of which I see some of the distinguished authors here, has laid great stress upon enacting the fundamental rights in the constitution, and this subject has been referred to almost in every sub-Committee of the Conference which has had to deal with this question of the Indian constitution.

With regard to Detence. I also think that the whole question in India should be viewed from the point of view as at what pace the Indian Army will be Indianised. I am aware of the difficulties of the problem, but there is something like being too cautious in this matter, and I trust that we shall be able to achieve this result as early as possible, and that the question of national defence and trustering the responsibility of defending India to the shoulders of the sons of India will receive very adequate consideration. I do not wish to refer to other matters which I daresay will arise on the Report as a whole.

Mr Josla: Sir, It is a matter of some gratification that the Report of the Federa Structure sub-Committee proposes to place in the hands of the Indians a great portion of the responsibility of the Covernment of India; but, Sir, the more fact that the power of governing India will beneatorth be transferred to Indians is not in itself sufficient to create enthusiasm in the hearts of those who care for the interests of the masses and of the working classes. The

the vector political pover to be transferred to the people of India.

In the execution people of India, and not only to a few people in India.

I do a late of one, will try to pulse the Report of the sub-time.

mittee by two tests.

I I that is to whom the power will be transferred, and, ila, whether the intrests of the working classes will be a sountly protected in the constitution proposed by the Polesal S in sub-Comattee. In my spech at the Paracy Session t ted that I was not wedded to a particular form of Government, y be ther it was unitary or federal, but that I was wedded to a tation which would protect the interests of the working s are and of the masses. I also stated in my speech of the Plenary Sessor that mader a Federal form of Coverament where the power . The Lederal Gove miners to ratify international conventions is I tel, the international protection given to workers by the late ruional Labour Organisation working under the auspices of 1 - League et Nations becomes much less. Reading the Report of the substinumittee. I do not and which is the proper authority to the ratification of the Conventions of the International Labour Opeanisation. Perhaps by inference we may find that this subject, along with the subject of foreign affairs, may be a Crown subject, but, Sir, when a subject is made a Crown subject it does not r essar v protect the interests of the working classes. The Crewa - I jects will be under the authority of the Vicercy and the Vicercy mer have the power to ratify conventions; but if we are studying the one of tion we find that hoom is not a federal subject and the Various also is not given special powers to eract legislation on Labour matters as Le is given special powers to deal with detence. political matters, and foreign matters.

I receive think that the Vice oy's power to ratity convertions only to antoric the ratification is limited, and therefore the raterial and protection at present given to the Indian workers by the Indian to a Labour Organisation will be considerably reduced under the project existintion. My fear is that hereafter there will have a trication of any international convention passed by the Indianalcular, and Labour Contention. Up to this time British Indianalcular at the structure members and conventions, and they discuss some and they discuss that here it ribany conventions are a be notified they will have to be natified by the Federal Government; but the Leien I Government is not given the power or ratification; the power of ratification; the

nut possess the power to give effect to the ratification.

Sating the constitution from the other test, not only to what is the power transferred, the Renot of the substitution of the does not state. For the transferred ise for the demonstration of least on the lower Mosse of the Pede al Legislance. It discusses the subject of direct and boding the letter, and it is stated that some members of the form little have a preferred to direct election. No mention is made at the transfers, and the librarchise substitution at the data of the

made no recon mendations regarding the franchise for the Federal Legislature. I am at aid that if there is no mention of the franchise, and if direct election is insisted upon, it is possible that the political powers which will be transferred under this constitution will be transferred only to a very small number of the Indian people.

I have a preference for direct election, but if it is found that under a system of direct election adult from hise will not be practicable, and if I am given a choice of direct election under a limited tranchise and indirect election with an adult franchise, I shall unhesitatingly accept the latter, because I feel that what is important for the people of India is not a mere transfer of political power from the British bureaucracy to an Indian aristocracy and oligarchy; what is important is that political power will be transferred from the British bureaucracy to the Indian people.

Mr. Jalhar: Sir, the political aim of the party which I have the honour to represent in the Legislative Courcil of Bombay is the attainment of complete Dominion Status at as early a stage as possible, and as the first step towards the realisation of that object. I accept the present Report on behalf of the communities I represent. I can say that the people in the Bombay Presidency, the Mainattas and the allied communities and the backward communities is general, will accept this present step as a substantial advance and I may promise our co-operation in working it.

The Montagu-Chele sourd Reforms we encepted by the Liberels. by the Mahrattas and other allied communities and by my Mulana maden friends, and they have worked these Reforms to a certain extent satisfactually in the Presidency of Bombay. I do not by much stress upon the words that are used in drafting any constitution, but I attach great importance to the spirit with which the constitution is worked, and I may say that the spirit in which the constitution of 1920 was worked was very good in the beginning and for a tew years often 1924, but during the remaining period the society was not very conducive to harmony, and triction alose; and that was the reason why dyarchy was declared to be a fail are.

I trust. Sir, that the spirit behind these Reforms will be vir conduct, and both England and India will work these Reforms with unanimity and with an idea of advancing India on the path of self-government as a full-fledged Dominion forming part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I regret to note, from the declaration which has been read, that the Hindus and Mussalmans have not come to an understanding of the minorities question. As far as my Presidency is concerned we have got a very good understanding with the Muhammadans; the Government of Bombay have recommended separate electorates for them, and, by a resolution of the people I represent, the same principle has been approved. Personally, I have never asked for separate electorates for my communities; I am happy to be in the

point, le torates. But the saturation in the Bombuy Presidency and the opin on in the Bombay Presidence was very well selected by my read Signature and Shall add in the Minorities succeed in these text almost they would ask for a joint electerate, it can triens the Massal and swanted communical electorates we would not stand in their way but would support them. Even at this late stare and still topical that the disagreement will be overcore. The change between the two contributes cannot be very wile; it is a trien every lift, and a struct of the bedifficult. Indige or other points the trien as a feet in the bonds of some conjugate arbitrator.

For the Mahratta community whom I represent I have said not be in the state of that we are content to be in coint electricites. In I is a content to the interest of the content of th

Sa A. P. Para St. we agree with the setteral entires of the ? . H. in when I sav " no" I are specing on labelf of the A I.I. I i ren-Brahmir Feleration. We he e been considered as to estribule ve hould to exclude not tagle Red gal trature the last is used by the total and the sale and it is. He culty of produce the seles of the war entitled by the able States ren. for Chairmen of the substannittee. The Report is an . In the expession of the Pederals or type for Italya; the shear ple blamalise parts the other State in the British Con-The Saturday Another all public feature at this Report is that if gives took, evens the door, but the discussion of many in the traditional prestion relating to the federal problems which and there to be discussed because I thin Indianal in England. We les a spree ate very grandly the marvellous our titled has location in Indian English to a lulle certifi-I proposed to be the the property parties. It was at one time the oil that it as git be very definal for the sub-t' is if the to to a to a larger than east to thick at his been able to do in the - Fit of the or due or in as and phial controverses that to other bet the for the conditioning of the first of Lading I. very the control lead, and Inda a very extent to Lord Reading.

In Lord Post, of Channe med the Conservative Dela ation, is very contained a expressing deficit view, we realise that he is for in a marrow time to the traditions of the great party which are presents. He doesn't want to take a most award without

know up that he is standing in solid grand. The many reservations and conditions, he considers, are not at all adequate and checkive; but whom the picture is filled in, as was suggested in the Report, I hope he will that that, after all, he is not on dangerous ground, and he is not taking any risk in the matter tradually the picture will be nated in both in India and in England, and then it will be found that it is a safe experiment.

Or other matter to which I would beg to draw the attention of the traterence is that a good deal yet remains to be done in order to more this scheme a success. If I venture to refer to the regrettable and the painful fact that we have not yet been able to come to at understanding among ourselves with regard to the domestic problem of minorities, it it is not solved yet, we are sure that in the rourse of time, when we consider it further-and I can assure my Mussalman triends of this-the reasonable saleguards which they require will be provided in the rules and in the constitution at its with those required by all other minorities. The Prime Minister has declared that the first and fundamental principle will he the safety and security of all the minorities in the new constiturion. That is not going to be neglected, and I may further assure our Muss, han triends that that wat be one of the principal matters for which I and my party would stand to protect the rights and mercies of all manerities. We do not hesitate to say that we support the reasonable aspirations to allay fears of the Mussalmans and other masorities, lacause, no constitution will be safe or will word standaly anhas all the elements in it are perfectly satisfied that their reasonable espirations are met; and I are sure that it is the manumon opinion of the British Incia Delegation also that such reasonable saleguards should be provided for. I therefore appret to by M semman friends that they have no reason to apprebere that and such evil is going to bettle them, or that their no ests will be imparaised in the great constitution that is going to be framed hereafter.

Many matters have been left open in this Report purpose't and deliberately with a view to giving time for those public that and planetary in his at he as the mobile lond. Lord Sanley, has said, in those who have not been able to be with as here in this Conference that whereare still in India to have also an equal op, that you discussing the great problem and of contributing the relation of the great scheme which has been outlined and placed before us.

There are the central features of the scheme are extremely good to be to be and be beginned in will be adopted by everyone, and that it will be agreed that this Federal scheme is the real necessity for India. Without the Vederal scheme there can be no responsibility in the Centre nor should we ever make any progress towards the realisation of the ideal of true nationalism. The Federal scheme inevitably results in responsibility in the Centre. Therefore I am safe that all the Delegates here will realise the vital principle that if our aspiration for responsible self-government are to be satisfied,

I do want to real to get and about the first and about the determinent of adjusted. Very while the front leave point is such ally in our and a about over the first and a about our termination.

Facultie, Sor I case great pleasure no opport le general authors di this Report.

Mr. Chitamar: M. Panas Marister, in one brot word I wish to join my colleagues a their respectful tributes to the Lord Chanseller for the great work which he has assisted a accomplishing.

Proceeding to the Report before us I wish to sixte, again in a brit word, one feature that rins through it it raisely, that the most important matters have been left as open questions. In paragraph after paragraph we come across the observation that the question requires further investigation or exploration, of that to member who expresses any opinion in the sub-Committee stoom committed to that epinion or to any other. Therefore it remains still an open question what exacts will be many of the tentures of the future continuously on the soundness of which will depind not only its either at and harmonious working but the degree of salisticition contentment which it can bring to the people concerted

Now, Sir, I confire myself to one particular point—namely, is more whilst at the Centre—and here the Lord Chancellor and his collemnes of the Federal Structure sub-Committee will pur longue to soying that I cannot express any sense of enthusiasm or unfounded satisfaction, I it rather I field bound to express my sense is disappointment at one or two features of the proposals. In the list place, the receivables proposed are not only with regard to the in admirs and the defence of the country, on which there has been not determined to prestions of each of the country, and the mestions of each of the country, and the mestions of each of the country of the regard to which it cance, questions of control of exchange, with regard to which it is not be and beging are entirely different from those which in the end the ring side by the Manual of Reading

Mr. Price Mirister, I hope recrimination is no acit of my conspection, but I shall be firgived for saving that the confer in which Indian manner, currency, exchange, and allied subjects have be a facin od by the present Government of India does not surely as all sites in their first a reservation of rower money, as all sites in the Viency in the future. If there is not instead of the Viency in the future of the facing should be in a market some instances of formal conscious half and pare that much be not promise to India; and to make teach I artificate that much make another money congress opinion but not onelest obtained of a none productive variety will dissent from some or the conclusions come to here.

Next, with regard to the responsibility of the I countive to the Consistence I am bound to express my feeling that, while in theory we shall have an Executive removable by the Leoish tore, in practice if all lear intermovable Fxecutive on almost all occasions. I can

the my ' in the all Hake at the beneed not include he although those whom he had in mind when he referred to constitutional printed I was a rely too well that all these are matters leaft war in imparted cen m an imperted partier. But, Sr, it i'e ing " 'eer ons a mers adon the good points and to observe t ed, the il think we shall not be held guilty of purism it we express our d stistaction. The respondibility is to both Houses of the Legis-I. to composed in very large part of members rotal acted by the tulter l'innes, and even that responsibility is further lu med or the last that it requires the vote of a two-thirds majority of a joint service of the two Hetses ter the removal of the Ministry. I hall companies there was will be in charge of a seconfidence to as In the inture Legislature on the rate occasions when they may by It we care or similar intervention succeed in getting that two-thicks in city. I should like to how the self-governing country it in v Ilvien a spon ibility is expressed in this term. On this | At, Mr Prime Minister, I am bound to confess that I am dissatisfied relative eport of the Federal Structure sub-Committee, and I do In a group let, that one see let, of Indian spinion will require in this.

Mr. Prime Min ser, at this stage I do not want to take up the tree a the Campor further; but I do not wish it to be an lerstood that I sit door only with an expression of dissatisant. In there avoid that impression I should like to say that I am it press has not has any other mender by the great work that has been lone, and I had forward with hope and confidence that in the reconstruct this work may be consumulated and India shall be a contented a maber of a Commonwealth of free nations.

Note that Johnson Sir, I think that His M. jesty's Government, the two other great parties in this country, and the British public, are now convinced that there is no section of the public in India, whether they be Hindu, Muhammadan, Indian Christian, Sikh or Parsee, that is not firmly of the belief and opinion that a full measure of self-government is now due to India; and if that belief can only be realised in this country, we shall have done a great work.

Therefore personally I take this Report not word by word but in the spirit in which it has been drafted, the spirit which underlies it paragraph by paragraph. In drawing up a constitution of this kind you cannot have unanimity on every point; but, reading it impartially, nobody can come to any other conclusion than that the majority of those who served on this sub-Committee were determined in each point that they discussed that India should really get a full measure of self-government; and if that is the spirit in which all the Delegates are determined to work, whether they be Englishmen or Indias, this Report will find favour in India.

But, Sir, I have to make just one or two reservations. I am as determined as any Delegate here that we shall take back to Lidiu that full measure of self-government; but I find in this Report I...

Allusion to the question of franchise in the Central Government. You will find in this Franchise sub-Committee's Report that that was deliberately on itted, because the Franchise sub-Committee were not in a position, until this Report was presented, to be able to frame proposals for the Central Government. Therefore I per on ally do not know where we stand with regard to the franchise. Sind I am one of those who are of opinion that, while demanding a full measure of self-government, it is our duty to see that those who will exercise influence and power will be men of a class who will be seen with a sense of responsibility.

A Member: Oligarchy.

Sr Cocasji Johnny: And therefore I attach such great importance to this question of franchise, and I would have liked to have seen a paragraph or two added to this Report with regard to this important question. I trust, Mr Prime Minister, you will see that this important aspect is not entirely reglected before we leave the shares of England.

Now coming, Sir, to the reservations that have been enumerated in this Report, about the transfer of finance. I must admit I am not very clear in a youir has to what is meant. It would be out of place to go into details about these paragraphs, because you have start that our opportunity will come this afternoon; but I would draw the attention of the framers of these—

Chairman. I must warn speakers that if they take at opportunity now to refer to any detail. I shall not call upon them when that detail is specifically before the Conference.

or the finance: Yes; and therefore, Sir, I an not going to refer to the financial safeguards. All I say is that they have created in India some apprehensions, and that when or ing to details we trust we shall get from the framers of those paragraphs a clear idea as to what they intended.

With these remarks. Sir. I give my support, for whatever it is worth, generally to this Report.

haltle Lonour of speaking, this Conference was about to commence its giganto and mementous task. To-day we are reviewing the work done during the last nine weeks and are more or less in the final stages of our deliterations. It gives me very genuine pleasure to see that, in spite of the complexity of the problem, a remarkable measure of agreement has been achieved, which I earnestly hope and trust will succeed in restoring peace and contentment to India and trust will succeed in restoring peace and progress of our Motherston early date, and promote the unity and progress of our Motherston early date, and promote the unity and progress of our Motherstand which is so dear to our hearts and of which we are justly so proud.

Two years ago, speaking at a meeting of the Chamber of Princes, I said, with regard to certain activities in British India, that, in my view. Federation was a higher ideal than isolation. I need not, therefore, say how deeply grafified I feel at the progress which has Leen taude with the scheme of an All-India Federation as worked out in the Report of the Foderal Structure sub-Comb tree. I should not have considered it necessary to refer to my earlier view, but ever since the idea of Federation was taken up in this Conference, some servise has been expressed in various quarters in India and in England at the wall agrees of the Princes to join an All-India Feceration It is said that the Princes have forced the pace and that in any case they should have exclved a Federation of their own Let're they decided to beree to any Federation with British India. Others, rather unchartally, attribute unvertly motives to the reading a with which we have grasped the idea of an All-India Toleration. I do not propose to deal with such insimuations or apprehensions to-dir, for they seem to me party and unworthy of notice. I have hever disguised from my friends my warm support of the idea of an All-India Federation. To me the scheme has in willold advertages, of which I will commerate just a tew.

A Veducia of ever 3c0 rellion people must be an immense force towards the nauntenance of woll peace. It must be necessaily conducive to the glory and strength of the British Empire, and this alone, in view of our relationship with the Crown, cannot but be a matter of special gratification to us.

To British India. Federation ensures unity of our country and prevents the hip less splitting up of our Motherland into two distinct political entities working in water-tight compartments. To the prodes and governments of our States. Federation must make a very particular appeal, as it ensures to us that voice in matters of compart content which we have been working for, for a long time, and it the absence of which the fiscal and economic interests and development of our States and of our people have been seriously jeopardised.

In regard to these matters of common concern, Federation ecours to us the alvantage of a continuity of policy which is lacking under the present system, and which we should also desire to secure for other matters relating to the Princes and States not covered by the Federation Scheme. To my mind there is to-day no alternative to Federation as a policy for India, and in according my warmest support to the scheme of Federation before us. I am inspired by the hope that we are laving the foundation of a future for our country more truly in accord with its genius and traditions, with greater potentialities for future development than is possible under any other scheme that we can think of to-day.

In saving so I am not unaware of the fact that the scheme before us has a great many ragged edges. Several details, and some very important ones too, have not yet been worked out. It would be premature to anticipate them and to gauge how they would affect our rights and interests. If I were inclined to adopt a cold and

education attitude, the remaining report the tendors. I could notice any attract I not there before me a draft of the convention, which my state could have before me a draft of the convention, which my state could have to enter into with the All-India Lederation, so that I right he below to ely at the sategorards ensuring the severeients had not inclinationally of my territories. I could say that I weshed to now what representation we are going to get that I we had to have what representation we are going to get in a latter than the lederal Legislature, and partitionarly which is we get as a latter than I regarding the powers as I turn their set the two Houses, or the remaining in which the denomentum letween Federal and Central functions and subjects is to be maintained.

Lastly, it would not be an unical made attitude to adopt that it that the questions which are at present or ring the basis of our notations with Hollscallene, i.e. Voir vand His Monsty's town report are put or a curredly attitudent physics, namely, those relative to paramount vand per one bould dynastic issues, it would be difficult to express a treement to entire or All-India Federation. But we to add these details as boors bend at spossent to my maid. I are wettra deep some or reponsibility, that I am prepare hermally to bless the some et use Somewill with a tracket and that so far a my own State is concerned at will in the interests of the greater India be ready to join such a Federation.

I do not a quanch this most on an a specified petty bargaining. I trust that the rest of a rest of a read of or an early settlement.

I do not a quanch this mediate of the attraction and discussion named the T ble, which has achieved so it is to be a substitute at a latter than the attraction of a latter than a latter than a substitute standing and call for an early settlement.

Rao, to do grant of fundamental lights of citizenship, may I say that such rights are already in operation in my State, as also in many other States. We have the same laws as are in free in Buttish India, and the High Court which administers these laws is entirely independent of the Executive and their decisions are final at humappealable. With these words I have great pleasure in giving my whole-hearted support to the Report of the Federal Sumstane sub-Committee.

We Jagakur: I am in general agreement with the Report, and by discences are only or two or three points. Unless you desire it. I bloudd speed now I would nother speak on the details.

and resume at half-past two.

(The Committee rose at 12-45 p.m. until 2-30 p.m.)

Chairman: We shall now resume.

So Hilbert Carr. Mr. Classica: I had honed to be able to give our warmest approval to the Report, and to well one the advance

who hait inducts towards the goal which we know is so dear to the leasts of Indiaes. We had expected that by this time the Report of the Minor ties sub-Cormittee would have been before us, for it would have made our approval so very much easier. In that Report I had hoped to fad a paragraph in licating clearly the position which by community to of texpect to occupy under the future constitution. I had hoped for a fuller reference than appears in the diam, though not a reference which would have included any paints to which I believe there would have been any opposition.

The declarations made at the opening of the Conference were so friendly, and not so completely the desires we have to work on a feeting of equal treatment with those who may more properly call themselves Indians, that I do not think there would be difficulty in getting that declaration, which would have made it, as I say, easier for us to give our unconditional approval to these suggestions.

It will be recognised, if anyone remembers at all what I said at the beginning of the Conference about the doubt of my community in regard to responsible government at the Centre, that it would have been so much easier for us had we been able to show that our inward move, owing to Federation, had left us with all the safeguards for which my community look, and I do think that if we could get some clear expression of opinion by this Conference, giving expression to the goodwill to which I have already reterred, it would have an excellent effect not only on my community in India, but on the public at home.

Unfortunately, the Minolities sub-Committee have not come to an end of their labours, although I should like to say, speaking as a suple boxwallah, that I had hoped that perhaps those who will probably have a permanent majority at the Centre would have thought it good business to give away a few seats in the Provinces in order to make it possible for this constitution to materialise and to enable us to make such a strong forward move as is now suggested.

As it is, the efore, while expressing out fullest sympathy with this Report and our camest hope that it will be adopted, our approval must be subject to our position being made quite clear and to the admission that in the future full safeguards will be provided for our civil and criminal rights, our educational privileges and our industrial and commercial position.

With that, we welcome the Report most cordially. It transfers control in a very large measure to Indian hands, and we welcome that. We have confidence that those responsible for the new administration, provided the efficiency of the services with which they have to work is not lowered beyond the present standard, will set fully justify the forward neve recommended in this Report.

it g the Lord Chancellor introduced the Report of the sub-Committee which we are considering, he said that the seed. Sir, was sown by you. We readily acknowledge that, and we recognise that you have, during all these nine weeks that we have been working, been

unvious and solutions that the work which we have been doing in the Federal Structure of Caronittee should bear trust. Well, if I may be pair used at the way outset to say one word. I would say that such a course of states a we have been able to achieve has been in no sould degree due to the way guidance, to the sympathetic utilitude and to the broad states manble outbook of the Lord Charcellor, with where it was our privilege to work during these nine weeks.

Sir, when we undertook the journey which was prescribed for us nine weeks ago, the question of a choice of roads at once confronted us, and we deliberately decided to choose the shortest and the surest road. That road was no other than the road of an All-India Federation.

Liveryone of us was, his been, and is anxious that we should have responsibility at the Centre. So for a that general principle is concerted I can claim for the sub-Centroittee that we have been able to achieve success. It may be that the responsibility which we have been able to recommend at the Centre does not come up to the standard which some people would prescribe for themselves, but I would be nestly beg the House to reasonber that the problem which we had to consider was one of innerse difficulty and in some respects of an unparalleled character. It was no other than this, that we were called upon to absorb in a constitution which we were trying to trame not call British India but the Indian States, and for that reason we had to adjust our ideas.

If an attempt has been made in the course of the Report to prescribe a cert, in formula for securing the stability of the Executive Government. I do not think and I say so with confidence—that we are singular in this respect. A careful study of the post-war constitutions will show that, robwithstanding the anxiety of several of the States in Purope to establish responsible Government—they have not by the Puller in certain the do not alterether conform to the old denominate stability at the United I that when we remember that we had to bring in the Indiae States, and that we had to prescribe a constitution which would were without these inferruptions which are inevitable at the standards of a great political cur, it was inevitable that we should also think of some formula for creating stability.

Now, the sub-Committee does not reconciound absolutely that the restable has minimum a ajority of two-thirds. The underlying poinciple of the reconstrendation is that no Government shall be the wor out by a bare majority. All the questions of detail are over to discussion, and my Lord Chancellor has printed out, if I may respectfully say so, very properly pointed out, that there is a creat deal, in the elucidation of these matters, which Indian patriotism, Indian knowledge, Indian wisdom can contribute in the months ahead; and that seems to me to be the most hopeful feature of the Report, because there is a large section of the opinion which is not represented at this Conference, and I do certainly think that it is only fair that on important details, the broad question of prin-

cible having been settled, every opportunity should be given to It han opinion to express itself.

Mr. Prime Min ster, and my Lord Chancellor, what I would say is this, that if you just put aside the minor points of difference I verture to say that on the broad enestion of principle a very substandard neasure of agreement has been arrived at. And let us not over ate. I do not, on my part, wish to underrate-the importance of the safeguards. I will only say one word with regard to the safeguards. It has been generally felt by nearly every section of the sub-Committee throughout the proceedings that, having regard to the peculiar conditions of India, and certainly during the period of transition, it would be necessary to invest the Governor-General with certain special powers to meet cases of grave emergency. We have done nothing more than that. In the sub-Committee itself, if I may venture to point out, I drew a distinction between the ordinary power of making Ordinances and the very special power of decling with grave cases of emergency imperilling the safety of the country. That fut has been brought out very pron inently in the Report itself. As regards the safeguards about finance, what I will say, and I say so confidently, is that in regard to external loans the position that has been assigned to India is not lower than that of any of the Dominions at the present moment under the Statutes of Parliment. I have taken care to examine, if I may respect ully six so, every single statute from ISTT up to the present time relating to the position of the Dominions in regard to external loans, and I teel's tisfed that the position that has been assigned to us is not lower than that.

As regards currency and exchange, all that I understand the position to be is that we shall have the control of currency and exchange as soon as the Reserve Bank comes into existence, and I am to be at those men who have advocated, and who hold very strongly, that there is no reason why we should not all combine to being into existence at the carriest possible opportunity this Reserve Bank so that that a degrard, which is resented in some quarters, may automatically expire.

As regards the other safeguards, I ventured to point out yesterd, which they used no frighten us, for the simple reason that they have taken no definite shape either in regard to the Budget or in tegal to any other natter. There is a general recommendation. Therefore, speaking for nately and I speak only for myself. I do not wish to control any party, as I belong to no party—I do say that none of those recommendations in regard to finance is of such a character that we need sacrifice or that we are called upon to sacrifice the broad principle of responsibility for the sake of those safeguards.

I will now venture to pass on to another matter. As regards the Legislature, there is a recommendation with regard to the numbers. That is open to further discussion. Similarly, if the constitution recommends a joint Session of the two Houses, that is nothing new. That is to be found in every constitution of the Dominions. What

lse remarks to be consolved. It has been printed out, and very this position in that it. I at the tranchie is not adult traches. My In other contour that when a lub franchise tas of prod by a Congress of it Report, to which I was a party, we ware attacked by no yer, a port, at people in India as being a little ter hasty; but the presence on who the Nehru Committee Report adquel adult to a war that we were given to understand that through it by the solution of the Hindu-Muhammadan problem. That Report I regret to say, was not accepted a little later by contain commonaties in India; and now, when you bear in r in I the recommendation of the Franchise sub-Committee appointed by this Conternor, the whole idea of the adult franchise has been lept in the forefront; we have got to work up to it. Whetler we shall work up to it within five verus, or ten years, or fifteen years, or twenty years, is a question which only time can answer, but I still maintain that you will find numbers of constitutions in Europe and elsewhere which have been working quite democratically, although they have not adopted adult tranchise; and I venture to : sk you. Mr. Prime Minister, to tell us, when did you in England adopt adult franchise a the basis of representation? How long ago is it that you adopted it?

I now come to the last question. There are many of us who have been cornestly applying ourselves to the solution of the unforturate communal problem which has been confronting us these many works. It is true that right up to the moment we have not arrived at a final solution. My triends the Muhammadans on the other side have entered a caveat to-day; it is that they will not a epit ary constitution unless their interests are. I am using their very wind chectively sategranded. Let me say, again speaking or payself, that so far is the donard for the offsetive safeguarding at the minorities of the Depressed Classes, or of any purticular class, is concerned I am and have been in the fullest sympathy; that do believe and it is shown a carticle of taith with me their notonstitution has any chance of success in India unless the minorities are fully satisfied that they have get a position of honourable of a in the new Commonwealth which we are seeking to establish.

There is however, a council of warning which I will verture to latter in this connection. Let nobe dy go away with the impression that the whole of India has depend the attitude which unfortunately confronts us at the proceed moment here. If I know my country, and I chain to know it, I do maintain that there are rullions upon a illians of Hi olds and Muhammadaus who are auxious that those should be and the rulliosettlement of this question; and I so a nature to that, that, howso over troublescene may be the position to-day, the heart of the youth of India on this question is absolutely sound. Well, the question has got to be solved, it i last his object in the larger interests of the country. It peritorial paraotism is to grow in the country—it may be that we may still adopt illogical methods of bringing into existence that pathotism but it has get to be bringing into existence that pathotism but it has get to be bringing into existence, and I have not the least doubt that these it is who have fail India at this junction the least doubt that these it is who have fail India at this junction.

-----

men in the country.

Ist II think. Mr. Prince Minister, there is time enough for us to crive at a seftlement, so that we may be able to show to the world that, hows ever truck we may be abre to show to the world that, hows ever truck we may be divided on these shall issues, or great so as if you like to call them so, there is still sound on it, a sense among wheal that where the river ests of the country are concerned, we are prepared to make my sacrifices of our presidences or predilections. I will therefore make an earnest appeal to every one of my country not round these tables to see that her rewe go back, before we meet to-motice, we are in a position to say that we have been able to arrive at a sett exact which satisfies the minorities and the Depressed Classes.

I will, therefore, only say Sir, that so far as the lasic principles to the Report are constructed, they are theroughly sound, and, cheere our was I to, that nothing is final to politics, there is one for discount rement or despair at the present from ent. Every construction, has green and expended; even the most rigid of constitutions have grown and expanded by experience, by convention a first long modell hat his been prought to bear upon the workers of these constitutions. Well, if the constitution which we have been mented is not ideally democratic, it critainly sections the estimated is not ideally democratic, it critainly sections the estimated is not ideally democratic, it critainly sections the estimated is not ideally democratic, it critainly sections the estimated is not ideally democratic, it critainly sections the estimated in the critary, and there is retained in the world to prevent is from working it in the timest democratic spirit, it we are determined to do so. I have therefore he hesitation and no compunction in supporting the Report which has been presented to you by the Lord Chan effort.

ral attitude and the views of the Ir dian States have been so tully and clearly expressed by my friends Their Highnesses the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Kashmir that there is no necessity for the to dwell upon them at any length to-day, or to go into any details. I rise chiefly to support most warmly the scheme of Federation which we have evolved, and, on behalf of myself, my government and my subjects, to express our absolute and willing consent to enter into this Federation if, as we are confident, the remaining details, some of which are important, are settled as satisfactor by as the details contained in our Report. Subject to these conditions, and the necessary safeguards for the existence and the protection of the rights and sovereignty and internal autonomy of the Slates. I personally have no doubt whatsoever that a great majority of the States will equally willingly join the Federation.

I wish to emphasise that the States have no desire to dominate, or to exercise any undue influence, or to claim any undue rights; but they do claim the rights of coming in honourably as co-equal partners in the Federation, and thus to maintain their position, and their honourable position, as allies and friends of the Crown; and they could not be expected. I ask everybody to realise, to accept

and one today the chalance of one toderal unit to

The total of the time and the estably be anomalies in any the total Vederation that we may exclive for India; that is used be, not coly access of the particularly of the States, us que and unquied don't be total, but because also of the various composenes which face us in India, and particularly of the Pederation of States poles for exercise, powers and of British India and its Provinces. But, not nearly as a Process, but as a son of the sol, I have no best ation in saying that we have attained a remarkable degree of common preservent, and I maintain and submit to all that we have access the evolutions of the lost.

I will triffer to combain that it is not a natter of surprise the shall she manned agreement, but it is a matter of surprise and of poment surprise, that we have achieved such a manned common agreement. May I the this opportunity of thanking ty brother of B the India, with when we of the States have on the more added on assign here brought into such particularly closes that, in the mean added on spin a hy and appreciation of the States' vew; out which they have expressed here and in the sub-Committees and dawbore, only to the graceful references which they have indicate a redesire sincerely to co-operate and contribute what his in our power?

In this corner teen raw we also thank the Prime Minister, Lord Reading, and other members of the great political parties in Light of their gractors recognition of our sincere attempts to help them?

I would be presented or venture to say anything which might be taken in the left as a criticism of any party or individual present love but any I with all lambility and all certify a y that it bakes not a ladion, have my bead it share that, in spite of the great is us this cycle, we have not yet come to a sensible agreement on the notifies questions; but any I, on belade of the States, take the cycle in the property of a known nest contest appeal, and expressing the confident tops, that the configural question, particularly with report to the great Mulanus day, community, may yet be satisficable of the with due sategments for the reasonable claims and rights of all nonorries, important or otherwise? I would venture respectfully to cite the example so by the non-official Europeans and you of in particular to-day by my triend Sir Hubert Carr.

There was a que tien raised to-day by my friend, Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, which does not and cannot come within the purview of this Conference, since matters relating to the Indian States and their subjects are matters which naturally concern the Rulers. Governments, and the people of the States concerned; but may I, in order to make the position of the Rulers clear, ask for permission to make a few brief observations, and be forgiven if I also make a little reference of a personal nature as regards my

State, now Government, and myself? I think, whether we view this cuestion from the Listern or from the Western standpoint, the duty of a good Ruler, whether he he a constitutional monarch or an author it and may I say that we are not the terrible authorists some of its have been painted in certain quarters—the duty of a good Ruler viewed from any standpoint is not only to be the servant of his people, but to be their prefector and to sateguard to them all the rights and liberties that are like to them, just as it is the duty of a Ruler to sateguard the corresponding rights of the State

I am treading on rather dangerous ground, or, to use a term with which I am more familiar as a sportsman, Stating on thin i e, when I say that the sooner any bad Ruler, be le in the East or in the West, is eliminated the latter for all concerned. But when all that has been said and done, and when people who have intimate experience of the working of the States, some molern, some oldfor bioned, each porces my different standards of Government, different stages of political advancement. I do not believe and I speak from very intimute personal knowledge of other States that there are really in India anything like the number of bud Rulers that we have had depicted to us in false putures. However, I would remit doll a recerned that I had the privilege a couple of years upo or so of moving a resolution in the Chanler of Princes, I think shortly after I declined to stand again for the Clancellorslip, which was un nimously accepted by the whole Chamber of Princes, in regard to those very essential matters affecting our subjects and good government. I believe I am justified in saying that the matter is no only under the consideration of many States, but that the picture, if it could be really visualised, and if we could get Lold of facts and feures, would be in every way reassuring.

Here way I setture to say that it my own State the fundamental rights of car subjects have not only been protected but have been publicly dichared by neon various occasions. For instance, in a speech which I made in ray Legislative Assembly on the 20th Jarnaice, 1928, as also at the Alministrative Contempore on the 3rd On her, 1929. For this purpose. I would invite the attention of any as who is interested to a panighlet of n.v speeches which I have but printed and circulated, not only to the members of this Conference, but also to other friends. I would merely say that in Bikamer since 1902, we have had a strict Civil List for the Ruler of the State and members of the Royal Family, a state of affairs which I challen to anyone who likes to look into the question formally to come and examine both the accounts of my State and the working arrangement. In addition, we have habens corpus and declarations with regard to the reign of law and or ler, freedom of the people, protection of life and property, and an independent judiciny separated from the Executive, and stability of public service, and such important matters. Not only have there been declarations of policy, but those declarations are really worked upon in practice. I challenge again anyone to refute that in a reasonable way.

Now, it temains for me, in conclusion, only to refer-time will The state of the s of I'm a server of the White state the state t the first the state of the plant first at extents the contract of the contract of the contract The first test of the first te To be the second of the second I to the second of the second ing to build?

I have the later of the experimental properties the interest of the experimental properties the interest of the experimental properties that it is a second to the experimental properties of the experimental properties

Will convenient the Repert, place. I can going our new restrict you have read it. As I have already said, the prochase will be the same a was relieved previously; the resolution will be the proagraphs be noted.

It apage 2 down to page 5, comprises paragraphs which are it the notice of a report of facts more page 2 down to "The live it we" on page 5, paragraphs 1-6. I understand Mr. Jayakar wishes to speak.

t. I did not take part it, the general discussion on this Report which has just concluded, because I thought that my remarks would come more appropriately when we considered the paragraphs, and particularly paragraphs 2 and 6, in detail. These paragraphs, Sir, I regard as some of the most in port, it parts of this Report, and for one reason, among others, that they have been the chief means of se uring general agreement to this Report. When I offer my comments I do not wish to appear in the position of a cavilling utitic, and I should like to take this apportunity of saying that I am in complete agreement with the general scheme of the Report and give it my supports.

I say that paragraphs 2 and 6 are important paragraphs in the Report because, as those who have studied this Report must have observed, the Report proceeds on three important principles, the first of which is that agreement has been arrived at on general principles embodied in the Report. The second is that this agreement, as this paragraph says, is provisional, and when the com-Lete picture is presented to us, then, as Lord Reading made clear in the sub-Committee, it will be open to all members to modify or change any provisional assent they may lave given. That is the second important principle of this Report which has made general concurrence possible. The third, and perhaps the most important principle, is the one which is contained in paragraph 6, namely, that all important details have not been concluded, but that there is going to be a further investigation of them, and that further investigation is left open to be carried on with the aid and assistance of public opinion both in India and in England.

I will take the liberty of saying, Sir, if the Lord Chancellor will permit me, that it is mainly due to his skill, ingenuity and sympathetic way of dealing with our difficulties, of which these two paragraphs are an index, that it was possible to obtain general concurrence; and I wish to congratulate the Lord Chancellor for the able way in which he handled the affairs of the sub-Committee.

I am very pleased to find, therefore, hat in paragraph 6 the door is left open so that all details which are of a controversial character, and on which it is possible to have more than one view. may form the subject of further investigation with the aid of public epinion and with the experience and the wisdom to be found both in Ungland and India which are not available at this Conference. All such further investigation is still to be carried on, and I note on hopeful feature at the bottom of paragraph 2, for I find that ever the representatives of the Conservative Party, who have not ver committed then selves to full concurren e with this Report, figures us something, for it you will note the last two sentences in pringraph 2 you will find that they have promised us their 10 diness to co-operate with sympathetic and unprejudiced minds in this further investigation. That is a very hopeful sign, Sir, and it is for this reason-though I speak for myself and not for any Party—that I give my complete support to the general principles of this Report and drew the attention of this Conference to the few important features to which I have just referred.

When we come to he detailed paragraphs, Sir. I shall have just a tew differences of view to express. Part of those differences have been referred to in paragraph 2 in the last few lines: "Upon the question of finance, Indian opinion was that even the safeguards set out in the Report went too far, especially those giving special powers to the Governor-General." Those safeguards. Sir, are contained in paragraph 18, and I shall ask for your permission when that paragraph is reached to state my differences, which are only on a few points.

Another did consect operation on my port is with reference to paragraph 11, regular as regular Detence, and there again I shall ask your periods on to deal with those differences when that paragraph is reached

It Ismal. All I have to say with recard to these paragraphs refers to the passage whal says that there is also to be a provisional list which is reproduced in the Appendix reterred to in para. 7 of the Report. I want it to be noted that I was not satisfied with that provisional list, and I reserve my opin on on the subject.

That is all I have to say with regard to these paragraphs, but before I sit down I should not like to miss the opportunity of expressing my warrast thanks to the Lord Chanceller who, throughout our deliberations, showed us the greatest country and the greatest consideration. If any success has been achieved, then I am not exaggerating and I am not in the habit of flattering—when I say it is to a very great extent indeed due to his abilities and his impartiality as Chairman and to the courtesy that he showed to everybody.

Chairman: Then paras. 1 to 6 are noted.

Para. 7. Noted.

Para. 8, responsibility of the Executive. Noted.

Para. 9, method of providing for this. Noted.

Para. 10, definition of responsibility. Noted.

Para. 11?

W. Janko: I ready wish to repeat a remail which I made in the Edward Sandare sub-Committee, Sie Although I in ar eachle that some parts of Der cound External Relations should he reserved during a terporary period. I desire that a further coarity be reade w. It she object of ascertaining whether there are not parts of what is called Deter count of Pyterod R lations which are capable of being transported inniveliately. The word "Delette" is a very wide word, and while it includes many rilituy crestions like the use and mabilization of troops and their technical equipment. It embraces may other deputibents like volunteer organisation, the territorial time and Indianisation, which are not purely military. I do not thir!, it is the intertion of this Conference that all these important questions, which are not tied up closely with military aspets of the Arov, should be held up as reserve subjects during the period of transition. I am therefore submitting that when we go far enough a schene should be prepared or a further investigation should take place with a view to ascert in whether there are not topics or anestions included under "Defence and External Relations" which can be easily transferred without in any way impairing (I am very anxious that this should not be done) the safety and tranquillity of the country. That is the reservation. What these questions are I defailed in

my speech, which is available. I hope, for further investigation. I nade it clear. I do not wish to tire this Committee by mentioning all these details. The Lord Chancellor is aware that I raised all these points.

Lord Sankey: Yes, I am quite aware of that.

Mr. Jacakar: And as regards external relations I desire that it should be further invest gated whether certain questions coming under this category should remain within the power of the Governor-tickeral. I made this also clear in my speech before the sub-Committee.

S., Tej Baladan Saper: With that reservation I am in complete sympathy, Mr. Jayakar.

Mr. Basu: I associate myself also with Mr. Jayakar.

Mr. Jarjakar: I thank that during the period of transition there should be a Minister for External Relations, including the Indian States.

M. Januar: Sr, I want to make it clear that under this paragraph what I understand is that when you say that the Governor-General shall be responsible for Defence, as far as I am concerned it will only mean that so far as the control of the military is concertaid it will rest with him, but there will be many other questions which will come under the word Defence, such as the question of Indianisation, the question of the reconstitution or re-organisation of the Army, the question of the financial adjustments that may have to be node, the question of the use of the troops, questions with regard to the policy and legislation which may relate to Defence. All those questions cannot be taken away from the purview of the Legislature. To what extent what is povered by this general word "Defence" will be distributed between the different bodies which are contemplated in the constitution, such as the Calinet, the Legislature and the Crown, is a matter which will require a definite scheme to be framed, and a scheme which will enable these different authorities to co-ordinate for these various purposes. That is all I have to say with regard to this paragraph.

Mr. Busu: There is only one point which I desire to add, as regards External Relations.

Chairman: I thought you had finished.

Mr. Bren: As a matter of fact, Mr. Prime Minister, you were pointing to the other side, and I thought you wanted someone else to speak.

Chairman: It is my mistake; I am so sorry.

M., B., A. A. 1625 es the Tr. I. Cor missioners, they may be seed to be not ided in the appointment of Consuls and Representatives, but they are so vitally connected with the question of the advantement of India's trade, particularly in countries close to India, like Persia and the Eastern St. tes, and also the States in the Indian Penir sula, that it is necessary that they should be under the control of the Government of India as rewly constituted, and should not form part of the Foreign Relations. That distinction should be made, because already these Trade Commissioners are affached to the Consuls' offices, and if these are under the Viceroy and not under the Government of India, the question of the Trade Commissioners will be very difficult.

He. Cheatemore: In continuation of what I said this morning, I desire to mention only one point at the present morient. An endeavour should be made, in my opinion, to specify the duration of this period of transition. It should not last too long. Of course it cannot be too brief.

If II The Meharaja of Bilaier: I just want to say one word to make the position of the States (lear.) Whatever the future may lave in store, and whatever the States may desire in the light of the working of the bedend sys era and I hope there will be further develope ents satisfactory to all, the Empire, British India and the States we have in deal clear in the past that our relations and our Treaties, indengagements are with the Crown, and that they cannot be transferred to a third party without our consent; and therefore all cuestions such as those of the States, including those of parameters as we have already taken up with His Majesty's to years and the Vicerry, should not only be reserved as Crown subjects, but should remain with the Vicerry under due safeguirds.

S., Alto, Hybron Therefore I have said that during the period of transition this paragraph II, which says "during a period of transition," has to be taken up so far as the relations with the Indian States are concerned.

If II The Maharipa of Bilaner: Will not that be covered by the point I have just made?

Ser Alchar Hydari. Yes, that is what I wanted to point out.

Chairman: That is noted. As I have said before, everything you say now is being noted. It will come under the notice and examination of those who will have to go through all these Reports again and see how far they can be co-ordinated and how far they can be improved. That is the point.

Lad Recher, Mr. Price Minister, I should like to be clear contains, because when you say that these observations are noted, any of us who have different opinions are not speaking upon of, but it in its be understood. I want to say it for myself, wi hout to any part in the dishape and dealing with any of the questions that I have onen as all that I besite it to be recorded that I adhere to what I have said. There are matters which are reserved for its ussion, but observations have tended somewhat against views broady expressed, and although I am not going into them. I hope it will be understood that I am not breading in any way from what he adready been said.

Charman: Nothing that another person can say can unsay what a party las said before.

Lerd Reading: No, but it must not be so taken.

Clairman: That will be quite clearly understood.

Mr. Given Jones: The tendency of the discussion recently has been to divide authority in the cuestion of defence. Now, we think it very important that defence should be under one control, and hat the whole of the Federal forces should be under the control of the Commander-in-Chief should be responsible to no one else but the Viceroy, and anything that is taken into consideration afterwards in regard to the matter must refer to the fact of the unification of defence. Questions as regards Indianisation will, of course, come before the lagislature, but the Legislature should not have contrib; the find control must be with the Viceroy

Characher: I understand that there was a pretty full explanatical data in the sub-Committee, and the sub-Committee Reports are all available for examination. No. 11 is noted.

Nou., No. 12.

D. Moonge: I agree with what my friend Mr. Jayakar and my thiend Mr. Jinnah have said as regards before, but I make my reservation in this respect, that as to the Minister in charge of Intence and Foreign Relations, power has been given in this lraft that the Vicerov may select whom he pleases. My position is, that, the Minister of course not being responsible to the Legislature, but to the Vicerov, the Minister must be an elected member of the Legislature during the transitional period is also to be utilised for the purpose of training Ir lians in the matter of the administration of Army affairs. It is for this reason that I propose and insist that the Minister whom the Vicerov may choose at or ling to his pleasure should be an Indian elected member of the Legislature, so that during the transitional period he will be

controlling the Arry, Leave responsible to the Vicetoy, and shall have in shelp to practice connected with the administration of the Arry. It is the same thing that one grantelations, and it are that dark to be privated transition be should be responsible to the Vicetoy, and not to the Leaveshouse. At the same time I agree with Mr. the time out that the period of transition should also be specifically defined.

Minister of Min. ters in charge of the reserved subjects shall not be members of the Caract; they should have no vote in the Calinet, not any second the Earnet; they should have no vote in the Calinet, not any second the legislatic And meed wort to rade it clar that he will have the inflest mont to be present and take part in the discount of and energy to option in the Calinet. Also be should have the form of and energy to the hegy lattice; test wherever the Givernorstein all desires, he may can be no my act the Calinet along with the Maris ers in charge of the received subjects, and he shall preside over it.

Mr Jan and Sa, the point that was naised by Dr. Monje is exactly the point which I mased in the sub-Committee, as the Lord Chanceflor will remember.

### Lord Sankey: Yes.

Mr. Japa'ar. My point was that such a mercher should be a non-official from the Legislative Assembly, and I hold this view because I said I wished to see that during the transition period a combination of the civilian element with the military element should take place, as was the case, leading to a great success in your own country, Sir, when Lord Haldane went to the War Office. I denot which repeat ill the arguments which I urged in the course of my medic before the sols-Connittee; but I seems direct so lengths that Viceroy is responsible and the Minister is repeat the to the Viceroy. I are current what he should be a non-obtain working in complete call boration and Larrichy with the Commander-in-Clief and with the Military D partment in her nice, and in this way the period of transition should be got over.

## Chairman: 12 noted. 13?

In. Manier Sir, I have a small point. In parties of day to day advantstration it is not recessary that the Vicerov should preside over the Cabinet meetings, and, of course, when questions of emerce acy, break-down of the constitution and such other points come up, not nally be will excee so his right of presiding over the Cabinet; but it should be made clear that in day to day administration the Viceroy need not preside.

Chairman: It is here I think.

Or Mounge: He has got his right to preside, and when he exercises are right, he will certainly preside in day to day administration. I desire that under ordinary circumstances he should not have the complete right to preside. It is only in emergencies, in very extraordinary circumstances, that he should exercise his right.

Down Bahadar Romachandra Row: Sir, I should like to say a worl in connection with this one sentence, that the budget allotment would be settled up in a contract basis for a term of years.

Chairman: That is the next sentence; you are going faster than me; that encourages me to go on. 13 noted. 14?

Duran Bahadae Ranachandra Ran: I trust that this contract as regards the allotment of a fixed amount for the Army would be entered into after discussion with the Indian Legislative Assenbly. Otherwise, it the suggest on is that this contract should be entered into by the Executive Government only and without the knowledge of the Legislature. I think it is likely to lead to a great deal of contusion. I suggest, therefore, that before this contract is entered into for a term of years the question should be discussed. The matter must be discussed and the active consent of the Legislature should be obtained to place a certain sum of money for a certain number of years for the Army in the hands of the Viceroy.

Chairman: 14 noted. 15 noted. 16?

Mr. Junuah: Su, this paragraph deals with the Governor-General's special powers. Now, Sir, with regard to this I wish it to be noted that the Governor-General should not have any power to legislate by means of ordinances. The only power that should be given to the Governor-General which he can exercise should be intervention in the case of grave emergency which is likely to endanger the phace and tranquility of the country. I agree to no other power in the Governor-General.

Mr. Jurphar: That is also my view, Sir, that the power should only be used in contrgencies when the safety and tranquillity of the entire ountry is threatened.

Dr. Mour je . I agree with Mr. Jinush and Mr. Jayaker.

Chairman: 16?

Dr. Ambedkar: Sir, before you proceed. I should like to wake it plain that the power given to the Governor-General to intervene to avoid serious prejudice to the interests of any section of the population must remain. The power must be embodied in the constitution in the same form as under section 93 of the Conadian Constitution.

D. Aller L. Les and about the Covernor-General having reserved power in such matters as he has mentioned.

Chairman: 16 noted, 17 noted, 18?

M. To para. Su, the point that I wish to be noted in this more than is that the culy saleguard during the period of transition sale the the Reserve Bank and nothing more. I submit that the Reserve Bank should be started as soon as possible. I am not make any sole, and the first transition of controlling legislation which affects finance. I when a sure, that in finance there ought to be a complete trusfer at least treeder. I quite see the desire that stability and salery should be introduced in matters of finance, especially in the diet. In of currency and exchange. I am sure, however, that the legislation can be a shown them during my time, will exercise all their powers with great control, vigilance and self-restraint. I think we ought to step the cland give to special powers to the five-tractionard in matters of finance.

As regards the Statutory Railway Authority, Sir, I do not know what that nexus, if it means the present Railway Board.

If there is one thing more than another on which Indian opinion is another in the lambda it is on the demand for fiscal and financial autonomy. I am sorry to have to say that the recommendations could alter this paragraph are characterised by a spirit of hesitation and lack of confidence that all go with the large-hearted and states, make way in which the rest of the recommendations have been framed.

It you do not entirest tall responsibility to the Finance Member of the new Government, then you absolutely cripple him at the start of his area. With all the safeguards which you have provided, I to not see why you want those particular powers in the hands of the Victor. What I want to solunit to you is that while finance is a very responsibility, the whole constitution may be brought to a stanistill on various other matters and therefore, merely to make the I indice Member is spousible, on the circ hand, to the Legisland, and, on the other hand, to the Viceroy, while it creates a feature which is not in keeping with the rest of the structure, is not a feature which is not in keeping with the rest of the structure, is not true as a safe to say a India. It, therefore, feel strongly that these provisors ought not to be embedded as part of our reconstructions. At a cll, the Finance Member will understand his responsibility, but he has to answer for his folly or miscalculations.

At the present torrest, what is the position? If, for instance by hold contracts the reasles I homoliately say that it is due to be unquities of the Government, but when I cannot get on to a thirterm in the hidi of tost, may and lay all the ills at the drors Government, the will be a very different situation. I think it

will be a fatal blunder to criple the Finance Member by making him responsible both to the Viceroy and to the Legislature.

We are not here building up a system of government merely from the point of view that we want a safe and sound constitution; we are here to devise a system which we think would prove acceptable to the large body of sane opinion in the country. I do not say that anything we can do will satisfy certain sections in the country, but our object is to get a constitution which will be worked by the more reasonable elements, and I am pretty certain that if you have sateguard of this character in the financial affairs of India, that constitution will not prove acceptable and our labours will have been largely in vain.

Chairmin: I made a mistake. I am going to put 18, 19 and 20 together because they all hang together.

Mr. Jurnah: With regard to 18, I do not agree, I am sorry to say, with Mr. Jay, kar, not do I agree with the observations of Sir Tej Sapra when he appealed to us to accept this because these powers were only transitory powers, and that as soon as the Reserve Bank was established, then these powers would disappear.

See Teg Bederdur Sapra. I d.d not say anything of the sert.

Mr. I mad: You said you were in favour of the Reserve Bank being addlished as soon as possible, and that we should all put our heads agree to see that it was established at once. One of the special pavers given here will only continue until the Reserve Bank is established.

Mr. Jayakar: That is not my view.

Mr. Linuah: I will not quote anyone.

Sir Toj Bahadur Sapru: I think that is the safest course.

Mr. Frenh: I do not know what their position is exactly. However, I do not agree with any other opinion. My personal opinion is this. With regard to special provisions, it says: "It would therefore be necessary to reserve to the Governor-General in regard to budgetary arrangements and borrowing such essential powers as would enable him to intervene if methods are being pursued, which would, in his opinion, seriously prejudice the credit of India in the money markets of the world."

Now, Sir, here again it was said that this is no different from what will happen in the Dominions in the matter of raising loans. It is not so. Therefore I strongly object to this power being given to the Governor-General.

The next power which is given to the Governor-General is this, "with the same object again, provision should be made requiring

he Governor-General's persons sanction to the introduction of a bid to amend the paper currency of coinage Acts on the lines of Section of or the Covernment of India Act." I do not agree with this.

With regard to the Reserve Bank, it is not so easy as some wenters there, that it may be brought into being within 24 hours or 24 mentles. The substramittee itself expressed grave doubts. The is what they said: "The sub-Committee recognise but it my by left cult in ex. they conditions to sit up a Reserve Bank with sufficient strength and equipped with the necessary that the remediate the tely, and therefore until this has the belong, so special provise as will be found necessary to secure to the Governor Gereral adequate control for the monetary palicy at level my." Therefore this Report recommends that the control over the more fore policy and empercy will recan with the Goverran-General antil the Reserve Bank i established. Now, Sir, I rest been whathe Recive Partie, got be established. It tay take are years or it may take ten years. I am not willing that any such power should be given to the Governor-General penting the establishment of this Reserve Bank.

There is one more world I want to say and then I have done. It can are going to put safe units of this character, I say it is born of suspicion and district. It yet the rology to have a responsible monstrive composed at 7 men, and it you are going to have the representatives of British India case in as is contemplated in this Report and so an it is time your have not definitely fixed the franche, but I think I man be a viring that the general opinion was that the present function of ordered must be distincted in you have this composite form of fiveening and Legislature, and still you yet to give these ever-ruling special powers to the Gevernor-tiereral to interfere with the entire imancial policy of the Gevernment of the many last that is born of suspicion and mistrust.

Sir Philoso Setting: Mr. Prime Minister, however much Lagree with Mr. Medy in what he has stated, that all India is insistent up to getting the mobility and not income but in reality. I do not rise to oppose the paramaph as it is drafted. I can quite undersund the reasons why they desire safe pards to be introduced; but, Sir, what I should he to point out is that these safeguards have not her early defined. Perhaps the time has not yet arrived, and the time for the same will be when the fill is drafted.

By that time we trust that the safeguards will be so whittled d un that the Indian public will have no cause to complain. I will just refer to a few instances where I trust the Governor General will not have the power to interfere.

There are at present sterling leans of the Government of India to the extent of from three to four hundred million pounds. Interest in them is at the rate of 5 per cent on an average, which means

Litten to twenty million pounds of interest per annum paid by India. At the present moment India is not entitled to collect in other tax on that amount of interest, which means a loss of more than two million pounds a year to India. That is not so in the ase of the ID minions; the ID minions do collect income tax on amounts they pay as interest, but India loses the same. Therefore, if the future Government of India desires to levy income tax to that interest, I trust the Governor-General will not have the power to interfere.

In take another in sance, if the future Government of India baseled that income tax should be levied on agricultural incomes, which is not the case to-day, I trust the Governor-General will not have the power to refuse.

will give you me note instance. This country groans under worders payable to American I believe on I shalf of the Conservative to vernment Mr. Baldwin, ald ask the American Government to have a reduction of a mething like thirty per cent, in that minum. Similarly, if at any future date the Government of India third they region ask for a reduction on the hundred and fifty rollings they have paid, again I lope the Governor-General will not have the power to interfere.

To return to the surp toot the Reserve Bank, I do not agree with Mr. I or or that it is not possible to start a Reserve Bank which less than five years.

Mr. Jinnah: I never said that.

less than five years. I thought you said it could not be done in

Mr. Jinnah: I said it might not be.

Sir Phiro, e Sethor: In regard to that I would like to point out that all the spadework was done three years ago, and a Bill was not duced. Untortunately it did not go through on account of just one point, as to whether some of the Directors might or might not be members of the Control Legislature. But, as I say, the spadework has been done, and consequently it would not take long to have a Reserve Bank for In lia if Government takes speedy action in that connection.

It that is done and if curroncy and exchange are placed under the Reserve Bank, I should like to know from the Lord Chancellor what is contemplated in this paragraph; whether the Reserve Bank will be under the control of the Legislature or whether the Goverter-tieneral will again have power to interfere. If he has it will be a serious patter. For instance, the Reserve Bank might decide to allow the rate of exchange. As you are aware, the Government of India have blundered in that matter most egregiously. In 1898 the exchange was fixed at sixteen pence. In 1920 it was 2s, and it 266

12 procent to the rye, who I runs into millions every year. In his world in ero charge it. So George Scanster said resulty at take that but the create. Indicate could not possibly agree to any change, out in the decrease and is of opinion that it should be charged in the interest of India, I trust the those more from all whose have power to retail. These are things which would require to be one to rel. Thanks, whilst—I suppose to please the British Delegators in particular—it is propose to please the sites of its I think it would be very advisable to fix a time limit or two its seven years, after which, in the words of the Report itself, it "there is no doubt left as to the ability or India to maintain her to an ial stability and crebit both at home and abroal" these said and Is should be only and finally removed.

Lord Rechap; I cannot but think there is considerable misapprehension as to what is suggested in this paragraph, and indeed throughout, as to the financial saleguards, as they are termed, and in particular I do think Mr. I much was a little carried away when he so d that under this the cut to financial control would be in the Covernor-General.

Mr. Junuale: I said he would have the right to intervene.

Lead Reading: I will not partied about words; sometimes in the heat of discussion words are used which go a little further than may be intended.

Mr. Jinnah: It is control in that sense.

Lead Realizer "Enter france al control" were the works to e, but I do not attribute it pertained to them, particularly as I hape to make it plain that the transcial control is really not intended to go to anything like the length suggested.

In the first place, I should point out to the Committee that the whole object of the financial subguards suggested is not that we in this country can help control over the forences of India; that the inferior should be appreciation of the position in some of the deviation should be appreciation of the position in some of the deviation should be in the carlier part of his remarks to-day. What we are asking is to precious the facility and sability of India so that when this uportant change is made India shall not suffer.

that it is him asked is I are again direct the attention of the terms to the terms what is reparted, is that first of all in regard to every downs there shall be security. I do not want to enter into that, became everybody is agreed, so has as I understand, that there should be the protection we wish on that, and everybody on that it is the next term of the sub-Committee—agreed in saving that it was specially were necessary; and I think it was Six I.

it who said that they were I this you are than what with he is I with regard to the other D minime.

the part which has perhaps been in a craw ised -I will deal with the Reserve Bank in a moment—is the imancial sategorards with regard to internal loans. No enestion has arisen with regard extend bears, leads, for example, which, after the responsibility as been contexted. In his may beste to make in this country. To exon would have to him the same somity, as a given for the hors already to see. No mestion about that was raised in the late of the interfered everybody agreed. What you pass to the country report of his marrial stability and credit both at home as to maintain happy's humarial stability and credit both at home afrom a would be necessary to reserve to the Governor-tion rate of the late of your region as and on the Governor-tion rate of the late of your region as and on the Governor-tion rate of the late of your region as and on the Governor-tion rate of the late of your region as and the track of which is the late of the late of

Note that the analysis of the light of the first is the Market of the first is the Market of the first is the Market of the Mark

With rogal to billiothy anninger outs, they is no little to a to the sound of the surface of the with the little in the little will, and the little in the real of the will, at the little in the little in the real of the will, at the little in the little over which little Committee.

It is still be with me for a normal should refer to the cuest of the Reserva Bark; as questions have been usked about it I will as once express an views. The object of making the provision in the Report is account to preserve the coedit and stability of India. India to the Structure sub-Committee, and I will ask that the stable are not far alian with what happens in the world of the coefficients in the world of the coefficients in the structure substituted that the provision for them.

and all we are seeking is that during the period which must intervene before you set up a Reserve Bank—in my opinion it should be set up as speedily as possible—you should not interfere with exchange.

I have never suggested that the Resure Bank should have the right of alterino the rate of exchange. The object of the Reserve Bank is that it should make get the exchange and currency, not that it should do anything equivalent to the passing of a statute. Once you have got your Reserve bank in operation, on non-political lines, it would be very much in the postson of the Bank of England here, it would be an independent bank to which India could look to act notely in the interests of light and considering notling else. Well, then, wher once you have die that, of ourse it would be op a, at I cancere it, to the Legislature to pass any Bill that it close with regard to the rate of exchange. But you carrot do it with searty between the Reserve Bank is established. Indeed, I go turther. If you were to after pt to do it until you have got your Reserve Bank is power, you would most seriously enlarger the whole of the financial credit of India. I hope now that there will be no misunderstanding.\*

Si Coucasji Achangia: Lane sure we are very grateful to Lord Realing for his very clear explanation of this clause, paragraph 18. Evidently the whole of this paragraph has been wired out to India, and has our ted a considerable and not of apprel er sion in the minds et many and I trust that Ford Reading's explanation to-day will also find its way across the wires to by country. But, Sr. I am quite prepared to admit that it I had spoken bet as Lard Reading I hould have been inclined to ask him several questions on paragraph 18. I am inclined now to ask for an explanation only in two ductions at present. The wording, I am inclined to think, is so with that there is supe for misun least on ling. I will just real it a un, although it has been tech so riter; " It would therefore be pece say to its ive to it (fever) - Gereral in regard to be beginny errangements and borrowing such essential powers as would enable him to intervie if methods were being pursued which would in les epinion, seriously prejudice the credit of India in the money unilets of the voill." If the desired to be really very critical in read no those few lines, one could interpret them to mean that you writed to give the Governer-tiener. I the power to interfere when ent intrachlan was being mised by the Greenmort of Infla. What is the General offeneral origets indee, and len is Ing ing to judge? At every lean that is buy mised? I think the t these words to wife further explication in the lady of the Repair. What I refershed them to man, libr what Lord Realing has

<sup>&</sup>quot;I of Peoline we shock to be in for tool if it those her relevant rely intended to explain to the Committee that it was not the function of a time of the time two, but there is a still more than the lature. He accepts the proposal made in paragraph 18 of the Report that the time to the lature. If the relation is the proposal made in paragraph 18 of the Report that the time that the later than the later than

said, is that the Gevennor-General will not have the power to interfere when the Gevennord of India deades to ruse any internal loan; he will only interfere it, after a series or loans have been twisted, and after say four entire or six or seven years during the true strand period, and of a start and electricately the function have come to such a stare that our credit is really being ruled. He will interfere only in those circumstances.

Lord Realing Words you allow the to a swell that, S.r.

Chairman: Yes.

Lord Reading: My idea is this. I am only speaking for my off. That thatter declare to be considered. Supposing an internal lear. is being trised, to que ton would asise auless it is at a rate which will interfere with the credit and stability, where it is not be essary, when it is thought that it could be mised at a lower rate. That would be a mitter that would have to be carefully watched. Obviously it must affect all other rates if you raise one at on excessive rate. Everylody with any experience of Luarase will agree. In that way the Governor-General would have to watch | I should imagine that one this constitution is in operation there would be discussions; the Gevernor-General would be told what it is intended to do, and presumbly he would say, supposing he thought that a third or fourth lean was being raised at too high a rate, or that it was with the purpose to bolster up a budget which in point of fact is not being balanced-I do not near for one year, but supposing there was a condition of things that led to the borrowing of morey year after year and the purpose of talene up the budget materal of raising revenue as it hould be raised in the cash nary course, well, the result would affect the financial cred t and stability. It is not so much the tear that it will happen as that it is necessary to put in some prevision in order that people should be satisfied that nothing of that lind will be due. As I have said before. I cannot say it I. It complicate ally this is safely with the desire of preserving the credit of India in India's own interest.

Sir Coverey Johnson: Yes, Sir, I fully understand the principle, but I am attend the a st. quion is that the hove meent of India may raise a loan at a rate which would not be justified. Well in that case I think you could well be we it to public op non in India, if that is the only explanation.

Mr. Jinnah: And the Legislature.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: And the Legi sture. I would remind Delegates that when leans were raised very larely in this country public opinion in India, rightly or wrongly, felt that a Ligher rate was paid than was necessary. Well, public opinion would assert itself in India more than any other part of the world. I venture to

lear than was absolutely mecosity in the circumstances; and therefore, it these words have been inserted merely to previde against that, I carried produce to the full pratification for them; but the central principle I am prepared to a greate—that there should be not provise or in the cast tution to allow any apprehensions in the castity of in any other pair of the world that anything will be done by this transfer of pair of the world that anything will be done by this transfer of pair of the prepared for that, but I do desire it to be clearly independent that the Viceroy should not have any pewers of interference which cannot be construed within the four corners of the pair place or not by Lord Reading himself.

That, Sat geing further dawn, you will see again. I am just queling these few words "With the same object again, provisions should be nade regions of the Governor-Govern's previous sanction to the Atroduction of a Bill to usend the Paper Currery or Comthe Acts on the lines of Section 67 of the Government of India Act." I cannot follow that. Section 67 of the Government of Inlia Act was handed on the unders arding that finance was a reserved subject, and ofar as lamerstand to it is in the Actuals amuch to present toward out here deing anything wrong, but to prevent to the best of the legitatives beinging forward bills watch may be predicted to the interests of the country, and it was a check but pon the trance Maister but upon non-flicial timbs. It as meated the factor thence member to lay could do a to be on the sout without the full support of every, ender I (my or a cat, i didn't the Vicerey, the Governortieneral. The elete I do no see less this section applies, unless you change the wild "f' verra-Gereral" into the word " steelers, at he and the prox or sanction of the Vicerov. Is it the field to a trace of it is the model to mean the i i de ich tel Cour il? It tas intembel tar analle Gar-. - Land Charle, but there and he are election at all. . To I deal like a copia at non as to what is meant. I : Lord Rendr. will see my point quare dendr, and i le will " I so tim of he will see ! wit is tratted, he will see that it do, s ' toply to this section and it lost not arry out its infention. Walls if that is nearth World Lord Reading kindly explain?

(in .....) I would like to improsupon non-bers that this is to a droft of a Bill where every word and every phrase can be so to held to make a point of yew. This, as the speaker who is not addressive the committee has said, is a statement of principle, with which he has informed us be is completely in accord. Therefore please do not go into those letails which have not been settled make an only be settled after the declarations of principle that are the in the empty of the base been duly noted by this Conference.

To the fact But, Sit, sondy we must understand the

apply. I give shown that Section of was diated under altegether different productions. I want to grow how it applied and why it was not each. I have not understood it and I will leave it at that. It is that require a combinent. But I repeat that I tail to understood it and that I tail to understood it is not that I tail to understood it is not that I tail to understood it is not that something different from what is intended.

## A Member: It would apply to non-official members.

Sir Century Ichmoph: If it applies to non-official members, I have no cope to a list is to be read exactly as it is written, I have no objection at all; but I know it cannot mean that, and therefore I think it requires further consideration before it is allowed to remain in this paragraph as it stands.

With these remarks I have nothing further to say, except that I generally agree dat, not as defined by the paragraph, but as defined by hord Reading just now, that interference is only meant to be exercised under critical conditions. I then consider that the paragraph aught to be acceptable; but it should, I most respectfully suggest, to reducted before it is finally passed by the Plenary Session.

Chairman: 18 to 20 inclusive.

Mr. Jayanar. Sir, I want to say something on 19. You said I was not in order. Are you taking paragraph 19 now?

Chairman: Yes, 18 to 20 inclusive.

Mr. Jayakar: May I say a few words on 19 now?

Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Jayabar: With regard to 19, when this paragraph says: " in this commection the sub-Committee take note of the proposal that a statutory recilivary authorny should be established and are or a min a that the should be done," I do not quite see what the statit av a allway authority means. It the intention is to give a statut my bas s to what is called the Roilway Board at the present monetit, I note a v disent nom that proposil, Sir. I have already said that n my speech before the sub-Committee, but I just want to state bliefly what my point is. There is at present a Rullway Board established which has no statut my lasis. If the intention is to give a trial period of centilinence to their Board with perfect readon to the Rainay Minister to control that Board and to make arrapoettients with regard to its constitution, falctions and powers, I have no diject of to a further continuance of that Board; but if the proposed is to give a structury lasts to that Board, then you will kindly note my point of dissent on that.

At. Immak: I past want to say a word. I have no objection whatever to the expert examination on this question, but I am not to be taken to contrat myself to agreeing to a statutery railway beard leng established. I have no objection to the examination, and become my opinionally from the result of the examination as to whell, and have no object, by anchoraty or not.

#### Chairman: 18 to 20 inclusive noted. 21 noted.

pastion quite lear, that it by A is an orded only the ordinary posts of a contitute oil governor, then I have no objection.

Mr. Payder. Action and to all I made my point quite that any people is the Country, and it is this, that if the intension is to have previous her those which exist in the case of other Domine respection; and if the intention is to give something more to the closer core Country to any secondaried in the constitution of other Dominions, there you will bringly note my dissent from that. It is a test, a point sear, as the Lord Chambellor remembers, in my specification to search committee.

points already on the sub-Commuter will find that your actes are the recorded, and we be brought become use through that medium.

Mr. layed to Then it is not necessary to take the points over again?

# Chairman: Not necessary.

It have the present to us and reasons, but I think the point ought the recellence, so that the other tembers may know, and, if they want to say anything they can say it. That is the only object. I do not want to make any speeches.

Lit it would be quet suffer not to say that you had objected in the sub-Committee, and just leave it there.

S. Tinn S. . That I is been my position. Sir.

tion. Ys. I knew, several of you have been in that posi-

Strictly IS plant have got several points noted down in my strictly in the F. Lead Strictly sub-Commuttee, and I thought it will not be able to be a few districtions row on every point.

Che / / That is so, 21 pated. 22?

Si Huma Carra May I as a whether the words "trade and onemeror?" are treat to include industry, trade and commerce?

I ad Northry: Yes.

Chairman: 22 acted. 23 noted. Ther the rest section: "The Legi lature. Similars and composition". 24 noted. 25:

So Manubhar Melti Sir, in penagrap 125 I am going to retark that the question of the power of the Indian States as to neutrent legislation has not been reterred to. The Lord Unancellor will remember that this question was thoroughly disussed on behalf of the Indian States.

L. rd Sankey . Yes, 1 W.s.

arrach special importance to their internal automore visited and especially their power of passing legislation.

Le at San en. Yes. I e nite un derstand.

So M color delte. The schedule of tederal subjects is a party large cur, and if by this orbission we are but free to conclude that the Indian States return their power of concurrent legislation on these subjects. I have nothing to say; but on a go 2 is a count which made in a lattle apprehensive. "They also put forward in paragraph 30 of the report the subjects poin which this Legislature sould be empowered to pass laws having application throughout denice or provided in the Federation." If this applicability is to extend only to Provinces in British India, it would be quite light; but it is also to extend to Indian States, I subject Sir, that there is corn, there is considerable margin, for Indian States so retimes to provide a lapted to their local conditions.

I will give you one simple evaluple. Take a negotiable instrution. The Negotiable Instruments Act gives a list of hell lays on which because to be chosed and no instrument can be negotiated. Supersing one of Their Highs esses added to the list of helidous his ewn would lay, would it be regarded as anything repugnant to the general low? Such powers of concurrent legislation are recessary only such this subgrand, that the special legislation of different States anglet not to be repugnant to any general law passed by the Central Legislature. I think this reservation should have been possibled for as it was thoroughly discussed. The Indian States dow their landships attention to several sections of the German Contitution. Similar sections exist in almost all the Dominion love. I find that they exist in the law of the Australian Commonwealth, they exist in the law of British North Australian Commonexist in the law of the Sant' Annear Union. I think similarly such provisions might exist in the new law of India. I think this is only a fair suggestion and that it would be adopted.

Lord Souley: I quite, one outh your point and I appreciate it. I do not think your end have any termahout it. We have specially put the words it. I shall be empowered to pass how having application to all the mais, and when we came to consider the particular way in which it will be applied your point will be carefully noted, and we will endeavour to do sor othing to meet your anxiety.

.Sir Manubhai Mehta: Very well; if it is noted.

Lad Scale, Yes, it will certainly be noted, and I am very much obliged to you for raising it.

Chairman: 25 noted, 26,

Mr. Josha. The sub-Committee proposes that the number of nearliers composing the Upper Chamber should be from 100 to 150. I think this number is too small to secure representation of all interests which may be represented in the local Logislature. Even though we may agree that the Upper Chamber may be elected by the Provincial Logislatures, it is quite possible that certain interests will not find a sufficient number of representatives in the Lower Chamber to some a representation in the Upper Chamber, and that could be prive at a by making the number from 100 or 150 to a nich based mander. It is a wrong principle to try to secure officiency by notheds which will deprive certain interests of their entire representation in the Logislature.

secondly, the Report states that the members of this Legislature of all consist of proble who have got great expendence and character may be hid down, because my own experience is that at picture in India the Council of State consists of people who have cither can be ency or property. If the test of experience or character is the possession of property or wealth then certainly your Upper Chamber will consist of representatives with only one interest. It is certainly a matter of surprise that there should be no people, voight, or character in other sections than those who possess wealth or property.

by single transferable vote.

Dean Balence Paractic dear Raw. I should like to say one dwith result to the result of each death not the Upper Chamber. I contribute that the this British Indian members of the Senate steadd be elected by the Previncial Legislatures, by the single transcribbeness. Nothing is a ill with regard to the reticl of

election of the representatives of the Indian States. I would very respectfully suggest to Ther Highnesses, who are members of this Centerence, that they should send representatives to the Upper Chamber from the Legislatures in the States wherever they exist. I also kepe that that suggestion may be adopted and incorporated in the statute which may be ultimately passed. I hope that when the new constitution is embodied in an Act of Parliament, the qualifications of members of the Upper House will be laid down in the Act itself. I had in some States, like Baroda, Hyderabad, Mysore. Bitaner, and of on, they have Legislatures, and it would only be fatting and proper that the representation in the Upper Chamber should come from the Legislatures wherever they exist, and in British India they will come from the Provincial Legislatures. I think it would be a very graceful act on the part of the rulers that a no representation should be secured to their people

II.II. The Mehanija of Bikaner: I think, after the observations which I made earlier to-day it is not necessary for me to say very much. I would say that these are matters on which public of inform mour States wal necessarily exercise a great deal of influence and these are matters which we shall naturally settle in accordance with the general views prevailing in our States, and accordingly the matter will be adjusted between our Governments and ourselves.

Chairman: Obviously there are a good many points covered by para. 2° which must be further considered. If you pass this it lays down the general principles.

Sir Abdal Caryum. Only one small observation. Whatever may be the result of any further investigations I think the qualification should be set out in the constitutional measure when it comes to be enacted.

Charaman: Yes, that will be noted, 26 noted. 27 noted. 28.

Mr. Junah: I cannot at present agree to the principle of weightings which is emphasised in this paragraph. I reserve my opinion on that question.

Mr. Joshi: I also reserve my opinion on this matter.

Chairman: 28 noted. 29.

Nor Abdul Carquem: I have a word to say on this. I should like my note of dissent to be recorded in connection with the last sentence of this paragraph. The population basis should not be the only criterion. I should prefer that the formula under 28, to which Mr. Jinnah has just objected, should be applied to 29 too, and that weightage should be given to politically important Provinces: the population basis should be omitted.

Mr. Zafrallah Khan: I agree with that.

tot of scats in the Upper and Lower Houses, I do not want to repeat all that has been aged on benulf of the States with regard to the race buts of the two Houses or the number of States represent to but I would make attention to what we have urged in an sub-Committee.

Chairen Dan ! Paragraph 30.

No Habert Circ to the same way as in paragraph 20, some to a last congiver a to the qualification necessary for membership of the Upper Chamber, I think it would be well, perhaps, that some qualification should be indicated to ensure the Lower Chamber being a fit and proper Assembly to take charge of such large natures.

Lower Charaber is very and I teel that the number proposed for the Lower Charaber is very and I and should be substantially increased. I smaller number leads to Larer constituencies, and larger constituencies lead to keeping the franchis very high. So long as adult traceless is not ofted and. I shall not be agreeable to keeping the number so small as 300.

and I say ested 300 on the basi of the franchise which was under and he to a crib specking for toys If I stick to that 300. I do not know Mr. Sastri's view.

Sardar Ujjal Singh: I associate myself with that also.

The Bluist of the models. I venture to think that each district in Bruist I that should be at have one representative a the lower last of the Countil Louislature. The constituencies are already with a country to the constituencies are already with a country that are achieved as the appropriate for each district out of view the retore. I think it is desirable that the runder should be a self-at least to a fine and least are representative to each that the runder should be in the Brush I that, while the representation of the States and I be provided from a population basis. If you do that the runder are will be at least 20 and country be 300, unless you create a constituency for more than one district.

The sound have the Lymbl lile to make is with regard to be represent that of the States. I see it is stated in paragraph in 12. But it this place is not adopted, and the view present the populations of the mits rather than their Governments or Level, the and the composed persons the set of the set of the mits authorized who are opposed.

to direct election desire to point out that it is not a necessary consequence of a decision in this sense that the populations of the areas should elect their representatives directly ".

Whether they are elected directly or indirectly, I venture to think that if you are creating a popular House, a House in which popular representatives sit, it will be equally necessary to consider a scheme of popular representation for the States. Whatever that is will have to be done by the Rulers of the States in consultation with their own people, but I venture to suggest there will have to be some measure of a pular representation.

Chairman: I do not Inpow if any of my Parliamentary colleagues would like to make an observation on this, but it may be noted that experience in this country is that 300 is more than enough for the practical working of any legislative chamber.

II.H. The Aqu Khan. I should like to accept the suggestion that it should be 350. In a huge country where there are three hundred and fifty million people surely it is not too much to assign to the legislature one man per million.

leave Burma out.

H.H. The Am Khom: You might allow it to increase as in Germany, where they have allowed it to increase automatically with the population; but at least it should be 300 or 350.

Mr. Jadhar · I agree with the Aga Khan and say the number should be 350.

Sir Hubert Corr: I propose the present number, plus the Indian States.

Sir Akbar Hydari: I agree.

H.H. The Maharaja of Bikaner: If the number is kept too low there may be difficulties about the smaller States, but I do not want to go into details.

Chairman: That will have to be considered later, but you must remarkber the size of a legislature determines, especially after a certain point. Low effective the legislature is for doing its work.

Paragraph 30. Noted.

Paragraph 31. Noted.

Paragraph 32. Mr. Chintamani wishes to speak on this.

Mr. Chintamani: Sir, on this question of the method of election for the Lower Chamber. I have one observation to make with regard to the representation of the people of the Indian States. I have no

permanent position that the representation of one part of the federation radial leads to a permanent position that the representation of one part of the federation radial leads a method utterly different from the radial of representation of the other part of the Federation. I have noted with all respect the observations in declay His Highness the Malazagi of B kance, but I venture to think it would be the path of wishers to provide that after the transitory period—you might fix any period you like—the representation of the States in the Lover He is exall be by the source to that as to the Privinces of British India.

We have said.

No Processe Chander Metter: Although I have no objection to a inact election, which is suggested by some of the members, I do object to the election being by the members of the Lower House or L. If induced election to adopte L it should be on a much wider size than members of the Lower House only, and it is particularly object, onable because we find on page 10 that the Upper Char ber a will be elected by the Lower House. If, therefore, indirect election be adopted, it must be on a much wider scale than the limited number of members in the Lower House.

Mr. Josho: I am of epinion that the Lower Chamber should not contain any nominated element and in any case its value is considerably reduced for contains such a large nominated element as 25 per cent.

# Lt.-Col. Gidney: Where is that?

Mr. Jeshi: It is quite true the Report makes no mention of how to representatives of the States are to be appointed, and I shall be very glad if the Report has not accepted as I think perhaps it has not the views of Their Highnesses which were made clear in the preliminary Report, manely that the State representatives will be a matter for the States themselves. The method of appointing the representatives of the States affects the value of the Federal Legislature; it is not, therefore, a matter in which only the States are concerned. We are also concerned, inasmuch as the value of our Legislature is either lowered or increased by the method by which the representatives of the States are appointed.

Paragraph 34. I call on Colonel Gidney.

11. Cal. Gidney: I have one observation t make on this pergraph and I do so in conjunction with paragraph 29. Whereas is native. I 29 a population ratio is to be adopted in estimating the remesentation of various communities in the Upper Chamber

It this paragraph of you use the word "possibly" which still nother closes the door to minorities and special interests even to get a single representative in the Upper Chamber. I would suggest that the word "possibly" be deleted from this paragraph and the other words following, "and certaily in the Lower Chamber" be also deleted, so that the reconstructed paragraph will read: "provision should be made for the representation in both Chambers," however small this representation be. I think all in notify communities have every entitlement to representation in the Upper House, however small it be.

Dr. Ambedkar: I associate myself with what Col. Gidney has said.

Burner Shak Nowae: With your permission, Sir, while we would like to express our thanks to the Lord Chancellor and his Committee for their admirable Report, may I point out that the Federal Structure Committee has overlooked the claims of women and has not a minute them in the lists of the special interests which they will be see represented in both the Chambers of the Central Legislant. You are aware, Sir, that we raised this matter at the Minutions Committee and asked for the reservation of seats of the point measure. Therefore we propose that the words that I women it should be added after the word "labour".

M. Fall-nl-Hug: Sir, with your leave I wish to ask the Lord (Lancelle) how it is that in the enumeration of various interests the Muslim community has been omitted.

Mr. Joythar: Mark the words "Subject to the Report of the M.nerities Committee."

Mr. Fact-ul-Mag: I can understand commerce and labour being agarded as special interests and meriting a special mention, but, 8.1. the Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians are communities, composed of individuals as much as the Muh immodan community. Now, Sir am I to take it that this was due to an inadvertence, or has the omission been intentional? Sir, it is minorities enceivable have been mentioned except the Musselmans and the Sikhs, and I think that this omission has been singularly unfortunate, because it gives rise to the apprehension that these two communities, the Musselmans and the Sikhs have ombletely come out of recognition by those who drafted this resolution. Now, Sir, it is generally suposed, so far as the Musselmon are one singularly within the category of a minority.

Chair nan: May I draw your attention to the fact, in order to save time, that this is subject to the Report of the Minorities Contrittee, and there are any minorities not mentioned -the Sikhs and Muslims.

Sir Phiroze Sethna: And the Parsee, Sir.

Chairman: I was going to say that the minorities mentioned are the minorities that up to row have not been able to look after themselves; and that quite obviously excludes the Parsees. But, you know, the intention is not to exclude anybody. The Minorities Committee deals with that.

Mr. Parl-ul-Huq: As I was going to tell you, so far as the Mussalmans are concerned there is a misapprehension that they constitute 70 millions and therefore they can hardly be considered to come within the category of minorities. That reminds me of the adventurer in the story, who wanted—

Chairman: We will listen to a story, but not to an argument on that.

Mr. Fael-ul-Huq: The story is part of the argument. Give me one minute, if you please.

Chairman: Because the question of minorities has not been dealt with primarily by this sub-Committee.

Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq: That applies to the Depressed Classes, that applies to the Indian Christians, that applies to the European community, that appnes to the Anglo-Indians—

Chairman: This is only an imperfect record. The authoritative voice of sub-Committees on the minority question will come from the Minorities sub-Committee.

Mr. Fiel-ul-Huq: In this connection may I respectfully point out that the logical conclusion would be to mention the Muhammadans after commerce and labour.

Chairman: But the last thing that the Lord Chancellor and his Connittee thought of was drafting this sentence in accordance with logic.

Mr. Fast-ul-Hay: If there is an omission I should like to point it out.

Character May I say that it is no ornission at all, lecause the first word on this subject will come from the Minorities Committee and not from the Structure Committee.

Mr. Fast ad Hug: Sir. does not that apply to the other communities that are mentioned?

and there is no use taking up time discussing it now, because that

Mr. Full-Huq: (oild we not make it perfect by supplying the necessary words: It commention eight ninorities, if that omission is allowed to remain, does it not convey the impression that it was may an mind to take acts of the eight and have no regard for the other one: I espectfully submit that that is the impression created.

the Manariaes Committee's Report comes up.

Mr. Incled-Holy: So far as this Report is concerned I wish to to ad my respectful protest against the way this has been recorded, and I take it that this emission of the Mussalmans means that the Committee against the Mussalman community.

Con . . ...... Leally, that is not just to the sub-Committee.

Samuer Upper Strong It was contemplated that by the indirect method whom has been proposed for the Upper Chamber the Musalmans from various Legislatures would come in, and so would the Sikus, from the Provincial Legislatures, but, of course, not to the extent to which they desired it.

the articles, is to be made by another sub-Committee, and any rate care made to the opinions of this Conference upon minorities noted by taken not from this more or less casual expression but from the cather taken not from this more or less casual expression but from the cather taken pronouncement that will come from the Minorities sub-Committee.

about this.

Chairman: Paragraph 34?

North Surperent Single: Yes: and that is about a special interest that is, of the military. They always have had one member on the Assembly from the Punjab, and perhaps from other Frenches is well, and I think that that interest should not be ignored ver in the new Constitution.

Chairman: That will be noted, yes.

Raja Sher Muhammad Khan: I support my friend. So far as the Legislature in the Punjab is concerned, there are one or two sats reserved for ex-soldiers. There are a great number of trem in the Punjab, and I hope that the word "ex-soldiers" will be added after the word "labour".

this out in the Committee too.

Chaoman: That was pointed out in the Committee, yes.

nutrities. I care to a a ninority which perhaps can justify itself in calling itself a minority.

Sada 1 , J S he A dron in the our 1.

Lines of the Perce, but I only do not desire to press in any way the homely in the distribution of seats, is a contemplated here, it is to not that it is not possible for my normal or of my community to be returned to the Folera. Or other, it trust, Sir, that the Minorities committee or any other authority that have real with this question will not indeed that after all we deserve to have some representation in the Federal Chamber.

Chairman: Paragraph 34 noted. Paragraph 35?

Mr. Jagakar: I just want friefly to note a point which I raised in the Connective as result the two-thirds majority if the two Chambers sitting together. I wish to reserve my opinion, though my present opinion is that a two-thirds majority is too big.

In Locale With record to this paragraph on the vote of consconding on the Cabin to I have no lesstation in saying that I have to consider two thords. You will make your Ministry proctical into orable. I do not any treso into the arguments, but I nestrongly appeared to that. Then the next point was made by one of the speakers, and that point was this that he was not wedded to two-times, but that there should be some specific majority.

I am equally opposed to that and I say that you must allow coor Legislature to determine, as it is stated here, not by a snatchest let have a respecible Legislature. I think that any responsible Legislature is not likely to that our a Ministry by one vote in the admary course. It is possible. I do not know whether you. Mr. Prince Minister, a memoer any occasion on which the Lobinst in this context your out our of effect by one vote only. I say in the ordinary course it is not provided. It says here: "But the sub-Committee are despinion that some arears should be devised whereby, in the interests of stability an adverse vote should not or every occasion necessarily involve the resignation of the Ministry, ad that the arbiject should be further explored." Sir, I am absolutely opposed to a majority of two-thirds of any specific majority being laid down in the Statute.

Mr. Short Rao: Sir. I want to associate myself with what Mr. Jimuch has said, and I want to put before the Committee these

The state of the Assembly 300, that will make a total of 450; and, even as oning that the State have only 50 in the Upper Chamber, that will be construing that the State have only 50 in the Upper Chamber, that will be construint, and 24 per cent, only in the Lawer Chamber, that will be 72. The State representatives in the two Chambers together will be 122. This will be necessary for a Federal Executive to have 141 to the continued excises. In other wide, it bears, Sir, that with the assistance of 22 abre to the search of the Federal Executive to digitable in the late of the Council of State being non-of-weight and character, will generally be conservative a their ways, and will support the Ministry; it will really mean an irremovable executive.

proposal. On course, it will have to be made a practical

two-third is too big a najority in practical politics. I do not say I have any specific proposal for the present; it is a matter which reprine very careful consideration.

Characterist of the last sentence is the governing sentence.

Mr. Jaahav: I suggest there should be no mention of two-thirds or any majority at all.

Chairman: 35 noted. 36?

Mr. Chinkarana. Sir, I invite attention to this passage in paragraph 36, which is at page 15, namely: "The States desire that their representatives in the Legislature should play their part equally with their British Indian colleagues in expressing the decision of the Legislature on any question which involves the existence of the Ministry, even if the matter which has given rise to the question of confidence is one which primarily affects British India only." I desire, Sir, that my dissent from this should be noted. Having regard to the proposed composition of the two Houses, these will mean that a ministry against which there is a motion of meconfidence on a purely British Indian matter can retain office with the aid of the votes of members not representing any part of British India at all. I think this is very unsound and I desire my dissent to be noted.

Mr. Jinnah: Sir, that is my point and I entirely agree with it.

Sir Akbar Hydar: Sir, I want to say that the whole of this paragraph 36 must be considered, so far as the opinion of the States is concerned, as being subject to what has been stated in paragraph 4.

Diwan Bahadur Ramachandia Rao: That is so.

S. Atta Hydre: The States desire to contact their participacan be purely to lead subjects as so be ned and have no plat or pacel in cit or by, lative or admin strative matters relating purely to British India.

\* made it clear that we did not want to take part in purely British Indian affairs; but, it being a federal government, the States must claim a voice in matters with regard to the overthrow of the government even if the subject under debate may refer to British India, because we cannot have a government which is a common government of the States and British India thrown out without our having some say in the matter.

Clauman: You will consider also in the interval, will you not, You Highness, that if you are going to take no responsibility, then to representative of the States can act as a representative on the Executive.

H.H. The Maharaja of Bikaner: Quite so, Sir.

Chairman: 36 noted. "37. Competence of the Federal Legislature."

Wr Jimush: Sir, I wish to express my disent with regard to 36 and 37. I think it is only by an oversight that that dissent has not been brought out.

Lord Sankey: Yes, quite right.

Chairman: 37 noted. 38?

Sr Akhan II dam. Where it says "whether these residuary powers of basis tion are to rest with the Pederal Government of with the Provinces." I wish to say that instead of the word "Federal" it should be "Central Government".

Mr. Sastri: No, it is meant to be Federal.

ment as far as the Indian States are concerned.

That man: That point will be acted, so that when the drafting takes place it will be provided for. 38 noted. 39?

Sir Akhar Hydan . There again, in the last line but one, where it says "vesting in the Federal Government" it slauld be the Certical Government.

Lord Reading: There is only one Government.

Lord Sankey: I see what you say, Sir Akbar; it is a drafting point.

Chairman: We will see what substance there is in it.

Mr. Jinuah: I do not agree that the authority should be either . a Federal Government or a Central Government.

Lord Sankey: Yes, I follow, Mr. Jinnah.

Chairman: 39 noted There are appendices Appendix I is by way of Austration. That must, of course, be very carefully scrutinised by the expens on both sines, and you can just note it without any observations with regard to it.

W. Josha, I do not want to make a speech, but I wish it to be noted that in my view labour should be made a tederal subject. Industries in India as well as outside are on a competitive basis, and it is on account of the competitive nature of industries that the tendency is to internation, lise labour questions. It will therefore he quite necessary that labour legislation in India should be national; that is, federal. In the same way, I find that international matters are not mentioned. International and interce in wome with matters must also be federal. And on page 8, "26 Industrial matters. Factories, Settlement of labour disputes," and "tg," labour welture. It should be noted, Sir, that in any view the labour legislat on passed by the Central Legislat tre should also be administered by the Central Government. The Report as it is drafted here leaves the administration to Provinces, while the legislation will be Central. In my judgment this is a wrong arrangement. Labour legislation throws a financial burden upon the administration. It is a wrong thing to allow a Central Government to pass legislation and ask the Provincial Government to bear the financial burden. I therefore think that the administration of the Central Labour Legislation should also remain Central.

Mr. Jugakar: I should like to say something with regard to the alministration of justice on page 7 of the Schedule. It says: "As regards High Courts, Chief Courts, Courts of Judicial Commissioners, and any Courts of Cuminal Jurisdiction." I think High Courts all over British India, ought to be made a central subject

Chairman: That is noted.

Mr. Tambe: I associate myself with that.

Survey Sar prim Som I support that

Chaute me Appendix I is noted.

So All in Halian Was regard to Appendix I, I suggest the wording against Itan No. 10 should be the same as against No. 12.

Characteristics That will be noted. Appendix II noted. That finishes that Report.

### Sub-Committee No. II (Provincial Constitution).

REPORT PRESENTED AT THIRD MELLING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE CONTERENCE, HELD ON 16th DECEMBER, 1930.

- 1. The tollowing report, subject to adjustment to the complete constitution, is submitted by sub-Committee No. II.
- 2. The sub-Committee was appointed to consider two heads of the Lord Chancellor's list, namely
  - (a) The powers of the provincial legislatures.
  - of the provincial executives.
- The sub-thommittee met on the 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th and 15th December. The proceedings on the first and second days comprised a general discussion of the problem. On the succeeding days particular issues were separately considered and examined. The Chairman ruled that the size, lifetime, number of chambers of the provincial legislatures, and the question of the official bloc might also be discussed as germane to the sub-Committee's Terms of Reference.
- 4. The Abolition of Dyarchy.—The sub-Committee is agreed that in the Governor's provinces the existing system of dyarchy should be abolished and that all provincial subjects, including the cottolio of law and order, should be administered in responsibility to the provincial legislatures. (See note at end.)
- 7. The Composition of the Provincial Executives.—(a) Joint Responsibility.—The sub-Committee recommends that there should be unitary executives; and that the individual Ministers composing the executive should be jointly responsible to the legislature.

(Raja Narendra Nath awaits the report of the Minorities sub-Committee before agreeing finally to joint responsibility.)

(b) The appointment of Ministers.—The responsibility for appointing Ministers will rest with the Governor. The sub-Committee is of opinion that in the discharge of that function the Governor should ordinarily summent the member possessing the largest following in the legislature, and invite him to select the Ministers and submit their names for approval. The Ministers should ordinarily be drawn from among the elected members of the provincial legislature. In the event of the appointment of a non-elected non-official, such person should be required by statute to secure election to the legislature (and if the legislature be bicameral, to either chamber) within a prescribed period not exceeding six months, but subject to this limit he may be nominated by the Governor to be a member of the legislature.

The sub-Count to east opinion that there should be no discretion to permit the upprinting of an efficial to the Caldret.

- The Marquess of Zettand and Sir Robert Hamilton descent from the last two sentences.)
- c) Group a communal representation in the Cabinet. The sub-Committee considers it a natter of practical importance to the success of the new constitutions that important minority interests should be adequately recognised in the formation of the provincial executives. An obligation to endeavour to secure such representation should be expressed in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor.

Mr. Chitan in dissents from the last sentence.

- 6. Pewers of the Governor. (a In regard to legislature, (1) The Governor shall have power to dissolve the legislature; he may assent or withhold assent to legislation; he may return a bill for reconsideration by the legislature, or reserve it for the consideration of the Governor-General.
- (2) It shall not be lawful without the previous sanction of the Governor to introduce any legislation
  - community in the Province;
  - to be a federal or central subject;
  - (iii) any measure repealing or affecting any Act of the federal or central legislature or Ordinance made by the Governor-General.
- to tranct of hospies. I The Greener shall, with the knowledge of his Milisters, he placed in places on of such into inat only a cycle ne red by him to: the dis harge of duties imposed upon him by the constitution.
- the the operion of the sub-C neutree, the Chief Minister should preside over nectings of the Cabinet; but on any special section, the Governor way preside.
- Wiri i i HI Has a life flow pleasans of the Governor.
- (2) Sub-section 3 of section 52 of the Government of India Act.

  Althorate a general property, the Government of refuse to be ouisided for the advice of his Winisters when he sees sufficient cause to direct from their opinion shall no larger operate. The Governor's power to direct that action should be taken otherwise that in a cert large with the advice of the Ministers, shall be refer have a direct large of the pecified duties imposed on him by the constitution. These latters shall include the protection of the constitution. These latters shall include the protection of the Province.

(1) Special and Energency powers.—There shall be verted in the Governor (1) suitable powers in regard to legislation and finance necessary for the discharge of the specified duties imposed upon him by the constitution and (2) suitable emergency powers to carry on the administration in the event of a breakdown of government or the constitution. The powers under (2) shall not remain in a potential of the approval of Parliament expressed by a resolution of both Houses.

The sub-Cor, mi the suggests a riber that in their opinion it is desirable that the present rigil convertion in Provinces other than the Presidences of appointing Governors drawn from the Indian Civil Service should be relaxed. (There was some support for the sub-titution of the world "liscontinued" for the world "relaxed.")

Sie Committe Scholand. Sie Cowasy Jehangir and Messes. Lenniche Im Rae, Barowth, Chartmann, Jeste, Paul and Anticaller, description the sub-Committee's conclusions on the powers of the Governor.)

- 7. The Composition of the Previoual Legislatures.—(a, Their size. The sub-Committee anticipates that, to meet the conditions at the new constitution on a electorates, the provincial legislatures will require to be call tred in the basis of ascertaine I meds, regard being add to the normal as and character of the constituencies.
- b) The distinct In the opinion of the sub-Committee the normal listing of the provincial legislatures should not exceed five years.
- (c. The afficial blue. With the possible exception of a strictly limited proportion of non-officials who may in some Provinces require to be nominated by the Governor to secure the representation of groups unable to return their own members through the tolls, the new provincial legislatures should consist wholly of elected members, and the official blue should disappear.
- d Second Chambers. The existing provincial legislatures are unicameral. The sub-Committee recignises that conditions in some Provinces may take it desirable that the provincial legislatures should be hiermeral; but the decision to incorporate a second chamber in the new constitution of any Province other than Bengal, the United Provinces and Bill, rand Orissa where opinion in favour or a second chamber has already been expressed should not be taken until opinion in the Province definitely favours this course.

The reference to the Provinces of Bengal, the United Provinces and Bilar and Orissa was inserted at the wish of a majority of the sub-Committee.]

#### Note.

(1) The question of the administration of the police was raised by Lord Zetland and a paragraph 4, and it was decided that this

should be but to the report of the Services sub-Committee when

ert Lj.

(2) The sol-t' manather did not consider the constitution of the North-West Pronti r Province since it was understood that a special sub-Committee would be set up to deal with this subject.

> (Sd.) ARTHUR HENDERSON, Chairman.

> > Holding a watching

brief.

St. James's Palice, London 15th December, 1930.

The following Delegates were members of the sub-Committee: -

Mr. A. Henderson (Charman).

Lord Zetland.

Sir Robert Hamilt n.

H.H. The Maharaja of Nawanagar.

Sir Prable sankar Pattani.

Rao Bahadur Krishmana Chari.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.

Mr. Jadhay.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

Sir Cowasji Jelangir.

Sh Shan Nawaz Bhutto.

Sir Provash Chunder Mitter.

Mr. Pazl ul-Huq.

Raja et Parlakuredi.

Mr. Ramachundra Ray.

Sir A. P. Patro.

Newab Sir Manad Said Klan.

Mr. Chintamani.

Mr. Tambe.

Mr. Zafrullah Khan.

Raja Narendra Nath.

Saidar Sampiran Singh.

Maharaja of Darbban a

Mr. Bare al

Sir Abdul Qaiyum,

Mr. Wood.

Mr. Paul.

Mr. Joshi.

Dr. Ambedket

(16th December, 1930) of Refort of sub-Committee No. II
(Provincial Constitution).

Mr. Henderson: Mr. Chairman, I have much pleasure in presenting the Report of sub-Committee No. II. I need not say to those who have read the Report that the sub-Committee was not entirely unanimous on every point, but on the whole we had several very interesting sittings. I think the work done has been fairly well set out, with the marks of dissent at the end of each of the paragraphs. The Report speaks for itself, and I do not propose to take up your time except to say that at the end you will see there are two notes. One deals with the point which was raised by Lord Zetland with regard to Police Administration. It was felt that that natter had better stand over until the Report of the Services sub-Committee had been presented, leaving mainbers of the sub-Committee free to take up their points when such Report is before this gathering. The second note refers to the North-West Frontier Province One of the representatives was very keen about that, and rightly so I think, and we made a note that that matter would probably be reached to-day in this gathering, and that a Committee or sub Committee would be appointed to deal with it and to present a Report. I have much pleasure in presenting this Report to be noted.

Charman: The first business serving in this Report is Section 4.
"The Abolition of Dyarchy."

Mr. Joshi: I should like to raise a joint here. There are certain, subjects which are at present Provincial. The sal eets it which I am intrested are factories, the sattlement of lower loopines and labour welfare. They are Provincial subjects to lay, but they are subject to Control egislation. I want it to be noted, Sir. that when the Provincial subjects are transferred the sub-Committee has not yet considered that is going to happen to those subjects which are subject to Central legislation. For instance, take factories and labour welfare: what is going to happen to such subjects if they are transferred and if the legislation is Central?

Difficulties may arise. The aluministration will be in the hands of the Provinces; while the Central Legislature may pass legislation, the Central Government will have no central over the Provincial Governments, and the Provincial Governments may not agree to administer the law which the Central Legislature may pass, or at all events not to administer them adequately. For instance, if the Factories Act provides for the adequate inspection of factories, the Provincial Governments, on the ground of economy, may not provide sufficient inspection. It therefore becomes necessary, under the changed circumstances, that factories should cease to be a Provincial subject and must be transferred

to the Central Government. The sub-Committee did not consider this point, and I want it to be noted that the sub-Committee has not considered this point yet.

Mr. Henderson: Mr. Joshi is quite right in saying that the sul-Committee dil not consider the point he has just raised. He did raise it in the sub-Committee, but I ruled at once that it was a subject for Central consideration rather than one which could be considered in the sub-Committee dealing with Provincial questions.

This at once brings home to us, as I am sure it must to the whole of this Committee, the difficulty of discussing this Report apart from what may be decided in some of the other sub-Committees. I am afraid I cannot give Mr. Joshi any further answer to-day than I gave him when he raised the matter in the sub-Committee. The point will be noted.

Sir B. N. Mitta: The point mused by Mr. Joshi cuts at the root of the whole thing. He referred to factory laws; but, if I am to pursue the natter further, may I ask, what about the criminal law? Criminal law passed by the Central Legislature will have to be administered by the Provinces. If I am to pursue Mr. Joshi's argument, I might ask what safeguard will there be that the Provincial administration will adequately enforce the criminal laws passed by the Central Legislature.

I think, as a matter of fact, Mr. Joshi is unduly apprehensive. I have administered at the Centre the portfolio of Labour for five or six years. I do not third there is any provision in the present Government of India Act which makes it possible for the Central Government on her the existing constitution to force a Provincial Covernment to employ more factory inspectors. It is only under certain specified conditions that the Governor can restore or introduce grants not presed by the Provincial Legislature, and that is fundamental to the whole of the existing constitution.

I certically egree with what has fallen from Mr. Herder on, that this is a ratter which will have to be separately a usidered, pathaps by the sub-Committee over which the Lord Chancellor has been presiding. I think the Interim Report makes a reference to certial subjects, as distinct from Federal subjects. When the sale-Committee does take up the question of these Central adjects and I think at the stage I suggested it might be done—all these constions will have to be considered; but, as I have already said, I see to force a all in Mr. Joshi's nout with repaid to the administration of the factory laws.

Mr. Joshi: I do not want to make a speech, but Sir B. N. M to his tailed the point that under the present law the travellet of India cannot do note in the case of the legislation I mentioned. He is under a misapprehension there. He had strictly over as a Metaber of the Cica increase of India to face

a local traverament to be what he liked in the matter of factory legislation and Labour welfare generally, on account of the fact that factories and labour legislation were not transferred subjects. These subjects were kept reserved simply because the Government of India wanted central over these matters. But the situation will now change it this question is transferred; the Central Legislature may pass legislation, and there will be no control lett over the Provinces to see that these laws are properly administered.

There is another point which I should like to mention. Sir B. N. Mittu said he did not see the difference between the criminal two and labour legislation. The Central Legislature may pass the lite Insurance Act which throws a great financial burden on the Provincial revenues. Does he mean to tell me there is not dominate between passing an ordinary criminal law, providing that certain put is breats shall be inflicted for certain offences, and the passing of law such as a Health Insurance Act which throws the ancial burden on the Provincial revenues? There is a great difference between ordinary criminal law and labour legislation.

(2) of the Government of India Act.

this maneer hay come up at a later period. We will note what has been said by Mr. Joshi and by Sir B. N. Mitra.

a cuestion which the sub-Committee did not consider, because the anestion of the division between Central and Provincial subsects one under another sub-Committee. How labour legislation and blour cuestions will be administered in future as a very inscript cuestion but it is one we did not consider at all, and there is no reservince to it in the Report; and therefore we are free to any way to express our opinions in the future.

L'epoir d'eith r'Committee : we can only settle it when lott Paperts in la la considére l'agethère. Mr. Josh's print about labour la cicle tron, which is cf su reme importance will not be overlocked the icint efforts of these whose lusiness it is to bring the Paperts together.

We note paragraph 4. (Assent.)

We note paragraph 5 (a), bearing it much what Raja Narendra New Lass, id. that he awaits the Report of the Minorities sub-

The discussion is now on paragraph 5 (b).

In the bidker: It was moved in the sub-Committee that the send "clocked" ("Tected realises of the Previocial Legislature") should be drepted in view of the recommendation made by the Counciltee in nother part of the Report that probably some part of the Lagish have a gift have to be composed of nonmated roughts. It was then decided that it the Constitutes which would be constituted to discuss the composition of the Legislature came to the conclusion that there haveled be a nominated member, the word "elected" should be dropped.

Chairman: The word used is "craim ruly" ("The Miristers I ald or branily by describe. I there that covers the point. It is a sthe possible recessity of extraor linux retion.

Lt.-Cal. Gadre 1: Mr. Prime Minister, I have a few observations to booke on pulagraph by . You have just now referred to the in lesion of the word "order orly." That gives a latitude or a per ibility to the inclusion of nominated members. But, So. I should like to a 4. If the Louislature, what can be the Government inauguratul, pandis remir ted nambers by Starute, why should you par them by Statute from Legenning Ministers? To my nand that is not thir. Again, now can any edicted or nor instead seember seek election within a term of six months when the Franchise Act has not engely them with a constituency or the electricale. and this state of affairs enable hered except by Parliament's That will take the and set I it is beought at me, this men, include or effect of the forever; ble et, vie., ad vhorever ride ce by nex verill in the House, is a obvious larged from becoming a member of the talinet. In this Report there is firstly a tentperser less by the second or ord "or his vily," and second the of hit but by in andrew ter, has a car impossible ter. that I shall been electry within six months, knowing tall will be do not posses a continuous or on lescons. I so it this extra to the formal arrandable tris. The extent he would This state to " a constituence" I doubt to at death official prophers of the Legislature Louis cricy every privilage available to elected members.

out reactor out with the comme dation of the sub-Councitive class there should be unitary executives, and that the individual Minterestical house the Lympice should be jointly reputable to the Legislature. It bliese that the absence of joint resputability in our Provincial Promitives has believe a good that of the best But I amount the arxives about sub-paregraph (I). The abstract itself, the that it is of opinion that there should be no discretion to permit the appointment of an official to the Cabinet. With that I am made a plot and sir Relate II will to discrete that the capture of the Cabinet. With that I am made a proceeding it. I would particularly note the attention of the Cabinet of the and from the cateron, and from the one preceding it. I would particularly note the attention of the Cabinet of the attention of the Cabinet.

accept the principle of joint responsability and at the same time make room for an official Minister you destroy the fabric of constauteenal government is the Proximes. In that cense I have datacterised some of the recommendations of the Statitory Comwi ion a reing hogus. Lither or once us respensible governo est, whom I am joint responsibility, or you do not give us espended to malerstand how there can be out responsibly line in the case of members drawn from a particular party and an efficial who is supposed but to be drawn iron any carty. It is a morved to me how in the Coverment of India we have had some members drawn from the Indian Civil Service and some from other professions, and yet we have talked loosely of the "Cabinet of the Viceroy." It is anything but a Cabinet. It is an Executive Council, presided over by the Governor-General, if which serie people manage to carry on the administration with rething like jout responsibility. If you introduce this system of an efficial Minister, I would advise the House not to have anything to do with a thing of this kind.

Land Zetland: What Colonel Gidney Las sail is perfectly contect and logical, and in the course of the discussions in the sub-Committee I moved an amendment to meet that very point. The amendment received, I think, a good deal of support. The Report states: " In the event of the appointment of a non-elected non-c.ficial, such person should be required by Statute to secure election to the Legislature . . . " My amendment was to introduce after the words " such person " the words " unless already a nominated nember of citles Chamber." That would have met the point raised by Colonel Gidney. In some Legislature it is contemplated that, for some time to come at any rate, it will not be possible to obtain representatives for all interests without a little Lemination, and it clviously is illegreal that you should lay it down that a man who is nominated to a Legislature to represent a particular interest is a member of the Legislature in every sense of the word except that he is not eligible to be appointed as a Minister. That seems to be an Alogical position, and it was to meet that e se that I moved my amendment. There was some diference of opinion as it whether the amendment should form part of the clause or bot, and it was in these circumstances-I am not talking about the last sentence of the parigraph now, but about the last lant one that my dissent was recorded, and I think the same applies to Sir Robert Hamilton. I still think that if you are going to the platereminate a to the Leoslatures at all, it is illogical and unfair to lay it dwn that a naminated person should be ineligible to become a Minister.

Now with regard to what Sir Tej Bahadar Sapru has said alout our dissent from the proposal to deprive the Governor of any discretion in any circumstances to acminate an original to the Ministry, let use assure him that our dissent must not be taken to reach that we wish in any way to depart men the principle of

per relative per the solf-gravities is execut persibly in viv exception I circumstance. We never conferentiated an obtaid burgapent duthe benefit in the normal course of Gents . II. All and a for the that the destates print the retain I I the to very a former executional consentation have been exer-. the protudence it has not have possible to e tillish a Menistre; there have been difficult ex owing to discrent groups in the beginlature and in cases like those, with the ecoson of the Cont Must r, it is gid here something to the thorought to be I proper posses to rely as tongs to by organization, to a section in the alto his Unitary to cure or I rachest time. The want to dis bire the rand of Sie Tej Bahadur Sapru and ever other i sicher e this Community that, by asking that our dissent hard is noted durath, cut as we wished in any way, except in the rely remain lar laxceptional case, to depart from what we have arrect to an the culier passweed the Report.

Mr. Me derson: I all Zethool has correctly stated the post. In addit I had to discree with any part of his speech at all it would be the part in which he sub-Committee. He claims a larger reasure of upport for his arendy, ent than I, as Channers of the Connection, would be prepared to a brit. This Report does not certain any opinions of mire from heginning to code it contains the opinion of who I thought to be the majority of the Committee, and whenever, at the close of a discression on any arendomy. I desire was expressed to have dissent a corded, that came are their. I must leave it at that. The views expressed in the Report. In my opinion, are the views of the majority of the Committee in each case.

We diver Maha end Wir I think that not enly the untertuncter experience of our own country, but the experience of other countries. He has lighted and hance, is that the bancaucraey may exercise on intherice passes and little realised. For hime days in Plance there was absolutely no Calinet and yet the Government or France went on.

Therefore, in those exceptional circumstances, even when Ministries are not formed for some time, work is bound to go of Now that we are making a departure from the non-responsible system of government to a responsible system of government, to possible to the people of the country. I think it should be very charly laid down that officials will not from the Ministry even in the cost exceptional and about that circumstances. I think a control of 200 million people can provide a Governor, even it yet allow a certain amount of nomination, with quite a large curl of people who can be appointed as Ministers.

Sylverige Whener: Lord Zaland, I shirt, has quite clearly explained the post in with regard to revelected and clouded

Marsiers. The point vas that a paragraph 7 a) provision is made tor the Governor to nominate a certain number to represent such a cops and interests as new rot be represented by election. Therefore some members of the Committee argued that if the Governor had the power of giving those groups and interests representation, be should also have the power, along with his Chief Minister, of appointing those parsons as Ministers. I thank, Sin, there was a next on the Committee who did not approve of the principle of non-united members being appointed Ministers. It is not so in the present constitution: index the Government of Irdia Act in the seried's bjects a Minister must be an elected Member of the House. In the Lower House in England it is also so.

Chairman: No.

ally to has to seek election afterwards. Provision therefore was de that the Chief Minister might appoint a man not elected to be Conneil a Minister, but within six nonths he must find a seat. If at provision has already been made, and therefore in the whole I to like it is use to exclude nominated Members from being appointed Ministers. It a man representing a group or particular interest is of such importance that it is found necessary to appoint him. A Minister, I think it ought to be possible for him to get an elector to to octure I in to a Provincial Council. That is a principle that he sheen reagaised in the Government of India Act and I trust it will be continued.

But. Sil. is to the appointment of officials as members of the Maristry, that is a much more important point. Lord Zetland has now just told us that he means this to be an exceptional case, that in ler exceptional circuistan os the Governor with his Crief Minister may desire to appoint or official. But may I respectfully point out that these exceptional cases in India have a habit of econning very general. That has been our bitter experience in the working of the Government of India Act and in dyandry. Exceptional provisions were introduced into the Act to meet exceptional circuistances, but in the layse of time those exceptional circumstances were forgotten and the provisions of the Act were taken advantage of on every possible occasion. I can only port out as an instance the section that has been referred to in this Report itself, sub-section 3 of section 52. If you will see the Joint Committee's Report, you will find that that section was inserted in the Act only to be taken advantage of under exceptional deumstances, and every Delegate round this Table who has had any experience of the working of the Government of Inlia Act in the Provinces will tell you that that Act was taken advantage of by Governors all over India under ordinary circumstances. Therefore, Prime Minister, I strongly object to having provisions for exceptional circumstances without clearly defining what those exceptional circumstances should be. Under any circumstances I

would object to having an efficiency as a Minister. Sir Tej Bohadur has very rightly pointed out that you go to the very root of joint responsibility when you joind not like a Covernment in official. I do note the and succeedy help that the authority for the authority in the Act of a provious for the appointment of an official in the Ministry will be given up.

Wr. Gar. i Jenes: Mr. Pripe Mirister, I should just like to average words in support of Lord Zetland's contention. I think our first desired Endredue Squared others are thinking to much in terms of the lorest critic Government. The Government of the Province is so who had not predefined our reputable for the real of the manufactor of and officials to be appeared to the Mrustry. If it is much advisable for the Courty of that Miretry to do not be the last interest with the principle of respondibility to the Logislature.

Sir Tej Balantir Sapru: What sert of responsibility will it be, what brand?

Mr. Grain Arres: Mind this, Sir Toj Rabadur Sapru, that the appointment of these Ministers will be in the hands of the Chief Minister, and the Chief Minister must appoint a Ministry which is going to be in sympathy with his Legislature.

Sa Corneji Id n ir: The tis 10 sc.

Mr. Gach Joses: Therefore I is intain that it is only for the purposes of efficiency that these Ministers will be required, and that the joint responsibility of the whole Ministry will still be maintained whoever is in that Ministry. I therefore do hope that this old idea, this suspicion at the back of the mind that lureautracy will be able to interfere with the Government of the Provinces, will be put uside entirely, because you cannot get away from the principle which we are now adopting that the Maristry as a whole will be responsible to the Legislature.

Chairman: Now, I think we have again had the cast for and against and it will all be noted. So, unless you want to raise any other print. I put it to the meeting that b be noted. (b) is noted. Then we come to (c).

\*\* An obligation to endeavour to seeme such representation should be expressed in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor."

I very strongly object to this important reservation being noted in the Instrument of Thirk, Sir. it should be part of the constitution, in whatever from you have it. We have had excepted of Instruments of Testructions to the Governors which have been entirely ignored. As there are Governors present here.

Let all justify it taken also. This is a neutron in which you will related to the result, to a close the test's is being done, and the close to the letter that the first energy to the letter that the first energy to the product of the first energy to the second to the first energy to the energy the edge, the sould to estate the restaurance of a description of the energy to the energy to the first energy does not the first that the first energy to the first energy does a ment it off. Small in notities and large minorities should test that the dovernment and that they have a part in the administration of the country. Therefore this provision should not appear in the Instrument of Instructions to the Government and that they have a part in the administration of the country. Therefore this provision should not appear in the Instrument of Instructions to the Government and all starting to the

Wr. Jesber I thank M where Mulacer ad Al, does not not not that his upper that his upper down in the Statute that a principlety must be upper writed in the executive, to joint responsibility of the Ministry will again be destroyed.

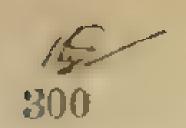
Maulana Muhammad Ali: Why?

Mr. Jadi: Unless the minority communities join the other political parties.

Markan Unharmal Ali · Certainly.

Mc. Jacki: There is no charce of there being joint responsibility and representation of the minority communities. If the minority communities is in the political parties which are formed either on the basis of economic principles or political principles, they are loud to be represented; but supposing, for instance, a minority community refuses to join a political party, the principle of joint representative will disappear if the Covernor nominates recombass who are not villing to work with the Chief Minister or the other members of the Ministey. Maylana Muhammad Ali, therefore, must either elect to have no injut responsibility at all or to insist whom statutely provisions for the appointment of Ministers from all our nomities.

Cinimum: We are at a very important consideration that goes right to the root of much nore than is mentioned in this naragraph. It is the question of how responsibility can be exercised arless your public boiles represent public opinion, irrespective of any communal consideration. I should be very glid if you would all carefull, and preverfully turn that ever in your minds between now and the final decisions we have got to come to or certain other points.



Charrier: Now we come back to the Report of sub-Connected No. 41, where we were at Section 5, sub-Section (c). I the comprepared to listen to a continuation of the observations upon that,

Lt.-Col. Gidney. Sa. I have a few observations to make on this motter, and they take this form. To my mind I cannot understand was there's ould be this differentiation hade of important nuce, by interests. I should like to aslaw had is considered to be an important named ty. Surely, if we are all going to make our little spot on a new man of India, every minority has to be considered, and why thorshoold be this differentiation indicated by the yords "inaportent in nority " is to ny mind jest now a puzzle. Will you take I from the point of view of quantitative strength; will you take it for the intellectual point of view; will you take I from a commercial point o view; or will you take it from an educational point of year? If you do, you will then be asked questions as to the Depressed Classes of 50 millions, and the Indian Christians of 5 millions. I am at present excluding my Muslin friends, because I call them the najority-minority community, well able to look after themselves and more than look after themselves. But o my mind, Sir, this differentiation of important minority interests - 12 ther a puzzle to me just how. It surely does not mean to bar the interests of he cal mirority, because, it it does, it is distinctly unfair. The value of a majority government depends entirely on the protections it affords to every minority.

I am not gong to nince words when I say that pinori ics are prober sive of their future are gravely apprehensive of cheir feture for reasons I am not prepared to state, but for reasons which are obvious to mast of us. It is to prevent that, it is to take that apprehension from our minds, that I consider this exclusion of the call trino ities, some of which have played a very long and point at labicing part in India, should be considered.

Nov. Sir. it gas on further here to say that an obligation to ends even to seeme such representation should be expressed in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor. We all know that the Government of Irdia Act of 1919, contains many In tru rests of Instructions to the Governor, but, so far as the operation or those Instructions is concerned. I should call them not Instrunants of Instructions, but, so f r as the results have led me to thul, they would be more suitably called Instruments of Destructotal for assure you that they have very little affect whatever to protect the interests of the minerities. Governors have been " powered with rest wonderful powers in these Instruments of I istractions, but scarcely ever have they been used; fastly, lecause they do not like to exercise that power; secondly, because the interests of the minorities are an after-thought to them. I can talking of minorities who are really suffering from the rensolvervarce of these Instruments of Instructions, and it . for that reason that I strongly protest against any such provision Le ng made in an Instrument of Instructions. In Provincia

Ministries, who e the interests of the minorities are so gravely concerned, I consider that it should be a part of the constitution that there should be in the statute a provision for the representation of minorities in the Ministry. I care not which minority it is: it may be the Depressed Classes; it may be the Europeans; it may be the Indian Christians or any other minority; because, as you know, when you take India as a whole, in certain Provinces you have more of the Depressed Classes than in others, in certain Provinces you have more of the Depressed Classes than in others; in certain Provinces you have more Europeans than in others; and so with regard to the small community which I have the honour to represent. I submit that to put that down as part of the Instrument of Its fructions will carry us no turther than it has carried us during the last decade.

the greatest regard, say just now that it would be against the very understand him to mean that he believes in that dictum: "By understand him to mean that he believes in that dictum: "By unesponsibility find out a responsibility has been found out, surely to one it, this House will denvine that for the next 2) or 25 years, which is to a communal representation in your Ministry or not, you will have to have it. No Ministry will be formed in India. Provincial of Central, that will not contain my Muslim brothers, and in proper proportions. They will not allow it to be otherwise; and do you near to say that we, who are of the minorities here, will allow ourselves to be excluded?

Another point is bought in here. Our friends, the Indian Primes, have decided to federate. In my speech possibly I was a make in saying that that was a leap in the dark. But it has taken place. What is going to happen with that federation I do not know; it has introduced a certain element in the fermation of Ministries both in the Provinces and at the Centre which we must take into consideration as a minority.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: Not in the Provinces.

Lt.-Col. Gidney: Correct me if I am wrong. Sir Tej Bahadur, but I believe the Princes will demand entrance to the Provincial Ministry.

Mr. Sastar No.

Lt. Col. Gidacy: Well, I am glad they will not. It is a very mit or matter and it does not detract from the strength of my claim, as I look upon it. My friends may say to me. How ridiculous it is to ask for provision for representation of the minorities in the Ministry by statute. I have before me here a precedent; the New Zealand Commonwealth has given two seats to the Maoris in the Psecutive Council; it has given four seats in the Parliament out

of a ' ill [6]. Nos, the learning Connected new Lay say, is not that the telept Hyouth the Executive Conseil . . the Cabitet is in an area with the I see it. . Con cil, the right there may, of Intel hugard Wast at there to prevent a mona asking this tout proce that tilly to each take it busion of a minority in every Calmer; and not cre; it may be two; because you must realise that I go ber, on side my Modim lantner, we form a total populatier of 60 m dions. I know I represent the smallest, but we do ore a total equalation of 60 million. Are you not going to concort at and tatitoraly pretent these minerities by including one a lead in the Ministry? If you do not, then let me tell you that the cutive construct on or India that is not prepared to consider the interport the min nities will no wak. You will just be doing what Included has been and you will be creating Ulsters; you will be or dur dia ective; you will not be giving that seemity and that togual to the minerities which is the very beginning of your power, so as to encourage in us a feeling of trust and harnony towards you.

Sir. the point of what I wish to bring forward here is that we should be represented in Cabinets. I am speaking of minerities that ally; I do not core which reincrity it is. And I ask that that shad so that you appointed. It may be that if you feel you cannot do that you may decide to do it by a Convention. I believe in Canoda it is done by a Convention, and it can be done in the same way here. But to put it in he fustument of Instructions and to expect the impossible.

C. P. Romasmarni Sime: Sin, In anything which I say at the parcet negent let re not be un less tood to present anything I ere that his over point of view with reference to the remarks al. have fellen ream the last speaker. My difficulty in underthe ling the last speaker may be put thus. Let us take a Prevince Marin , which I makerst, added. It appulation of Duilions there are 7 per cont. of Muhamamahars; there are cloud 2 per cent. · Indian Christians; there are a far thousand Europeans. These . it all redocht very important mirenties, entitled to great corsider to a in their civic nedits and in ran vothe matters. At the proved a ment we see not exceed with anything more than the formation of a Cabinet, and the question is whether these morities should recessify be represented in the Cabinet, or rather obligaterily be represented on the C. binet. That is the sole on nor which is now long debated, I take it. It appears to me that it there is an outstanding paren, lity either amorest the Mules markets or energet the other riverty communities who is out that to a seaf in the Calinet and who has a fellowing, then the principle of print repensibility and of Calinet rule will demand if it the chest Minster will associate with breath it mut on \$40 secmar in the registrative Con, . . But it it he at Autorily

laid up a him to have every minority, or some minorities, put into the Cabinet, it would be a very difficult thing. In all probability, no wise chief Minister will forget at in portant minority community, because unless be gets the minorities to support him he may not find it possible to run the Cavarnacht. Therefore it would be up to him to consult his own intuests, and in so consulting his own interess to bring with him the important minority communities. That he would draw a matter of produce and of self-preservation. But to impose it as a satutory duty would make it impossible to form a Calinet or to work this joint responsibility with any satety or even convenience. I would appeal to my friends not to insist upon a statutory provision in this manner.

Let us see exactly low the position will work out. Supposing the Cohmet of a particular Province is to be compused of six people. There are five not entries. Are all of them to be represented? Is the respective in the Commeil to be represented only by one contwo. Then how does the chief minister can the Cabinet? On the other hand the majority, as a may Province of in some other Province, is 90 per cont. or 80 per cent. of one community; it may be to the interests of the chief Minister when he finds party divisions or non-constraint group or the next in portant minority and have it with him for party purposes. In that way healthy party divisions will spring into existence, aput from communal divisions. To insist that minorities should be represented, whatever may be their political affiliations or implications, yould be to demand a thing which is the very reverse of democracy.

Mr. Fast-cl-Hug: I wish one thing to be noted arising out of the speech of my friend Sir Ramaswami Aiyar. I know that we are not discussing this with a view to arriving at a final decision, but in order to form the basis of discussions later on in order then that we might ultimately arrive at some final decision. Taking the example which has been quoted by Sir Ramaswami Aiyar, in a Province where the imperities are distributed as he mentioned namely, about 6 or 7 percent. Mulammadans, 2 percent. Christians and a few thousands Europeans—the rest, the major community. consists of about 92 per cent. If the chief Minister elects to form his t'ablact out of the representatives of the 92 per cent., where is the risk to the Miristry at all? The only safeguard which Sir Ramaswanni suggests that, if in the formation of the Ministry, the chief Minister igneres minority interests his Ministry will be mperilled cannot apply to a case where the minorities, singly or c. Hectively, amount to a reienscopic fraction only. I want him to consider what should be the safeguard against such an evenmality I understood by friend Colonel Gilney to say that the worl "important" should be deleted, and that all minerities should be considered. In the Instrument of Instructions there is a recommendation that "all endeavour" should be made. So long as Lonert efforts are made there can be no ground of complaint.

Chamman: The use of the word "important" and the last sentence will be duly noted for consideration. The question is that (c) be noted. (Agreed to.)

"6. Powers of the Governor." The question is that a) (1) be

neved. (Agreed to.) The question is that (a) (2) be noted.

No Tej Bahadar Sapiu: (iii) provides for any measure repealing or affecting any Act of the federal or central legislature or ordinance made by the Governor General. I take it that this will have to be revised when we have dealt with the power of the Governor General—having regard to the word "ordinance" there.

Chairman: That is so. That will be one of the cases which will have to be co-ordinated. We may have to use sandpaper very literally in order to rub these things down. The question is that (2) be noted. (Agreed to.)

Now we come to "(b) Conduct of Business." The question is that 1) be noted. (Agreed to.) The question is that (2) be noted.

Mr. Sustri: I should like to raise a question on this. I was not on this sub-Committee, and I am unable to understand the necessity which calls for the provision "but on any special occasion, the Governor may preside." Is the Governor to be reckoned as part of the Executive? And when he presides is he to exercise a vote? Will be then take part of the responsibility? Very difficult questions arise on that subject, and I should like to know the grounds upon which this clause has been inserted.

Mr. Henderson: I think I had better take this at once. There were two extreme opinions. There were those who never wanted the Governor to be able to preside at any meeting under any circumstances, and I think there were those who would like the Governor to have presided at all meetings, and not to have had a chief Minister. It was telt that under all normal circumstances the best thing that could occur would be to have a chief Minister, and that the chief Minister should preside; but in the event of circumstances arising which necessitated a meeting of the Governor not only with the chief Minister but with the whole of the Ministry, then it was thought that merely as a matter of courtesy it should be within his rights to take the chair on that particular occasion. Here again the Report took, as it were, the middle course. I hope with this explanation (2) will be accepted.

It. Chintaman: There were those in the sub-Committee who tell more or less the same difficulties as Mr. Sastri has just given expression to, and therefore an amendment was moved on their let all that the Governor might consult with the Ministers whenever let chose, and not that he would have the power of presiding on any special occasion over the Cabinet. But that amendment was not accepted by the sub-Committee. This is only a statement of fact supplementary to what our Chairman has stated.

Mr. Henderson: That is right.

(Chairman: The question is that (2) be noted. (Agreed to.) Now (c) "Relations of the Governor to his Ministers". The question is that (1) be noted. (Agreed to.) The question is that (2) be noted.

Mr. Chintamani: It is particularly with reference to this that there was a serious division of opinion, which finds expression in the tont-note in italies oppented to this part of the Report -the foot-note which relates to the dissent of eight of us from the conclusions of the majority of the Committee. In order not to detain this Committee too long. I may say that, I roadly speaking, the difference resolves itself into this. We all recognised the expediency of endowing the Governor with what are called emergency powers in the event of a serious disturbance of the public peace or a breakdown of the constitution; but we did not agree on the question whether rormally, as a part of the ordinary administrative routine, the Governor should have any power, even with regard to safety and tranquillity, apart from what powers he would have as a constitutional Covernor in emergencies, he would have the power to over-ride his Ministers, and direct that action be taken in a particular manner, but the legislative and financial powers covering safety and tranquillity when no emergency is declared may mean every great deal, as those will easily realise who have had anything to do with porvincial administration in India, whether from inside the Gove ament or from inside the Legislature. Six Chimanlal Setalvad and the rest of us are strongly convinced that you cannot have responsible government in the Province if in the ordinary administration you endow the Gevernor with legislative and financial powers covering the extensive ground which this clause in the Report does cover.

I think this is almost fatal to the structure of truly responsible government in the Province; in another form you will be reproducing the difficulties of the list ten years, which have resulted in the complete failure of the very well-meant and nobly-conceived Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. At a time when we are out to win Hominion Status and a responsible Central Government. I venture to think that for the advocates of representative and responsible government to insert this clause giving extraordinary powers to the Governor in ordinary administration would mean denying even to the Provinces what is popularly called provincial autonomy or responsible government.

I merely state this so that the Committee may be prepared for very serious discussion on this part of the Report of the sub-Committee when we meet in the Plenary Session.

Sir Chamanlal Schalvad. I should like to explain to the Committee the grounds of our dissent. You will see that clause (d) says." There shall be vested in the Governor (1, suitable powers in

regard to be relation and marce necessary for the decharge of the p if d dates is posed used lin by the cer titution." Stopping the the theorem power to her slate and to spend melly for the hard near of the speed of dati amproved upon him by the continuon, but what the relation are his nowhere been delibed. If an time to per more (C) or (c) you will see the last part of that rays" The Governor's power to direct that action should be taken, otherwise than mace idar swith the a lvice of the Ministris, shall be restricted to the discharge of the specified duties haposed on him by the cortituent. " Therein, again, it is very definite, but our her if says "These duties shall melade the protection of mirorities and the sale mar liner of the safety and tranquillity of tre Province." It is therefore part of his duties to protect the minorities and to safeguard the selecty and tranquillity of the Provinc. and irasi area as under id, in order to discharge those powers, you give line power to legislate and to spend money, I submit that is vesting too great a power in the Governor.

Take, for instance, the protection of minorities. It is true that he has to do that, but you give him power to legislate about it and to spend noney on it. That is placing too indefinite a power in him. He can issue an ordinance for that purpose and he can spend any amount of money for that purpose without reference to the Ministry and in opposition to the view of the Cabinet. I subtait then force, that the powers given there are too wide and too vague; they should be properly restricted.

Sir 1. P. Patro: As one of those who supported the view of the majority of the sub-Committee on this matter, I should like to explain our position. In the new scheme of provincial autonomy that is proposed, when full responsibility is given, there must be out in submattle in regard to the common of the powers vested in the Lepislatures in clew or the conditions prevailing in the Provinces at provide. It, in instance, there is some disagreement on matters of policy an object the Ministers than always in order to recordile the Ministers with regard to policy, the Governor may preside, so as to bring about condibition and rather Ministers on such special order note. That is a thing which comes now in the day-to-day about matches of the Provinces, and therefore it is nothing new and to thin restrict dinary.

Shouldy, with regard to the peters exerc. Hely the tilverner, so the as his interference is concerned, it is agreed entall sides that he shall not have the power to interfere in the drastesday work of administration; it is only when extraordinary circumstances arise that power should be vested in someone so as to be able to save the constitution and to preserve the smooth working of the constitution. When Sir Chimanlal Setalval objects to this power being vested in the Governor, he forgets that it is an emergency power, a special power.

No A. P. Paro. I am enauge to that. It is emergency and ent of powers that are I terred to. There is a provision in the provided which to be the centred of the torrely lon specia, ore mistances demand it. I asked in the sub-Committee and I are now, whether there has been any instance within the experience of the admin strators lere present where such power has been abased and the Governor has exercised his powers arbitrarily. We have not had knowledge of any single instance in the l'cormees where this power has been exercised wrongly or to the determent of the constitution. This power is intended to be u ed when special circumstanes arise and it is necessary to override the Munisters as, for example, when there is great communal tension and when the Winisters might act not on political principles or on democratic principles. I am sorry to say that the Ministry will have to be constituted from several groups, and if the members of the Calinet are to be in such groups it is necessary, should mutual antigon smed other dicumstances arise, that for the safety of the people's me power should be vested in the Governor.

It was not that we were in any way writing in the desire to arbieve full responsible government, or that we lacked the spirit of patriot has or that we were not democratic; it was because practical experience and browledge has faught us that certain powers should be vest doin the Governor in order to safeguard the interests of the minorities and of all the people in the Province. It is not that we are account that the Governor should have any overriding powers; we are jectous of the powers of the Governor and think they should be braited as much as possible so that he may be a constitutional Governor; but as practical administrators we must realise the distributions of the Provinces and make provision for them. We therefore support this provision in the draft.

Mr. Tochi: I quite sympathise with the desire that the minorities should have their interests protected by special powers being given to the Governor, but there is a limit not only to my sympathy but to the demands which should be made by the minorities in this matter. The richtless cuncertainly expect to have their interests protected by proper measures, but what they are asking here is not a proper measure, they are asking that the Governor should have unlimited power of spending money in protecting the interests of the minorities. Is a very reasonable demand that the Governor should be given unbineted power of spending money from the public Treasury, and not only that but that he should be able to pass any legislation he likes for the protection of a minority?

# Lt.-Col. Gidney: It is very necessary!

Mr. Joshi . Is it right that any minority should claim that its interests should be protected at this manner, by practically destroying the whole constitution by giving such wide powers to the Governor?

In all tim to that, it is suggested that the Governor should be able to spind any amount of noney for the peace and tranquillity of the country in cultinary times. If the Governor can spend any amount of money in ordinary times for peace and tranquillity, why not nonestly say that we are not prepared to transfer haw and Order in the Provinces? It is, in my opinion, dishonest to suggest that haw and Order should be transferred and at the same time give the Governor unlimited power of spending money on haw and Order, but do not let us say we are transferring haw and Order and at the site of the Governor unlimited powers of spending money on the subject and also of legislating or it and doing what he likes in that respect. Its iggest that is not at honest manner of proceeding with this subject.

Lend Zetlind: I cannot help thinking that Mr. Joshi must have a very curious idea of the mentality of the average Governor!

Mr. Justic: I have had sufficient experience of them!

Lord Zethand: Does he really suppose that the Governor is going to make use of these very special powers in the ordinary course of the administration?

Mr. Joshi: That is what you are proposing.

Lord Zetland: That is not what is intended.

Mr. Joshi: That is what is proposed.

Lord Zetland: It is only proposed to give the Governor these special powers for use in a case where a really serious difficulty arises.

Mr. Justa: You make separate provision for emergencies.

Lord Zetland: Perhaps Mr Joshi will allow me to explain; it is deficult for me to explain what I mean if he keeps interrupting me. The suggestion is that the Governor should use these powers only when a special difficulty arises.

Mr. Joshi: That has been provided for,

Land Zetland: And it is to be in two cases: first, to protect some minority from injustice, and secondly, to save the Province from some communal disaster.

Now really, Mr. Prince Minister, it the Governor is not to have some powers of that kind you cannot possibly ask him to accept any responsibility for the safety of his Province. It would be absurd to do so, and I really cannot see what the object would be in having a Governor at all.

## Lt.-Col. Gidney: Quite so.

It d'Itland. Strely the chief tunction of a Governor is to step on a the last resert, when the ordinary administration corses to traction. When I supported the proposals contained in this partiordar clause, it was nothing more than that that I had an my mind.

I may say so with die respect to the Chairmar, is the vagueness of the wording. It we could understand clearly what the intention of the sub-Contaittee was, I think on this particular point there would be much less discussion. As far as I can make out there is not dy in the Committee who objects to giving the Governor energency powers, but there are those who do object to giving powers to the Governor to interfere with the discretion of the Minister in charge of Law and Order under a system of joint responsible government at any stage when he sees tit, if he comes to the conclusion that at some distant future date the safety and in equility of the Province may be imperilled.

You will see, St., that these provisions are divided between two paragraphs, but at the same time they are rather mixed up. In the first par graph, namely, (c) (2), it says: "The Governor's power to direct that action should be taken, otherwise than it accordance with the advice of the Ministers, shall be restricted to the discharge of the specified duties imposed on him by the constitution." Those words occur twice; they occur again in the next paragraph; but in neither paragraph are we told exactly what those duties are that are to be imposed on him under the constitution, with two exceptions which occur in the two following lines, where it is stated. "These duties shall include"—I stress the word "include"—" the protection of minerities and the safeguarding of the safety and tranquillity of the Province." There may be other matters, but we do not know what those other matters are.

With regard to the safeguarding of minorities, personally I have no objection to the Governor having any powers that the minorities may desire in order to safeguard their interests, and I would wipe that out of the discussion.

But when it comes to the safeguarding of the satety and tranquillity of the Province we must know at what stage the Governor is supposed to interfere; whether he is to have complete discretion if he considers that the safety and tranquillity of the State are impossible for may be imperilled a year hence, is he to take action? Are you to give him that satisfaction? I object to giving discretion of that sort to any mar, because it is unfair to that man. It is placing responsibility upon his shoulders which be connot exercise in justice to himself or in justice to those to whom he is responsible. I will try and illustrate what I mean. Very often a contingency arises where the Governor considers that really he ought to take action. But he is not quite certain whether he might not be able to get ever the difficulty without overriding his Ministers. Well, why

small to the tier the to the text and to a I mer alove the Vienes, take the reportsibility of it availing tensels of the provisions of the Act? I would do so if I were Govern t. Why should I not avail by self of all the previsions in the Ar Y Why was I I be real controllance for ret taking art in whe to Act in the proper to take it? I should be blanced buth ways: it I do, and the Land I should be blaned for met congress on I for all many the amount of the total interaposition where erent act action streets averand at I did take action I night be bland be taken a non- condy. Sa, I disegree with the giving to the G verr i it such water powers which in effect become so dation alternately that he takes actual on every conceiv, ble creasion, Atter all, le is only human, and must protect has self against the accusation of of talking a time who the Act gives him power to ake it. We have heard a good deal on the question of whether Gerghers have alread the pover the them. I av. with all respect to my burned Sir V. P. Paro, that the arabov is art a grad one. The powers give ander the Art are in one settin, and at present under the Act the General is practically persually responsible tor the Home Department. Then why should be use those powers that are given to lim under the Act unless an enal gory arresover viice he less to contrell. He cannot ; buse these powers, for if he did he would be abusing powers against Limsell. Land Zeckill has talked about the average in stality of the Greiner, or Dasjut it to as if the average Gravator will bet avail him liter the species of the Act. Here of the conspiration of the that or month Act while he is fateriled to be actibility of specifical entropy of the standard of every odraw or ica dama the last ter, years. The close we have learned to book with some any you on engions of the Act which give such were his retirn to Governors to use their powers What ever, they thank they are recessary.

Mr Zatru'l th Kinn . With regard to the last lines of para-Little born to I have two stars to take. It is stated. " there the Cinger is durer shall related the protection of 1. In all example the stephend of a rately and manquiller of for hours "My submission is that the word "manufes" is rather an unsai alle werl to be coupleyed here. It may be different it espect to the diagress prestiers which arise from time to time t det der der bet is am ande. Ar we coing to de de ability or reality are entermite which have a rimulity of represent dives in the Le islature, or Is in a minuty a the population, or in a of the latter de territor the praticular matter the Short for the there are to be the the contract of I think to a grant that expression and obtained the free site of I tring the min mity. There is not ont many tion is that these ans soull read, "these duties shall ind de the protection of any section of the crime dv," etc., thus saing the same expression as - trace. " the safemanding of the safety and tranquillity of the I'm ne," in tells - that the our or he tory , or's proces

relates to these with which he manylet be veried during columny ones. Here, crain, he add submit the suggestion which he made in the sub-Committee that these powers should be defined strictly as the one in a located and transpulling or the Province in the sphere of law and order."

S. r Icy Ether har Syrn . It seems to me that the apparent can let of opinion between two sections of the equisontatives present Lors is by he means difficult to remere, but tout it is really a marter I the dialisman. First of all, we have to deale for ourselves the question as to whether as contempl, to certain special kir Is of I were to be rested in the thevenor, and to be used by him ander ce tain conditions or not. If the answer is that we do not contem-Plate a p kind of power to remain in the lands of the Governor to be used by him under any circumstances, then, of ecuise, all this discus ion is useless. The moment you contemplate that the Covernor shall be the depository of certain duties, you connect, having and obligation or him, deprive lies of the power to imple meet that policy. It is an ordinary principle of law that once you gratt an of light on on a particular in lividual or body you have give them the power to carry out that obligation. The ctore, so long as you propose to have a certain specified duties on the Governor, and so long as you make it old gat by on him that he shall protect mention of celling the community whatever and is not off office sout, number that in centain events it may Lecond has duty to protect the salety and manquillity of the Province by its italy to electroney powers, for so long you are bottal to give there extend out onity to carry out those obligations. That is the smith legal view I take of the matter. It seems to me, In sever, that you will have at some stage or other to defire the co duties which you may se or him, duties which he has got to disclarge, in lyon wil also have to dofine the anditions under which it may become incommenter for him to discharge them. I have no dealt that you will make it clear when you draft your Bill that the old ties do not give him power to over de the normal legislation which is passed by the L gislature. Similarly you will not ignore the need for motion it quite plain in the Act that it he works to disclured his elligations in regard to any particular section of the contamity, and that requires the use of framee, it shall be open to him to call upon the Ministry or the Legislature to furnish him with funds so that le mer discharge those obligations. But that must be lone only under certain circumstances, and no others. That's hae utingered has been contemplated in certain other constitutions is to not will adsolutely clear. Take the constitution of Canada. In Canada the trouble was about the education of the minorities. The Provinces were visted with certain povers to provide for the elucation of minorities, and vet it was considered possible that a Privincial Lee slature might not discharge its duties in this respect. To nect a contingency like that a right of appeal was movided to the Cent of Government. I am referring to Section 33. In this case you are not providing a right of appeal to a Central Legislature, but you are providing for certain protective powers to remain in the hands of the Covernance to be as a by him only in given calciumstances. Therefore the cases are not without a certain parallel. We have the astad practise of certain model legislatures being laid down and the local legislatures being expected to contorm. If the local legislatures had to carry out the powers, then it is left in the hards of the Central Lag slatue to carry out those matters.

Lam only citing these things to show that exceptional powers of that nature have been taken. The coors, while I would not give the Governor normally powers to override the Logishature. I would not deprive but of the power to carry out these obliquious it you agree it is that dass of obligation should cost on him. Therefore, what I would suggest as that the matter should be left to a carried traitsman who may debug the conditions and the circumstances made what it does now is are to be exercised, and who may also denies that it is. What that has been done we shall been a better positive to form a judgment.

There is, rosever, one criticism to defended like to mak. It there is it it is said: "The precise inder 21 shall not remain to operation for more than 6 norths without the approval or Parliement." I would take very serie is objection to this phrase "without the approval of Parliement", it by "Parliement" you mean the British. Parl ment; because that to me, made which reject the a very stars energedness thought what you call Provincial autorance. In the earth hat I would suggest, though I do not stand out write the tild is not stand out write the tild is ords; "without the representation the Governor General" in "a the Governor General in Council", it you like to have it in a class. For Parliament to have the power to my mind would be a constraint successful the row the power to my mind would be a made as a substitute to; the power of Parliement, because that would give rise to very serious objection.

Character Now that is a magnificently clear exposition of the case, that will be noted, and, of course, the wording which is not any union will not be the wording or one Bill of the will be trade of your and take that for greated All these points will conserve one ally defined by export high batteries. No vece the to she

Mark a Mohamud 16: Polably it will be expected to a tracket lead to that the interests of mutuations should be protected not by the Instrument of Instructions to the Gazernar and not by towers placed in the hours of the Gazernar, but powers the character placed in the mostitution given to the minorities themselves. It is allowed by the the meter of an individual; and after all, we not know who these individuals are going to be who are to be trace to us, whether they will be appointed an consultation with the Prince Mark to of Figural, or whether it will be another recontracted at the Prince Minister of the Browness. These tracestics which will be found to drive to be browness. These tracestics which will be found to drive the get Bornia of Status. My sobrais of the first the power of

continuation wheel protective we are only to give really are to at reports, bility altogether. I do not show about the smaller not onstored; it may be very difficult to provide for them otherwise. So he as it. Must be a conserved. I be not now what the other lands in the last is reported. I be not now what the other last is not to protect it with the powers of certification in owner the bar is at the townton. This is the submission which I wanted to place be a you. As regards to normal mentality of the times since I have a true that it was give to carbody the power with the giant, those powers will be exercised as tyrannously as a twould are seen as form.

Chairman: (c) is noted. You have covered (d) in your discussion. (d) is noted.

to six a week? The side of namittee suggests a rider that it there spinor it is dealed. The fine present upid convention in Proceeds other than the Presidences of appointing Governors drawn from the Indian Civil Service should be relaxed." It seems to me to be an extractionary suggests on to reshe that Governors may be appointed for any greathans. There is great objection to the appointed for will as a fixed vertically respect to the appointed residuals. It seems to the appointment of Provinces. It seems to may a very exchand any think it, and we have greated as a fixed that the support of the paper of the relaxed of the paper of the support of the paper.

1/1. //. ndr. complete was a fairly one discussion on this point, and I slaink the the out does very detribly represent the the large majority of the Committee.

to ake breakly. As noted. "T. The corposition of the Proxistr d Legislatures. A Heir size." That is noted. "The official bloc." That is noted. "(d) Second Chambers."

We I N Boso: Si, me opinin is that second Chambers. If it is duest, S add by too a temperate period and should not be a permitted and father of the Legislature; and the second Chambers of the last total, should not be so over-weighted with the tepresentation of social interests is a prevent the transmitted and the govern produce of the Prevince.

there our That will be included. All you do now is just to note this observation.

Which lave just her said by my trad

Trainer Mah recal M. The Leville Previous thereshold not be two like a satisficable Alice Chiral Previous training the leads are two meanly represented. I specify in the invests of the leads between two discovering Baldwesser, which we containly be not wast train a recent, in addition to the administ her start a second Chamber of Princes.

Wr. Chaddana & Sir, I am definitely opport to this proposal to us dute Second Clamb is in Lia to a right vhater on lineus, for whatever percel and with whetever explanation. A Second Chat. I in a cent al natural legislature is a thing very data at non Second Ca. Libers B. Proving a The functions of Provincial tion remend being what they are, I think, as and Claimter would be a costly furing and ret as institution of public at lity. Here, in this recount addition, an except, a las been made in the case of Angel, ter United Provinces, and Balance of Onisa, as being Previous where there is a by and a rat. With recard to the United Piece es, team which Son Poj Baladar Sapru and Leone. it is a matter of surprise to re to learn that there is a popular or and for a Sound Chariber in the Poxin. There is a defauld in a collon very small seem and direct marity, who are already are radial to the Small Commission, over-remes und in the existthe Prevance Lagreliume I will it to be jet an are of that there is the at lonly one chemn time in which I can entorize I a Some Charles in a Produce. Suppose very elect the first the brich rindy demonstrable bar, just he year Horse of Corn-" no here is, then there muy be a compact a Second Character beight in by refect elect is a replace at communities, proups, street to the strip one, but was a come believing such a mist thought, the the tis the intely a recessity and rest undescribe " he a Second Carder, other the first fininees or but oth Preservin India, ter ary bergt, or fare, in whatever certi-1 11 .

Dr. Ar le Reer I should like to societe mys li with the

It is noted. At the end there are two notes: it was doned that the Police should be left for the Report of the Savies sub-Constitution of the North-West London Proves to the Police standard the restriction of the North-West London Proves to the Police standard three standards would be a to the Police with this sample of the Police because the restriction of the North-West London Would be a to the Police with this sample of the Police because it would be noted with this sample of the Police beautiful would be noted are just for information.

#### Sab-C. minittee No. III (Minarities).

Rivers passents Mannes et al Communicot al valte Communication and a Period Jerray, Pell.

With a a constant of the Constant of the chale Constant Policy of the Constant of the Constant

I. The solution is well as a up to consider the character to the property of the last testing the character of the character part to the character part to

Proper Marcha ( / 12, 7).

Sir W. A. Jewitt.

Lord P. I.

Maj : Starley.

Lad R. Mirg.

Mr. Fe t.

H.H. Tar Ag' & Kinda

Martine, Muk rand Ali.

Dr. Am claus.

Su Shah Naraz blatto and readeath of Maulent Mi.

Sir Hubert Can.

Mr. Ch. .... i.

Namab of Chl. tari.

Mr. Past-Ll-H.q.

Mr. Glazzavi.

Laure, - Cal. G. Brev.

K.B. Harry Halay & Husain.

Mr. Jesia.

Ser P. C. Matter.

D. Me up.

R j. Namadra Nath.

Ray Baladur Parnir Selvam

Sir A. P. Patra.

Mr. Paul.

Mi. Ramachandra Rao.

Mr. Shiva Ras

Sir Sultan Alanel

Sir M. Shafe.

Sarder Sampuran Singh.

Mr. Sastri.

Sir C. Setalvad.
Sir Phiroze Sethma.
Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan.
Begum Shah Nawaz.
R. C. Bala lui Siiniyasai
Mrs. Subharayan
Sardar Ujjal Singh.
Mr. Zaf.ullah Khan.

Ceptain Raja Sher Muhammal Khar and Nawab Sir Abdul Qaivum after the departure of Sir Sutan Ahmed and the Nawab of Chhitari).

- 2. It is sub-Committee felt that the first task to which it should address itself was to have an authoritative statement or claims put in by the representatives of each coron unity with proposals as to low their interests should be safeguarded. Opinion was unanimous that, in cicer to seeme the co-operation of all contamities, which is essential to the su cessful working of responsible givernment in India, it was necessary that the new constitution should contain provisions designed to assure communities that their interests would not be prejudiced; and that it was puricularly desirable that some agreement should be come to between the major communities in order to facilitate the consideration of the whole prestion. Although this was very nearly accomplished, it has not yet succeeded, but the negotiations are to be continued both here and in India.
- 3 One of the chief proposals brought before the sub-Committee was the inclusion in the constitution of a declaration of fundamental rights sufeguarding the cultical and religious life of the various communities and securing to every individual, without discrimination as to race, caste, creed or sex, the free exercise of economic, social and civil rights. (Mr. Joshi objected to the onaission of reference to the economic rights of the various communities. Dr. Ambedkar called attention to the recessity of including in the constitution sanctions for the enforcement of the tundamental rights, including a right of redress when they are violated.)
- 4. The possibility was expressed that under certain conditions the election of the Legislatures right be from a general register. but to agreement was come to regarding these conditions.

Whilst it was generally admitted that a system of joint free cle torates was in the abstract the most consistent with democratic principles as generally understood, and would be acceptable to the Depressed Classes after a short a astronal period provided the franchise was based on adult suffage, the opinion was expressed that, in view of the distribution of the communities in India and of their inequal communic, social and political offectiveness, there was a real danger that under such a system the representation second by misorities would be tetally inadequate, and that this system would therefore give no communal security.

- The Circus we extract and advanced by various communities that the contexts of add by a deriver common alterpresent them and the fixed proportions of sects. It was also urged that the number of seats its real for a nomenty community should be no ease be less than its proportion in the population. The methods by which the could be seemed were mainly three; (I, commution, 2) joint electorates with reservation of seats, and 3 separate electorates.
  - 6. Nomination was unanimously deprecated.
- particle of seats should be a wivel to the communities. Thus a now denote attraction would be given to the electors, whilst the purpose of the square electorate system would be secured. Donotes were expressed that, whilst such a system of election neight secure the opposed that, whilst such a system of election neight secure the opposed that, whilst such a system of election neight secure the opposed that the near the amount of the pennine, but that it might, in its working, mean the manifest on ec, it may event, the election of minor ty representatives by the majority communities.

It was printed out that this was in fact only a form of community representation and I ad it practice all the objections to the Lare direct form of community electorates.

- s. The discussion made it evident that the demand which remained as the only one which would be generally acceptable was separate electorates. The general objection to this screme has been subject to much previous discussion in India. It involves what is a very discult problem to solution, i.e., what should be the amount of communal representation in the various Provinces and in the Centre; that, if the whole, or practically the whole, of the seats in a Legislature are to be assigned to communities, there will be not room for the growth of independent political opinion or of time political parties, and this problem received a serious complication by the demand of the representative of the Depressed Classes that they should be deducted from the Hindu population and be regarded, for electoral purposes, as a separate community.
- 9. It was suggested that, in order to neet the most obvious objection to the carmarking of seats to communities, only a proportion should be so assigned esay 80 per cent, or 90 per cent.—and that the rest should be filled by open election. This, however, was not regarded by some of the communities as giving them the guarantees they required.
- 10. The scheme proposed by Maulana Muhammad Ali a member of the sub-Committee, whose death we deplore, that, as far as possible, ac communal candidate should be elected unless he secured at least 40 per cent, at the votes of his own community and at least 5 or 10 per cent, according to arrangement, of the votes of the other community, was also considered. It was, lowever, pointed out that such a scheme necessarily involved the maintenance of communal registers, and so was open to objections similar to those urged against separate electorates.
- 11. No claim for separate electorates or for the reservation of sects in joint electorates was made on behalf of women who should

But, in order to I miliarise the public mind with the idea of women taken and a vive part in political line and to see are their interior representation or the logislature, it was negled that I per cent. It the seats in the first three Councils should be reserved for women and it was sugged that they should be filled by exception by the diected mendious votices by preparational representation.

12. There was goveral agreement with the recommendation of sub-Committee No. II Provided Constitution) that the representation on the Provided Executives of a portant minority communities was a netter of the new constitution, and if was also agreed that, on the same grounds. Multimore has should be represented on the Pederal Executive. On behalf of the smaller minorities a claim was put forward for their representation, either individually or collectively, on the Provinced and Federal Executives, or that, if this chould be four lampossible, in each Cabinet there should be a Muniter specially larged with the duty of protecting in normy interests.

Dr. Ambedkar and Sadar Ujjel Single would add the words "and other important rine it. "and the word Muhammadans in line 6.)

in line 6.)

The difficulty of working jointly in persible Executives under such a scheme as this was pointed out.

13. As no goods the administration, it was agreed that recruitment to both Provincial and Control Services should be entrusted to Public Service Corn, issland, with in tructions to reconcile the claims of the values communities to har and adequate representation in the Public Services, whilst providing for the maintenance in purposes and of of other entry.

\*11. On behalt of the British commercial community it was trult that a commercial treaty hould be concluded between Great But and Irona, promiting to the British moreantile community trade relights in India opach to these anjoyed by Indian-boths, british this Majesty on the basis or reciprocal rights to be proved to be the Ironal Kitydom. It was agreed that the exist reaughts of the Laropean community in India in regard to criminal trials should be maintained.

is. The I sussime in the sub-Computtee I is enabled the Delegates to face the difficulties involved in the selemes put up, and though to general agreement has been reached, its recessity has become more apparent than ever.

In It has also been reade clear that the British Government of it, with more clause of egreenent, it pose upon the communities made or lips eight which, a some feature or other, would be restricted upon it. It was therefore plain that, failing an egreeuse, a pear better to, with all to a drawlands and difficulties, would have to be actioned as the basis of the electral arrangements to derive the constitution. For matter os, the claims of the Degree 1 Claims will have to be considered adequately.

17. The sub-Committee, therefore, reminend that the Conference should register an opin in that it was destrable that an agreement upon the clauses made that should be reached, and that the negotiations should be certified between the representatives concerned, with a request that the result or their efforts should be reported to those ergodiations.

18. The Miranties and Depressed Class's were definite in their assertion that they could not consent to any sell-governing constitution for India titless their demand were met in a reasonable manner.

Sgred on behalt of the sub-Committee.

#### J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

St. James's Palace, London, 16th January, 1991.

The Conmittee of the whole Conference, at their meeting on 13th January, 1931, substituted\* the following for paragraph 14:—

"At the instance of the British commercial community the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination, between the rights of the British mercantile community, fams and companies, trading in India and the rights of Indian-lam subjects, and that an appropriate convention hand on respective should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights.

It was agreed that the existing rights of the European community in India at regard to amainst trials should be maintained."

<sup>\*</sup> Ser p. 337 1 nw.

(AMEXIS BY JOE COMMITTEE OF THOSE CONTERNOS ALSO AMETIES NO. III (MINORITES).

Charanan: I am very sorry that the Report of the Minorities sub-Councittee is not in arint, has we were working upon it right ap to half-post cleven this morning. I think it is in such a form and so many of you who can speak as representatives on the various issues, have been members of the sub-Committee, that I do not think it will be any violation if I ask you to take it now. Do you agree?

Par graph I is formal. Paragraph Croted; paragraph Proted: paragraph 4 noted; paragraph 5.

Ur. Barrowh : Personally, I do not for communal representation, but I have received a cable from Lone which I think I should submit to the Committee.

The Abons was the inlers of Assam before the British. The Abons was the inlers of Assam before the British. The Airc, so we got in Association which they call the Abon Association. The President of this Association has wired that generally the Association do not approve or communal representation but that is communal representation but the Abons might be considered.

I hope, Sir, that this may be noted.

Langraph 6 noted; paragraph 7 model: paragraph 8 noted.
- 9. noted. 10. noted. 11, noted. 12.

We desire the Calls, I want my point to be noted that I am for leaving this action new for the intuite Government to develop proper conventions in the matter, and I am since if freedom is given to the proper conventions will develop a course of time. I am since the damper of the I am since the damper of the I am since the damper of the I am since provise there et al.

Character That is noted 12, rotes, 13

W. Ingilia. Su, on this point I submit that my points should be noted, that although the Public Services Commission may be given this due tion, there should be a dear to the limit after which selection on racial grounds should be stopped.

the main Report of the Services sub-Committee itself.

Mr. Jayakar: That can be considered, Sir.

Chairman: Yes. Now 14. On 14. the members of the

specially interested—Mr. (Lindanani and Sir Hubert Carr and two or three others have met, and have come to an agreement. The Secretary of State, it was desire it, will real the words of the agreed text.

drafted in a bury, and I should not like to commit myself to it.

Mr. Il adopted Bern: In some respects this draft is more avourable to the Europe, notice antile community than the existing draft. In some respects it a cets the objections which were raised by Mr. Chintamani and others. I will read it: "It was agreed in that is the first change; "it was urged "was in the Report — "It was agreed that the rights of the existing British mercantile and mainty should be guaranteed, and that for the future, by means of a commercial convention or otherwise the rights of the British mercantile armaunity in India should be guaranteed as being equal to those enjoyed by Ird anshorn subjects of His Mr jesty on the basis of reciprocal right to be guaranteed to Indians in the United Kingdom." Then follow the other words relating to criminal trials, which are not relevant.

Mr. Mody: I have a word or two to say in the subject. I warmly support in general the principle that there should be equality of treatment between the subjects of His Majesty As a matter of fact. I have had to fight in the last few norths very streamously for the rights of the British section of the industry which I represent, and therefore I would be the last person to say that there should be anything but equal commercial treatment for all compounities residing in India. But, Sir, there is one important qualification, and I do not see it even in the insproved draft which has just been read out to us by the Right Hon, the Secretary of State, and that is that while the principle of equality of freatment must be definitely conceded, it must be subject to the paramount consideration that Indian interests should be first. For instance, there may be certain key industries for which it would be necessary to lay lown certain qualifications. This principle has leen accepted by the Government of India themselves. Two or three years ago the question came up of the conditions which should be imposed on companies which may come into existence in future which would desire to operate the Air Mail Service, and I think, with the full concurrence of the Member representing the Government of India it was laid down that so far as companies operating ar mail services were concerned it was necessary to lay down that a certain proportion of directors, a certain proportion of sharehold ders, etc., should be Indian. Now, Sir, so long as that is understood, so long as it is realised that in certain key industries and national services it will be necessary to depart from the principle of strict equality of treatment, I have nothing to say; but the tolds that were read out do not convey that impression, and I

therefore want to make it clear that in certain essential respects it may be found necessary to impose special conditions with a view to safeguarding important national interests. That is the qualification which I would like to impose, and barring that I am in entire sympathy with the general principle.

Mr. Jiniah: May I say a word—that so far as I am concerned I have just heard the clause being read, and I was 1 at able to grasp the significance of it, but I can assume this Commutee that I have always maintained that the Uniquenes in India should enjoy the same rights, the same provides and the same protection that every other subject of this Maje to will be entitled to under the new continuous. I shall be only too glob to meet the Europeans in India in every reasonable way I can to give them a complete sense of security as regards their position in India; but I am not prepared to commit myself to this clause, because I have not applied my mind to it, and I do not know, Sir, whether in that clause you have introduced this last paragraph. "It was agreed that the existing rights of the European community in India in regard to criminal trials should be naintained." Is that there? I did not catch it.

### Chairman: Yes, it was kept in.

Mr. Jinnah: Well, Sir, I should like to reserve my opinion on that point, because it raises a very big issue, a very big issue in feed. Knowing, as I do know, the penal laws and the criminal laws of India, it raises a very lag issue. It has been a very vexed question, but I will say no more except this, that at the present moment I am not prepared to assent to that.

·

Wr. Jajakar: Sir. with reference to this clause I would point out that I am in favour of the principle that in the future Government of India and in our constitution, the British commercial community should not be penalized by any discriminatory legislation as regards their trade and commerce, but should enjoy the same rights and privileges as the Indian commercial community has. I have not had the time or the opportunity of considering in detail the wording of the clause just read to us by the Secretary of State, but if it goes beyond that principle I reserve to myself the right to cors der how far it should be allowed. I want also more time to consider how far Europeans should be affected by the out many In and law of the country. If it is intended to give to the Euro-Pan enacunity for a time a protection in this sense that be noffice in all to and productly will not be tried in the cidinary way in which an Indian would be tried, but that they will have some special privileges that matter will have to be considered very carefully.

So Top Bal Alor Sepace May I be permitted to say one word. So tarks the principle involved is concerned it is perfectly sound and I am in craine syngathy with that principle. Of course,

one there of interpretation and pulstions of application to particular facts are bound to arese in future, and you cannot give a decision in advance; but with regard to the principle of the security of the rights and interests of the European community I will only say that when I are saying to wis reteated for the first time, but that was the view along decision by the Nelson Committee's Report.

You will find the ethat not only myself but the leaders of the Congress proup definitely previded this: -

" As regards European commence, we cannot see why men who have put great sures of money into India should at all be nervous. It is incorceivable that there can be any discriminating legislation against any emmunity doing husiness lawfully in India. European commerce like Indian commerce, has had to bear in the past, and will have to bear in the future the vicissitude inseparable from commercial undertakings on a large scale, and no government in the west or anywhere else has been able effectively to provide a permatent and stable solution for conflicts between capital and labour. It, Lowever, there are any special interests of European commerce which require special treatment in future, it is only tair that in regard to the protection of those interests. Europeans should formulate their preposals and we have no doubt that they will receive proper consideration from these who are anxious for a peaceful solution of the political problem."

I approach the whole question in that spirit, and if the formula is agreeable to the European community it must be acceptable to us.

With regard to the criminal law, I will only remind Lord Reading that in his time the question was taken up, and a Committee was appointed of which I was the Chairman. We carried on protracted negotiations on behalf of the Government with the European community in Calcutta. The position so far as the criminal law of the land is concerned is now radically different from what it used to be under the Criminal Procedure Code, and I have reason to believe—I may say so in the presence of Lord Reading, for I think he will be pleased to hear it that the law which was passed at that time has been, according to the epinton of competent authorities, working quite satisfactorily.

Now, under the law as it stands at present you do not bar the jurisdiction of the Indian magistrate. There are certain special nethods provided which have been agreed to, and I should not like to disturb that law at present. That is my position.

I had the greatest difficulty in persuading the European community in Calcutta to accept this, but the European community, after consulting very omponent legal advice, definitely agreed to these proposals, and I should be very sorry indeed it we now in any way sought to disturb those proposals, which are embodied in the law of the land.

Chairman: With regard to the last point, I should like to six that that was exactly what was more to read into in test agreement.

# Mr. Shiva Rao: For the present?

So Try Buladin Supra: That law was the result of an agreement arrived at between the Indian legislature and the Europeca community at that time.

## Lord Reading: That is what I stated to the Committee.

Sir Mahamand Shap: I should like to say that on both these pains I am in cuties agreement with my briend Sa Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Sure, on publicangue May we have this read once again?

Mr. Went tomat Beam. There has been one word altered bere- "guaranteed to secure." The draft reads:—

"It was agreed that the rights of the existing British ner at the community should be guaranceed, and that for the tuty e, by rears of a commercial convention or othewise, the rights of the British commercial chamunity in India should be sourced as being equal to those enjoyed by Indiar-born subjects or the Majesty on the basis of reciprocal rights to be secured to Indians in the United Kingdom."

Ithat is for the future; the rights of the existing community are purranteed.

Where does the word "existing "come in? Is it the existing rights or the existing community which are guaranteed?

Wr. Wrole and Be n No. the rights of the existing Boursh nerconfile contamity.

S. Lieger Head. No I tiling that is a change. I thin the intention right the way through has been tractice to guarantee the existing the rise, and has the rights of the existing people.

It if Read of What the Secretary of State has just read of ments a disportant change. The planseology has been changed within the last few moments. I have before the the text as it was read out retore, and there was an addition reade with regard to thind to I, which we are not troubling about.

Charrows You will remember it was decreed that the proposal bacter which could not be quite form third on the spet, should be the subject of further communications and that a hornula should be produced here. What the Secretary of State has read is the

termula that has been agreed to, at any rate by some people, inconsequence of the decision of the sub-Committee this morning.

Lord Realing: But it changes the sense of it. I am not concerned with the words so much, but with the sense, and the words which the Secretary of State has read out are to me not nearly so satisfactory as the words we had before, because the sense has been changed. I do not know whether Sir Hubert Cair agrees to those words.

Mr. Wedgeroud Benne: May I ask Lord Reading whether he is referring to the last sentence, which relates to criminal trials?

Lord Reading. No. On the last sentence I have not a word to say in addition to what Sir Tej Sapru said. The substance of that we stated to the sub-Committee, and I agree to that. What I am on are the words relating to the commercial treaty.

Chairman: Let us clear up this point. The point is this. Does the adjective "existing" refer to rights, or does it refer to the community: that is the point, is not it?

Lord Reading: Yes.

Su Hubert Carr: That is the point, and the Secretary of State will remember we have been trying to get this thing through in an amazing hurry, in view of the tremendous interests involved, and I never even saw the draft. I find the word "existing" has been changed from applying to rights to applying to the community, and that is so big an attention that I do not did! I can possibly accept it. It is the existing rights that we want.

Land Rord my: May I ask the Secretary of State this. Is a really intended that the European who comes into India a day after the constitution comes into effect is not to have the same rights as a European who had been there hitherto?

Mr Wedgened Benr: No, not at all. The first thing this deate does is to secure the rights of existing people without question. That is the first thing; there is no question about that. As to the future, the rights of the British community hereafter will be secured by a convention on the basis of reciprocity. That was their own proposal, so that as regards the existing people they are absolutely where they were, guaranteed as regards the future; they are to be so, med by a convention negotiated on the basis of reciprocity. It was their own suggestion, and I do think that will meet the case

Sir Hubert Care I are sorry to have to refer to this, but when I put this forward first in the sub-Committee it was wholly an anendment to preserve our existing rights, not as a way of bartering future rights. I do not think for one moment that I could

graph minumity to agree to at his proposal at is now put forward; in the finite and he then same as our rights in the past, this is the method of security those pichts which appeals to us proposally, because in the method I have suggested we recognise the accent status of India. It stend of a sking for a legislative particle in we suggested such and the manual as exists in the parts of the Lapie. But the existing rights if the British community is what I would not possibly have to be a material future negotiation.

Surday Uyal Singh: Would it meet the case if it were: the

Correct. I was going to say that this Report is in a different point in them the other, and therefore I am giving more latitude for nerotiation with regard to it. You cannot be bound by it. Therefore, as it is now ten minutes past one, we shall have to ask that those who have been neg tiating this might meet again and that it up immediately we resume after lunch.

At 1-12 p.n. the Comn threadjourned tell 5 p.m.)

Claure of the Manority Committee's Report. I will ask the Serie of a State to report to us what has happened in the interval.

Mr. Wedger I Bene: Mr. Prime Minister, I read out before had a cree which I had a apportunity of discussing with some more are of the British Indian Delegation. That form has been evan need by Sir Hubert Carr and Lord Reading, and in substance it is accepted. There are one or two verbal alterations to which I will draw spoud attention when I read it, but it is the form which you, Mr. Continuum, and I bloked at after lunch.

It seeks as follows: "It was agreed that the rights of the existing British nere intile communities, firms and companies?"—the care new words, but it is merely definition—"should be granultied, and that for the inture by means of a commercial convertible or otherwise the British commercial rights in linear should be seeingly given equal rights to those enjoyed by Indian bern where of firs Maj sty on the basis of reciprocal rights of Indians in the United Kingdom."

That is the form which I understand Sie Hubert Car would and a spield and which we have discussed between us.

To the addition of the words "firms and compared is entirely in record once with what I meant, and I have nothing to say against it.

White add to the later part of the class, herefore, I have to a treat the standard explication. It is sheet printed out to be by Mr. Maly, who spoke before the C a matter adjournment, that the rest of a net bound, tout by the a words absolutely clearly.

What I had in mind was this, that it should not be a statutory alligation of the future (covernment of India to conclude such a avention. The advice or direction given in this clause should be anderstood to be without prejudice to the power of that Government as and when and how they may deem fit to a cord such prejection to Indian P dustry as they may deem to be necessary. It is without prejudice to that that this should be read. When there is a convention it will be on the focting of equality and reciprocity. But it should not be the duty of the Government to conclude sach a convention.

Sir Hubert Cerr: What Mr. Chintamani now says, as I understand it, is that he wants to keep the right of discrimination for the future.

Mr. Curiticom: I explained this to Sir Hubert Carr when we not outside before lunch. That is why I did not agree to the original clause. I cought myself that my meaning was longht out by this, as this did not impose an obligation upon the Government to enter into a convention. It was pointed out to me that it was somewhat an biguous, and therefore I thought frankness required that I should state my meaning clearly.

Mr. Sastri: It is the right of every people to protect national industries and national enterprises from being killed or weakened by unlike competition from non-nationals. That right must be secured in any constitution. If this goes against it, I am not sure it less, I am not a lawyer—it certainly is open to exception on that ground, for people must be secured the right of protecting their national enterprises and industries from undue competition.

Lord Reading: I do not think there is anything in this that prevents any action which may be taken by the Government against competition from outside; but surely it is not intended, as I understood the speeches which were made, to introduce any form of discrimination between the rights of Indian-born subjects and of British subjects who are trading in India. That will stand on the same focting, except for the future there will have to be a convention; but up to now the existing rights as they stand at present will be guaranteed for the time being; then for the future there shall be a convention. That is what I understood. I do not quite follow what the objection of Mr. Sastri to that is, because it is on the basis of what was stated before, that no discrimination was intended I to be made between Indian-born subjects and Britishborn subjects who were trading in India.

Mr. Sastri: Who are trading in India?

Lind Reading: Yes, or who may trade in India. You do not draw any distinction between a British trading company or firm in India, whether it is in existence now or may be in existence in the future.

de Cheutamane. It it sail been ny idea that the position with regard to businesses to be established in Infure should be identical " the that of businesses already in existence in India there would may been no point in my not having agreed to that. It is lecause I draw a distinction that I make the objection. Existing businesses n retore absolutely guaranteed against any measure which by any stretch of kneutage might be described as a measure of spolation; let with regard to future businesses, it should be without prejudice to the luture trace risent of India to take such measures of proto the with a land to Indian adultars as it may deem to be theres ay. It, or example, the Report of the External Capital Compaittee, which Connittee I believe was appointed when the Marque of Reading was Viceroy, and which Committee made ce am recorrendations which have not yet beer accepted by the Government on price those recommendations are carried into law by the future Government of Loha, this clause should not be such a would drable that Government from taking that step

So Habert Care: Would Mr. Clintan and tell us to which clause to sectoring it the Report of the External Capital Committee?

Note that the second out by him. In the original draft of paragraph 14. That death has been further revised by the Rt. How the Secretary of State as read out by him. In the original draft of the Minerities Report which was sent to us, the words read: "On behalf of the But becomine children unity it was used." It is morning the point was raised that instead of the word "united "the word "agreed" might be substituted. Much larges point is one word. If we did not rise at that time in the Minorities substituted to say anything against what was urged by Say II there Carry it was because we ever anticipated that the word "acted" was coing to be put in this fin. I Report. Had we had if yes, halles we would certainly have expressed our views at that time.

I entirely agree with what tell from Sir Tej Baladur Sapin when I equoted from the North Report this morning. There is no i feation of any same Indian to do any harm to British interests. Spealing for myself. I am computed with many non-Indian control as and I also happen to be a Director and Chairman of computes in India which are controlled by haropeans. At the same true, this Committee cannot forget and ignore the points raised by M. Mody this morning and by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri to-day match, that is basic industries nationals must be prefetted. It is that which makes its oppose the word "agreed," for if that word "agreed "stands as it is put do not, the paragraph, it will map yith it we have agreed that at all future times all vested interests about the opposed, and this paragraph, will be flung in our faces.

Sir, I am some that nobody has perhaps had the comage to refer the particular bratter which is a the back of their minds. It is

o use nuncing matters. All the suspicion that has been created is due just to one Bill namely the Coastal Reservation Bill. According to that Bill, the movers of that Bill intended that the constal trade should be contined to bottoms owned by Indian companes. Against that, the British element consider that that is going agenest the vested interests of British concerns which are n. n arg this could hade to the very great advantage of themselves. and was a the past have crushed any Indian enterprise trying to characterin. I do not propose to go a to the details, or into the 1 has er oth rwise of that particular exestion. What I want to portant is that is a vested interest which was created by is unitation in favour of Europeans equited India s in the past. In that is admitted, there is it not open to the Government of India to lay to adopt measures whereby rationas and take a larger part in the basic industries and businesses of the country? That is the tear at the back of our minds, and would not be surprised if I repeate allo have that in mind-that if the word "agreel" is I t put in here it would be open to us to raise this question once er in lear inly thank that this ques ion ought to be taken up, for it it is not it will upset the settled policy of the Government of Have not the Government of India, with the concurrence . the Secretary of State, already agreed that all railway contracts, when they fall due, and although they are company-managed te-may, will all be managed by the State, and taken over by the State? If this proagraph stands as revised by the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State, then it means that you upset that policy as well.

## Lord Reading : No, no.

Sir Phinace Sethna: It should be open to the Government of India, therefore, to discrimulate, if they so desire to do; but I assure my British friends that no same Indian will discriminate in a manner which will barm the existing interests in the country. I have only reteriod to one instance, and that is the instance which I am sure is contemplated not only by our side but also by our Laopean friends. It is for this reason that I say that because we have lett many other matters vague we would lose nothing by using the word "urged," as originally drafted, instead of the word "agreed". That will settle the matter, and that is very necessary, because we cannot knowing the views of Indians on this particular cost on gree to this as a settled on the framers of the Bill after they have nearly both sides.

That is all I have to observe, Sir.

Mr. Jajakar : I think there is considerable risk in stating the formula in the form of a concluded agreement here. I can quite un basturd certain considerations being urged, and explored—for its more this principle that the British mercantile community's tracing rights are to be equal with those of native-born Indians on the basis of reciprocity, and have to be guaranteed. As a principle

that is all right; but if we are going to reduce it to the form of an agreement, may I point out that this agreement will not hind, mybody not represented here, and, therefore, the value of this agreement is very small; and secondly, if you come to adopt the phraseology of a corrended agreement it has to be very precise. It has a value as an agreement only it every word is carefully selected and its import defined and interpreted. I submit that having regard to the very short time at our disposal we should record here nothing in the form of an agreement, but merely adopt a principle, subject to such variations as may have to be accepted later on in contounity with future requirements.

Chairr an : What do you say to that, Sir Hubert Carr?

Sir Hubert Carr. I think we are getting on to a wrong basis about this. I can assure Sir Phiroze Sethua that when we drafted our amendment to the Report there was no particular idea with regard to coastal traffic or any other trade. What I tried to make clear this morning was that this Conference opened with a declaration with regard to the intention of the future constitution towards our community which was all that we hoped for; but, as I tried to make clear in Committee, it would be of the greatest value to our community and to myself as getting backing for the Report which we are going to issue, if I could get a declaration of your intentions, provided they were on the lines of what was said by those three gentlemen who spoke, and it was with that intention that I brought forward this question of agreement. I did not think that there was any doubt. I hoped I was not putting in a disputable point, when I suggested that our commercial rights should be agreed to-I mean their protection because frankly, Gentlemen, our commercial rights are not open to negotiation. Those rights we cherish, and they are not open for negotiation, but we did want to make it quite clear and I am speaking trankly that we wanted to secure those rights against interference not by applying for special legislative provisions, but by asking you to give us your moral influence to the suggestion that they should be secured on an agreement of a recipro al nature. To us it would be far more satisfactory, because, after all, commercial relationships, our commercial connections, are worth not ring without good will. We do not want to have to ask for them to be secured by legislation so much, but rather that there should be an agreement between us. If there is that agreement between us we shall know where we are,

I do not wish to press any particular wording. The Prime Minister has great difficulty in getting these things through. I am sure; but I do want to make it quite clear that our commercial rights, as they exist to-day, are not open to negotiation. When it is suggested that in the ruture we may not be aboved to participate in the development of new industries I frankly cannot agree to that.

Sir Hubert Carr: It we come out to India and are recognised as entirens, we have our voting rights, we have our constituencies and it is quite impossible to ask us to accept a position where Government may interfere and say: "Well, you are exporting foodstuffs; you mass have 50 per cent. Indian Directorate." It is not a matter of colour, it is not a matter of race; it is simply a matter of our being out there; we accept all Indian aspirations with regard to tainfis; we have nothing to say against them; but if within that tailff wall we are working, we do demand exactly the same rights as Indian-born British subjects.

I cannot make the matter clearer than that, and any wording which can give use that assurance from yourselves—I know it is not hinding; we are not making an agreement; we are not drafting a B.H will have very great influence on the future, and it will criainly make may community, whose attitude you know, take a very ranch more sympathetic view with regard to the political move forward which we are making in the constitution.

With that, Mr. Prime Minister, I must leave the wording to you, and if that dualt which the Secretary of State has read out is not acceptable. I am perfectly open to consider any other which will secure my rights.

Mr. Mody. There are two things which ought to be made perfectly clear. One is that there is not the slightest intention on the part of anyone to touch the ordinary commercial rights of the British community in India. The other thing is that there may be certain basic industries in which it may be found necessary to provide special sategoards or make special provisions. I have already stated this morning that the Government of India themselves have accepted the principle when they laid down certain conditions for all companies operating air mail contracts in the fature.

In order to reconcile these two things, therefore, only a general formula will be found to be suitable, and my opinion is that it will meet the case if you say that subject to such provisions as may be found nocessary in special cases there shall be complete equality of treatment between the various classes of His Majesty's subjects residing and trading in India. That is a formula which should prove acceptable to both sides. It would assure to the British and other communities complete equality of treatment with regard to all or lineary matters, and it would assure the Indian community that their interests would be considered first where national interests are concerned. I submit that formula for your consideration.

Chairr an . Would that formula suit the British Delegates here?

Lord Reading: No, a tormula which was subject to certain exceptable. It is worthless; it says this is to be subject to certain exceptions.

W. Mody: I said "Subject to such provisions as may be found necessary in special cases".

Lord Reading: That will not do.

Mr. Januale: Why not accept Si Phiroze Sethua's proposal, and instead of saving that this was agreed, say "On behalf of the European community, it was unsed . . . . (a), (b) and (c) ", and leave it there, because it will be in the report? As you have said, there are many things on which you cannot get agreement. You cannot get agreement on a question of this character, and therefore if you say "urged" instead of "agreed" that will leave the point very clearly for careful consideration

Chairman: I am attaid it is impossible to get an agreement here and at this meeting. I was hoping something might have been done during the luncheon interval to get that agreement, but apparently that has not been possible, and the discussion which has taken place since we resumed has not provided a formula or a method of expression which is agreeable.

There is one suggestion I would place before you for consideration, namely, that paragraph 14 be asterisked. It should be printed as it is, but an asterisk should direct attention to the debate which has taken place up to now. The report of what has been said should be published as a footnote to paragraph 14, and a further additional note should be made that in view of the shortness of time still remaining it was impossible to agree to a form of declaration. That leaves it epen. I know it is not very satisfactory, but I doubt it you can get anything more satisfactory under the circumstances.

Mr. Mody: That will be quite all right.

Six Unbert Carr. We would accept that too but I am afraid I would have to make it clear that whatever my personal views and sympathies may be, and whatever my colleagues have felt about the whole of this question of moving forward. I could not pledge my community's support to it if any doubt is going to be thrown by a triendly Conference of this kind, on the position of our future conmercial rights. I could not speak for my community in backing up the whole scheme in those circumstances.

Lend Peel: This is a very important and serious matter indeed, and I no very stry that some agreement cannot be arrived at; but, it these streaments appear. I suppose it would be clear that this suggestion which Sir Hubert Cair has made, and which to my mind is a very reasonable one, is definitely apposed by some of the It of I Indian speakers here.

We Garm Jones: In the Federal Structure sub-Committee I agreed on behalf of the community, to the transfer of responsibility

to a Legislature on the understanding that our safeguards were is troduced into the Act. For our small community we consider tris to be vital, namely that we Britishers who go to India and are is ident in India should be treated as if we were Indians in all to spects in regard to law and everything that is lone in India, and that we should not in any respect be treated as foreigners. Remarks I we ben made in regard to various industries such as the shapping in lustry. In the As enally we should not have raised great apposities to the Bill which was introduced in that connection if it had been a reasonable one; but when you have a Bill brought forward which brings it racial discrimination in that way-that all the crew shall be Indians, all the officers Indian and 75 per cent, of tle directors Indian—it slats out British residents in India altegether. We want it definitely laid down in the Statute that that kird of thing cannot be done, and I think that is a very reasonalde demand. It is a demand that every minority community should make. We British in India should not be treated as foreigners in any way.

Wr. Jushi: We are treated as foreigners in several colonies.

than man: The trouble is that with the time at our disposal we cannot come to an agreement upon how the common ground is to be expressed in words. I do not know, Lord Reading, if, as one who has been very much engaged in this, you can contribute a suggestion?

Lord Reading. All I can say is that we might try over the week-end to see whether anything can be done, but I am not very lopeful about it because, as the debate has developed, it has become clear that it is not a question of drafting but a question of substance. What we are asking is that all the subjects of the Empire should be treated equally in these natters of business and that there should he me discrimination. I thought that had been agreed. I made it inviself one of the essential conditions on which I expressed my desire to fall in with responsibility at the Centre. I did not think any question was going to be raised about it, and now it has arisen the position las changed. Apparently it has orisen in a somewhat acute form, because though it does not touch the past it is apparently intended that in the future there shall be discrimination or a right to discriminate. It does not seem to be of any use to negotiate at all upon that, because we are divided upon an important question of principle. I am perfectly ready to try to arrive at something if we can.

Mr. Mody: Mr. Chairman may I suggest that the matter be lett as you have suggested, unless we meet to-night and come to an understanding amongst ourselves, in which case you will allow us liberty to bring it up again. If there is no understanding and no agreement, then the matter may be left as you suggested it. But, while I agree with Lord Reading that there are certain fundamental

differences, it is possible that in the course of discussion we may come to some formula which may be mutually acceptable and I submit it would be worth attempting.

Chairman: It seems that it might be worth while; I am an outsider in the matter altogether; but it might be worth while to see whether those sateguarding expressions that have been used could be made more specific than they are, and be translated into a condition quite charly stated which would be regarded by both sides as a reasonable condition in rational policy.

### Mr. Mody: That is right.

Chairman: It is quite clear that if the distinction is going to be simply a communal distinction then there is going to be no agreement.

### Lord Reading: It affects the whole question.

("Larman: If there is rational pelicy with regard to, say, key industries, supposing India wishes to manufacture optical glass which has been declared as a key industry in some countries for one reason or another, then India would be entitled to pass the same sort of economic legiclation, as, say, this country would be entitled to pass.

And under chose encumstances Indians engaged in the indistry would be in a different position from Britishers engaged in the industry were carrying on the industry in India.

Something of that sort. It does seem to me there is a chance of exploration a exactly what we mean. If you think it worth while to carry on that I shall certainly open Monday morning's meeting as a neeting of the Committee of the whole Conference for the purpose of finishing this Report.

Land Reading: Fifther we come to an agreement or we do not.

Charitain: litter you come to an agreement or you do not; but then, if you do not come to an agreement, I wish you would be prepared to make a suggest on as to how the matter is going to be handled.

Sold out, in continuation of what you have said, that at an earlier stage of the proceedings of the Teleral Structure Sub Committee, I structure by the Sold of the Teleral Structure Sub Committee, I structure a proper detunition of "bitizer". Land Rending was not at that time dispend to access ith that; perhaps he would allow me to point out that precisely this point was raised by the European As miation after the Nobru Report was published. Then the Nobru Committee and felt that the

what I understood you to mean, Sir Tej; that is the whole point of it. I understood you to mean that according to your view there should be no discrimination.

So Leg Bahadur Sapru: It is not only my view, but the views of the men was composed that Committee, and I read out to you that particular paragraph.

Lord Rending: That is our view too.

Sir Lef Bahad is Supera: I read out to you that particular paratreph: a a read I point out to you can this was signed by McCle. Nehru, myself, S. Mi Iman., Madan Mohan Malaviya, Annie bestud, M. A. Ansari, M. R. Jayakar, Abul Kalam Azad, Mangal Singh, M. S. Aney, Sulhas Chandra Bose, Vijiaraghavachariar, Abalul Kadir Kasuri. It was not merely signed by me but by these stalwart Nationalists.

Chairman: What I, as Chairman of this Committee, have got to do is to get you to agree as to how you are going to handle it, and I put the question again: Is there any use having a suspension?

Lord Reading: After what you have said, Mr. Prime Minister, I think we might meet and see if we can agree upon a formula. What Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has been proposing seems very near if not the identical case that we require.

## Lord Peel: I hope that will be done.

Chan main: Very well then, 14 is postponed. I will ask you to sit as a Committee when you resume on Monday morning. I shall not be able to give you a great deal of time, because it you have not been able to agree among yourselves, you certainly will not be able to agree among yourselves, you who are treeting to decide upon this, it you cannot agree upon an agreed formula, would you decide upon low it ought to be handled in relation to this Report, so that no interest will be data ged by the way that it is left. 15, noted. 16.

Wr. Si Zar. Sn. I want to suggest in the last sen ence of every laple 16. Index these discumstances the chains of the distress leb. and labour will have to be considered adequately.

Characan I don't a more if that is going to be advantagecus to labour, but that will be not dimens event, 16, noted 17, noted, 18, noted.

been reserved.

The Committee of formered at 3-15 per antil Monday merery.

COMMENTS BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE CONFERENCE 19TH JANUARY, 1931) ON REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE NO. III MINORILLES,.

the runa: Our lasiness to-day is in the first place to consider the .e-draft of paragraph 14 of the Report of the Minerities sub-ten nittee. You will remember it was postponed from Friday. Inchestand that there has been an agreement regarding the draft and that the draft is in the hands of Lord Reading.

I will now call on him to read the agreed form of paragraph 11.

Lad Reading: As the result of a meeting we had on Saturday, the tellowing chaise was agreed to be substituted for paragraph I is as it appears in the draft Report:—

At the instance of the British commercial community, the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects, and that an appropriate convention, based on reciprocity, should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights.

"It was agreed that the existing rights of the European community in India in regard to criminal trials should be maintained."

Mr. Prime Minister, that was agreed except for Mr. Jinnah, who did tell me that he could not commit himself to it.

Mr. Jineah: My position, Sir, is exactly what I stated it to be when the original clouse 14 came before us. I observe that there has been a modification, but the clause as it is worded now as still so wide and so general that I regret I cannot possibly consent to it.

Sir M. Shaft: Mr. Prime Minister, the opinion which Mr. Junah has just expressed is of course his personal opinion. On behalf of the rest of the Mussulman group may I say that we accept the paragraph as read out.

Chairman: The question is that clause 14 as amended be noted. That is agreed.

#### Sub-Committee No. IV (Burma).

REPORT PRINTED AT THE MILITARY OF THE WHOLE CONFERENCE, ON 16th January, 1931.

On Deer the 1st the Committee of the whole Contentre set up a sub-Conveittee with the following terms of prescuence: -

"To consider the nature of the conditions which would entitle Burna to be separated from British India on equitable terms, and to recommend the best way or somning thas end."

The following Delegates were selected to serve on this sub-Contraittee, ever which I was appointed Chairman: -

Lord Pecl.

Mr. Foot

Mr. Aung Thin.

Mr. Ba Pe.

Mr. Ohn Ghine.

Mr. de Glanville.

Mr. Chintamani.

Mr. Srinivasan.

Captain Raja Sher Muhammad

Khan.

Mr. Mody.

Mr. Ghuznavi.

Sir B. N. Mitra.

Sir Hubert Carr.

Mr. Shive Rao was subsequently selected to take the place of Mr. Chintamani.

The sub-Committee met on the 5th, 8th, and 9th December, 1930, and have authorised me to present this Report. The following conclusions were reached:—

(1) The sub-Committee ask His Majesty's Government to make a public announcement that the principle of separation is accepted; and that the prospects of constitutional advance towards responsible government theld out to Burma as part of British India will not be prejudiced by separation.

Mr. Mode and Mr. Smva Randes is to be recarded that they can of endo se this recommendation without qualification.

- terests of Indian and other minerities must be safeguarded. They are to may position to advise as to the particular form of protection these interests replied. They consider that when the details of the constitution of Burna are being discussed, the fullest apportuality should be given to all minorities and to the Government of India to represent their views and to state the nature and extent of the arguments also that adequate attention should be paid to the question of many matter at Indian Lahour and that provision should be made for the regulation of the conditions of both the work and life of the for the regulation of the conditions of both the work and life of the for the regulation of the conditions of both the work and life of the for the regulation of the conditions of both the work and life of the for the regulation of the conditions of both the work and life of the for the regulation of the conditions are both the made Indians entering Burma.
- Burma.

The questions are very difficult and technical, and the sub-Comnattee consider that they should be dealt with in the manner recommended by the (rovernment of India in paragraph 93\* of

their Despatch (Cmd. 3700).

The sub-Committee also recommend that when the case has been thoroughly explored by the experts of the two Governments, the statements prepared by these experts should be laid before the Standing Linance Committees of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Burma Legislative Conneil respectively, and that representatives of these Committees should be associated with the experts in the proceedings of the Arbitral Board.

The sub-Committee also enderse the view expressed by the Government of India in paragraph 86 of their Despatch's regarding the great desirability... of adjusting the relations between the two countries in a spirit of reason and mutual accommodation as to avoid as far as possible the ill effects which might arise from so great a change in long established practice?. They venture to express the hope that all negotiations between the two Governments, whether in relation to the financial adjustment or to other matters, will be approached in this spirit.

- The sub-Committee recognise that adequate arrangements must be made for the defence of Burma after separation, but they consider that the precise nature of these arrangements must be decided in the light of expert military opinion.
- 5) The sub-Committee note the fact that arrangements for the taking over of the administration of subjects now classed as Central in the Devolution Rules must be made by the Government of Burma. The sub-Committee recommend that it should be considered whether, subject to the consent of the Government of India and on terms to be arranged, the Government of Burma should continue to make use of certain sciencific Services of the Government of India.
- 6) The sub-Committee express the hope that it may be found possible to conclude a favourable Trade Convention between India and Burma. They believe that a Trade Convention would benefit both countries, and they think it important that separation should cause a minimum disturbance of the close trade connections that exist between the two countries.

(Signed) Russell, Chairman.

St. James's Palace, London.

9th December, 1930.

\* Annex.

† Cmd. 3700.

#### ANNEX

EXTRACT FROM PARAGRAPH 93 OF THE DESPATCH OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (CMD. 3700).

" It is clear that the separation of the finances of the country will the extremely defeat testics, requiring the expert makes, in the decision of which it will be essential to hold an even balance between what may be conflicting claims. We agree with the local Government that the best seed of app along this die alt perlient is to endeavour, by to to d supposition between the Government of Dain and the Covernment of Burnes. to drive if an extend statement of the case for reference to at imported testimal. The stagests requiring settement will be of a technical rathe, and we make the house of the adjustment of revenue in I expert time, such matters as the all at m of dear charges and the adpersent of carency arrangements. No restrict hal comments cut lest and fortening with the second restricts for the first could be entirely determined, s do us probable need ons of enquiry. In arriver at a first coal soul, ear the man perit to be considered is the med for substruct public operer to tool construct that a least fair tout least point, pint, we be and hother aspect of the arrangements were poleness, more partients' the - sten relative related we let we that a mineral event the Private of the and the the serief to hand most belong to be to be the open on. The relesus one life firm on existence the life them, switch is expert stand of proder assesses, for labor of from Larra."

(OMMINTS IN COMPILIAN OF WHOLE CONFERENCE (HERE JANUARY, 1931) ON REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE NO. IV (BURMA).

Land Russell: Mr. President, I wish to present this Report. I have very little to say to the Conference in connection with it, except that the Committee was, on the whole, very harmonious. There was a desire to discuss the principle of the separation of limiter; that, I explicited to the Committee, had been decided by the decision of the Committee and by your ruling, and was not open to the Committee to discuss. But some objection was taken to the first paragraph asking His Majesty's Government to make a public announcement, to that objection was taken by Mr. Mody and Mr. Shiva Rao who desired that their dissent should be expressed. I promised to mention that in moving the Report, but I pointed out to them that, of course, I could not make their specific their and must leave it to them to raise it here if they so desired. I beg to move that the Report be noted.

Wr. Shora Row: First of all, on a matter of procedure, I want to know if members who dissent from the dec sions of the majority and want to append minutes of dissent, will be permitted to do so; because Mr. Mody and I sent in our minute of dissent; Lord Russell said it could not be appended to the Report, but it would be open to us to express our dissent, if we wis red to do so, at a meeting of the Conference.

Chairman: That is so.

Mr. Shira Rao: Then I want to explain our position with regard to the first decision of the Report of the sub-Committee. I am against an immediate approximent of acceptance by His Majesty's Government of the pair ciple of separation. But at the outset I want to make it absolutely clear that in this vital matter which concerns the future of Burma, it is the wiskes of the majority of the people of Burma alone which should be the guiding factor in arriving at a decision. I am not convinced, in spite of what has been said here, and the Resolution of the Burma Legislative Council, to which I shall have to refer later, that there is such a widespread demand for immediate separation from Inlia. It is true that the Government of Burma, in their Despatch to the Government of Ind a on the Simon Report, and Lord Peel in his speech here, have endorsed the proposal for separation on the ground that the people of Burma want it. I am glad that there is such unanimity in accepting the principle of self-determination in deciding the political future of a country Possibly these are some of the conversions you had in mind when you said in your concluding speech at the Plenary Session that Mr. Sastri's was not the only conversion at this Conference I do not know if any people in India whispered into Ford Peel's ears that they wanted Dominion Status, or what his enswer was. The next few days will prove whether he believes in self-determination for India, as he evidently does for Burma,

But, so far as the Burma Government is concerned, their approach as a very different one. In their Despatch to the Govembent of India they make the following extraordinary statement: "As long as there was an autocratic British Government in India, it was convenient to place Burma under the control of that Government and the position was accepted by the people of Barna, though from time to time symptoms of discontent did manufest themselves. But as soon as His Majesty's Government uncounced that their policy was gradually to establish full responsible government in Inc. a, and as soon as they took the first steps towards that end, the situation began fundamentally to that gr." It seems two things became clear to thinking Burmans: first that they could not exercise an effective voice in the administritor of a self-governing India, and, secondly, that the economic interests of Burn a and India would not always coincide, and when closu occurred, those of Burma would inevitably have to give way. Herce, according to the Burn't Government, the demand for separation has be ome so insistent that it would be "in politic and making " to resist it. But may I ask if thinking Bannans are so ignorant of geography is not to realise that London is further away from Rangoon than is Delhi; that they can exercise even less influence on Westminster than on the Indian Legislative Asserbly; that the economic interests of Britain and Burma can never coincide? The Burmans are a logical people; if they want separation, they surely want it much more from a country which cor juered them and annexed their country than from one which protested through the Indian National Congress in 1885 against the extension of the lond of subjection to Burma.

The Burma Government candidly admit that "Burman politicans of extreme political views who have refused to work the present constitution still believe that Burma would get full responsible; were need earlier if she remained part of British India", and therefore they wish to postpone the day of separation. But it is not only the extremists in Burma who take that view. I reject that the Despaten of the Burma Government should have omitted to record the first that the Burma Legislative Council also possed a Resolution on the 11th August this year, without a division: "That this Council urges His Majesty's Government to grant Burma immediately a constitution securing her the status of a self-governing Dominion within the British Empire". Speaker of the speaker urged that separation without Dominion Status would be of no value to Burma, and that she wants the two things together.

What is the Burma Government's answer to the main question of constitutional advance? They are not yet ready with their case, but they will submit into a new Commission which will investigate the problem after separation has been effected. This, I venture to say, is not fair treatment either to Burma or to the Round Table Conference. What is the good of giving vague assurances to Burma that she will not be a Grewn Colony and that the policy of the

Leth America, 1917, vould continue to apply to her? I say this particularly because of Sa Charles Innes frank observations in a spech which I believe he delivered to the Barna Legislative ( unall in August of this year. Addressing his remails to those who are chammer in mediate responsible Greenmont. His Excellerey send: "Let me advise you to study and to pender over the long list of Central subjects in the Develution Rules. You will fied that there are more than 40 of them. Many of them are subjuits of which we have little or ne experience in Burna. Apart from defence we shall have to take charge of such subjects as external relations, railways, shipping and navigation, pests, telegraphs, wireless, customs, tariffs, income-tax, salt, currency, public dold, savings banks, civil law, criminal law, and other subjects too runcious to mention." Then His Excellency went on to administer another plain warning: "I make no secret of my belief that in such matters as local self-government, education, public Lealth, and the like, standards in Burma are much too low. Will the people of Burma set themselves resolutely to work to raise those standards?" What sort of a constitution a Government, of which he is the head, will recommend for Burma, how far it will go towards giving Burma Dominion Status, it is not difficult to concerve.

I am aware that opinions in official and military circles have charged within recent years to a remarkable extent in regard to this question of separation-presumably because of the virus of responsible Government Laving affected India. What, however, is even more remarkable is that even the facts of history seem to have charged, for the Burma Government in their anxiety to see that the case for separation does not lack a single argument drawn from whatever source. Let me take one glaring instance. This is from the official Despatch; "Burma is an entirely separate country from India, and the Burmans are an entirely separate people. They are not bound to India by any ties of common race or common language on common sentiment." The Burma Government seem to have overlocked the fact that Gantama Baddla was form and livel and died it. India, and as long as that magnificent figure in har to centil ues to inspire the religious faith of the people of Burn . India can never be an alien land to them. But not only in digina, which after all is the dominant factor in life in the Past, but even in other matters also, India and Burma have been closely related. My authority is the Cersus Report of 1911, Vol. IV, on Burnar, Part I, para. 75: "As far back as the history of Eurovese national life can be traced by means of its chronicles and its beginnary love, migration from India has been one of its most prominert and continuous features. Both the Burmese and the Talaings owe their evolution from a large number of small, wild, scrittered, districted and nomadic tribes into large and cohesive kingdoms, to their contact with Indian colonists. The earliest attempts at any form of Government beyond a mere tribal organisution were commenced under Indian auspices. The religion of Burma, equally with its system of Government, was obtained

from Indian sources. Indian influence is to be found in every brench of Burmese life, not only in its religion and its Covernment, but also in its architecture, its to tivals, its ceremonals, and its more intimate and domestic phases. The further back, in part of time, the avestigations are carried, the greater is the degree of Indian influence perceived. In view of the prevailing trademy to assume that the Burnese as a rice in element to essay to enjohas so the fact that the existence of the Burnese as a powerful and a widespread race is due to Indian inmigration."

That statement in the Census Report for 1911 is ample answer to the Burma Government's ignorance or suppression of the facts of history.

As I said a few minutes ago, military opinion also has un lergone a process of subile change in taxour of the complete separation or Burna from India The Montagu-Clalinsford Report observed that, for military reasons, India and Burma must be together. Even the Sinon Commission saw no reason "why it should not be possible to combine political separation with satisfactory arrangements in the military sphere;" in fact, they suggested " a unized control between India and Burma'' for purposes of defence. Suddenly there comes the technical advice from Sir William Birdwood-almost the last thing he did as Canmander in Chief-that maified control is not necessary. The advice was tembered on luoud considerations of strategy -a blessed word which covers vany things. There is a passage of extreme interest in the life and letters of Hield M.o b. I Sir Henry Wilson, which illustrates my point. It deals with an episode which took place in 1921, when Lo. d Re. ding was Vice ov. The Government of India Led recena ended, reduction of British troops in India by four battalions and two cavelic regiments | Lord Reclinson appealed to Sir Henry W Ison, who was Clief of the Imperial General Staff at that time. for his assistance against this "nadness", as he called it: the entry in his diary is as follows: "I have wirel to Philip (Sir Philip Chetworld to go to Montagu and to find out whether I an or are not his military adviser; and I told Philip not to be put of by being teld that this was a matter of internal economy to be decided by the Viceroy in Council, because the internal security in India, the protection of her Frontiers, the power to send troops te cent tries outside her Frontiers, such as Mesopotamia, Burma, Shearone and Horg Kong, and finally the obligation on the Here Gorentau it to reinforce India in ease of necessity were all interes interverse in imperial success, and therefore come makes me."

Sir, these clarges it relitary opinion deserve close attention; first in 1949, India; and Burna it ust be one, politically and in the relitary sphere; then, in 1928, they may be awart politically but with unified military control; row, in 1930, a unified military of took is not essential. It is product not no unfold plans to enickly. Therefore, the Government of India say in their Despatel.

that they have not concerned themselves with "questions of the garrison, required in a separate Burma, nor with the sources from which it should be obtained ". And it seems Sir William Birdcoul's advice "does not exclude the possibility of sone neasure of rintual co-ordination in the arrangements made for the defence of the two countries?. The point that is of interest is that it does Let necessarily madude it. Suspicions have already been aroused that Burna is to be the base for land and air forces to safeguard British Imperial interests in the Far East. Sir Henry Wilson s. d: " As I said a week .go, when writing to Rauly, Montagu and Chelmsford have set up a Conneil with a lot of natives on it " -two of these natives are here at this table -" and have lost centrol; and now they dore not impose the extra taxation necessary. The same Corneil will beiere long refuse to allow Indian Native trops to serve outside of India." And ther, and ther. Mr. Churchill comes along and completes the picture.

As I observed at the beginning. I repeat now: let Burma be separated from India if her people really want it. But first let us take sare of it by a local enquiry that they do. The General council of All-Bu mese Associations, which I understand is an argonisation as powerful and as representative as the Congress is it. India, is against separation. The Burma Legislative Council wants separation and full responsible Government together. Can III. Majesty's Government give that assurance to-day? Intil that assurance is given it would be wrong to force separation on a Province which does not want it unconditionally. The partition of a neighbouring Province led to an agitation nearly a quarter of a century ago which proved in the end irresistible. That should be, warring, particularly as the East has moved for within that period of time.

If the preliminary enquiries in regard to separation should lead to an afunative conclusion, then of course the other decisions of the sub-Committee must be carried out. The legitimate interests of all minorities will have to be protected in the new constitution for Burma, and arrangements unde so that neither Burma nor India will suffer by separation. There must also be a financial settlement between the two countries. I want to say in this connection that, speaking for myself and, I hope for others as well, it would be wrong to ask Burma to pay the cost of the Burmese Wars. It is a thoroughly immoral dectrine to ask a conquered Lation to pay the price of her conquest, and thus add financial injury to political and noral insult. The cost of the Burmese Wars cannot come out of Indian revenues; and it should not come out of Burma's revenues. And it must be understood that the edequate arrangements for the defence of Burma should be considered by a Committee, not of military experts, though ther may give evidence, but by one which will command the confidence of the public both in India and in Burma.

Finally. I want to raise a very important matter, to which I is yield the attention of the sub-Committee. Burma has enjoyed

for the last ten years and more, through her association with India, representation at Imperial and International Conferences. She has also been represented, in the same way, at the Lague of Nations. Through India, therefore, she has had an international status. That cannot be taken away from her, as it will be taken, by separation. She must be assured, in my opinion, independent representation at all these Conferences. Efforts roust be made at the earliest opportunity for her admission to the League of Nations. May I remind the Conference that both in regard to Egypt and to frag the present Government has undertaking would be essential, in my opinion, in the case of Burma also. But above everything else, let us be sure that we are not forcing separation on an unwilling people.

Chairman: I did not wish to interrupt the speaker, who had carefully prepared his statement beforehand, but I must observe that that statement ought to have been made some days ago when the sub-Committee was set up. The Burmese representatives presented to us a very well reasoned case, making certain statements and certain claims. I gave the Committee at that time ample opportunity to continue the debate: I hesitated before I put the resolution: the debate was not continued. Although, of course, the matter is up in one sense to-day. I cannot allow speakers to range over the whole question of Burmese problems, giving advice as to low the Government is to conduct its alians and what the Committee is going to do when it is set up. I would just like to warm speakers without limiting them unreasonably that they really must limit then selves in accordance with the business which is before the Committee to-day; othe wise we will have days and days upon this question. I do not know if the Burnese representatives would like to say anything, or just let it go.

Dr. Menje: Mr. Shiva Rao has pit his case very fully, and I do not propose to cover the same ground. I only desire to sav that when, at the last meeting, we agreed to the principle of the separation of Burma, the information then given was red tull, and t was one-subd. The only information available at that tire we that given by the Burnese Delegates. I may say that I am not opposed to the separation of Burna if the people of Berre really want separation; but the information that has come to us later the decision was taken at our meeting leads us to suspect that there is not such a widespread desire for the separathat of Burner as was rade our on that occasion. Therefore my point is that the int business of the Countities should be to hake an enquiry in Barma as to whether to re is a real desire. and a desire on a large scale, for the separation of Burna. If there is such a desire I will rerebject, but I have resson to helieve, from information which has come to us in wires and culles, that that is not the case. Therefore I say that the information which was at our disposal last time was one-sided and insufficient and therefore the decision taken was not a correct one. Therefore I support Mr. Shiva Rao.

Chairman: If you take your Report you will see (1) It is suggested that His Majesty's Government should make a public amountement that the principle of separation is accepted. Do you take note of that, and pass on? We come to no resolution here. This is just a matter for recording. The two speeches which have been made will be recorded in the minutes of this meeting.

Mr. Paul: I voted for the proposition the other day, and I continue to hold the same view; but the day after the resolution was passed in this Committee there appeared a telegram in The finnes; "From our own Correspondent. 2nd December. New Deihi." in which a very definite allegation was made, namely, that "Sir Charles Innes, when address ng the Burma Legislature as Governor of the Prevince on 8th August, declared that all interests in Burma should have an opportunity of being heard on the problem before a settlement". When I voted on this I Lal no knowledge whatever that any such authoritative promise lad been made in the Legislature. If this is true, I only ask ton an explanation so that we may justify our own votes. Before the Government makes a declaration such as the first resolution warrants. I think the Conference is entitled to know what really happened in the Legislative Council, and, if this statement is correct, what opportunity will be taken in Burma to fulfil this promise.

Mr. Jayalar: I should like to point out that the Report says: "The sub-Committee ask His Majesty's Government to make a pullic announcement that the principle of separation is accepted." The "principle" of separation as understood on the last occasion was this. We decided that separation should take blace because of the views then put before this Committee by the few speakers who took part in the debate, and we were told that it was the desire of the Burmese people that Burma should be separated from India. It was on that assumption that we expressed our opinion in favour of the principle of separation.

Since then, however, we have received several telegrams, two or three of them from bodies which have a great footing in the country. One was mentioned by Mr. Shiva Rao in his speech, and I have received two or three more. From these it would appear I do not know where the truth lies—that the opinion that Burma should be separated from India is not unanimously held in Burma. But that was the assumption on which we proteeded, and therefore I see no conflict between our attitude then are the attitude we desire to take now. We accepted the principle of separation, the principle being that if the people of Burma desired to separate from India effect should be given to their

wishes. We accepted the separation of Burna only on the assumption that it was desired by the people of Burna. It that is now challenged I submit that in an important question like this more technicalities should not stand in the way.

The separation of a Province like Burma from India is too important a matter to be disposed of in a few meatures merely on technicalities. With insufficient information their available the Conference took a decision which affects the interests of an immense number of people in both countries. On the last occasion, I submit, we accepted the principle of separation only on the assumption that the people of Burma desired to be separated. Nothing should stand in the way of separation if that is the case, but if we now find that afferent views are held by the Burmaese people, I submit that the question should be considered more carefully and not disided merely on a technical view of the matter.

W. Ba Per The desire for the separation of Burma from India is a universal desire in Burma, but, as pointed out by Mr. Shiva Rao and Mr. Jayakar, there is this difference—there are those who want separation now and to get Dominion Status later on, and there are those who oppose unmediate separation because they do not trust the British people to give their Dominion Status the earlier.

three Resolutions in succession, and these three Resolutions have to be taken together. The first Resolution refers to separation. That was passed unanimously; it was unanimously agreed that Burma wants separation from India. The second concerted the procedure to be followed after separation, namely the appointment of a Royal Commission or a Mixed Commission. The third referred to the status which Burma desires, namely Dominion Status. The three Resolutions read together mean that Burma wants separation from India because she desires to attain the status of a Dominion in the British Empire. A member: "She may not.") She may not, quite so.

Those who are opposed to immediate separation are also after Dominion Status. It the first resolution in this Report can be interpreted to mean that after separation Burma is going to enjoy no way interior to that which India is going to get. I think we shall get over the difficulty.

of Pederation has been mooted. What was regarded as a distant all all has now come within the range of practical politics. I not in a position to say what the effect on Burma is, but if after separation Burma is not going to get at least the same states as India will get. Burma might be forced to come into the Following. In fact, that point will have to be kept open.

I want to make it clear that while the whole of Burna is out for separation, the idea is that we should not be turned into a Crach Colony or receive a few more instalments of reform: the ilea is that we should be given a status equal to that of the other sel-governing Dominious. It is really a question of the interpretation to be put upon the first recommendation in the Report.
If the reference to the "prospects of constitutional advance"
means that Burma will get something which is in no way inferior
to what India is going to get, then there can be no objection to
her separation from India.

Chairman: I should like first of all to draw your attention to the wording of (1), which I will read to you; "The sub-Composite ask His Mapsty's Government to make a public announcement "—there is the effective part—"that the principle of separation is accepted". I understand that you all agree on that; you all accept the principle. (Crus of "No."). Just a minute; interruptions do not advance business. It says "that the principle of separation is accepted; and that the prospects of constitutional advance towards responsible government held out to Brima as part of British India will not be prejudiced by separation." That is the declaration which it is asked should be made.

Mr. Jurish: All I have to say is this. On the occasion when the sub-Committee was formed we had not got a great deal of intornation which has reached us since, and information from very responsible quarters. I entirely agree, speaking for myself, that I understood it was the universal desire of the Burmese people to separate from British India, and if that is the universal lesue of the Burmese people I, as representing India, cannot object to it.

However, since the resolution was passed by which this sub-Committee was set up we have had a great deal of information to the contrary; and I want to make it quite clear, speaking for Lyself and I believe all my colleagues from British India will agree with me-that we have no objection to Burma being separated provided the people of Barma desire it. That is the proviso and as the Report of the sub-Committee stands that proviso is missing. I would therefore suggest that if the Conference is to endorse the recommendation which the sub-Committee has m. de it ought to be qualified. I carnot endorse the recommendation as it stands unless it is qualified by adding the words " provided the people of Burma desire it ". I have no objection to H M. Government, if they are satisfied the people of Burma desire separation, making a declaration to that effect. As it stools of present the recommendation, reads, "The sub-Corr-Trittee ask His Maiesty's Government to make a public announcement that the principle of separation is accepted." I suggest we add "provided the people of Burma desire it".

Sir B. N. Mitra: At the last meeting of the whole Committee it was decided that the principle of separation should be accepted, and that was the reason which precluded the sub-Committee from pushing the matter: as a matter of fact, the Chairman of the sub-Committee ruled out further discussion on that point. The terms of reference of the sub-Committee are given in the first

softence of the Report, and make it clear that it was not open to the sule-Committee to discuss the principle of separation; i.e., whether separation should be allowed or not.

It is perfectly correct, as Mr. Jinnah says, that since then most of us have been flooded with representations from Burma. It now rests with you, Sir, and pe haps with the Plencry Session of the Conference, to decide whether, in view of these later representations, the fundamental question should not be reopened and the modification or proviso suggested by Mr. Jinnah baserted.

Lord Russell: As I explained in moving this Report. I considered it was clearly out of order for the sub-Committee to discuss the principle of separation, because that had been accepted when the sub-Committee was set up. However, the question of the feeling for separation was raised in the sub-Committee and it was case issed. It was pointed out that there was a certain number of people. I forget the exact name of the Association—who can alated decuments about this, and they have such sent telegrams in large numbers, objecting to the separation of Burma, not entirely but, as has already been explained on conditions, because they thought it might be better to Burma to writ and to be separated later on.

No evidence has been produced, however, either here or in the sub Committee that those people are more than a very small minority of the inhabitants of Burma.

We have here the official Delegates who with a united voice have stated the aselves in favour of separation. We have the Resolutions of the Council in Burma itself which are also in favour of separation, and no evidence has been brought, either here or in the sub-Committee to show any considerable minority against separation. I do not know what the unportant evidence was to which Mr. Jinnah reterred, but if it was only the telegrams we have received lately. I think this might be to some extent discounted. But I did rule also that I thought it would be in order for these who objected to separation in principle, not perhaps to discuss it here, but to take their objections when the Report is discussed at the Plenary Conference. I hope the Committee will accept this statement as it stands. I need hardly say that the sub-Committee proceeded on the assumption that the vast majority of Burn and ded desire separation; naturally, that was the assumption which was in our minds.

Mr. de Glar celle: It has been suggested in certain quarters that the statement that Burma is practically unanimous for separation is untrue and incorrect. What evidence have we on which the Conference based its last resolution? First of all, we have the unantries Report of the Statutory Commission. That Commission wert through Burna from one end to the other and they were very greatly impressed with what they had seen and heard from all quarters. They came to the unanimous or dusion that the

great major by of the pulple desired separation. In paragraph 219

of their Report they state:

"The viotion of Burma's separation from India was carried without a division. Some may ask whether the verdict of the Connect is the verdict of the country as a whole. We ourselves have little doubt from what we saw and heard in Burma that so far as there is public opinion in the country it is strongly in favour of separation, that among thinking Burmans the great unjority desire separation immediately, and that it is only the elements which derive their political inspiration from corresponding Indian sources that would postpone separation from a belief that Burma's political progress may be hastened by a further period of association with India. Members of the Provincial Government whom we consulted on the point told us that the feeling in favour of separation was not inspired solely by a belief that the Burmese taxpayer was at present contributing to India more than he received, and by the hope that therefore separation would involve financial gain. They thought that Burmese opinion would still be in favour of separation even without the prospect of immediate financial advantage."

Now, Sir, that was the unanimous opinion of the Statutory Commission. They lased it on the evidence that they received, and they invited evidence from all quarters. They based it not only on the evidence they received officially, but after enquiries they personally made in the country. Lord Peel has recently been in Burma, and he bore testimony to the same effect before this Centerence. We who have come from Burma tell the same story, and it surprises us that so many of our Indian colleagues are impressed by one document that they have received from those who take their inspiration from the extremist party in India, and say that there is no unanimous desire for separation in Burma, or suggest that now a further Commission should be sent out to discover whether the facts stated by the Simon Statutory Commission are fine or untrue. This document which was forwarded to us states, in paragraph 23: "It is true that no one in Burma believes that the Burmars would acquiesce permanently in being governed by a self-governing India." If you consider that in eenjunction with the other evidence in your possession, you will find that everyone in Burma desires separation. The speakers who have opposed this Report of the sub-Committee have not. I think, per chal knowledge of Burma. They set themselves against those who have, and new ask that this question of separation may be put off, and that the whole country may be upset by a further Commisin to equire into the matter. I cannot imagine anything more Jisastrons for Burma, or for the interests both of the Burmese and of the Indian people than to send out another Commission to Burma to enquire into a point like this which has been so clearly proyed and established. I would therefore ask the Committee to accept the testimony before it and unanimously to agree to the Report of the sub-Committee.

Mr. Mody: While Sir, I have no desire to challerge your ruling, that the principle of separation is not open to question in this Committee. I take it that it will be open at least in the Plenary Session, and that it will not be regarded as a settled fact at the present stage. All I understood your ruling to mean was that in this Committee, in view of its earlier decision, it was not open to any member to challenge the principle which had been already accepted; but when it comes to endersing that opinion in the Plenary Session I hope that those of us who may be minded to question it will have an opportunity of doing so. It that is clear, I want to confine myself to the first recommendation of the sub-Committee:

"The sub-Committee ask His Majesty's Government to make a public announcement that the principle of separation is accepted and that the prospects of constitutional advance towards responsible government held out to Burma as part of British India will not be prejudiced by separation."

As a member of the sub-Committee, who has sent in a note of dissent, which note has not been circulated, so that my colleagues at this Table are not aware of the grounds on which I have thought fit to dissent from the recommondation, it is necessary for me to say a tew words. I am entitely against making any premature announcement of this sort, and therefore if any decision is to be taker to-day I will oppose the raction. My grounds are two-told. In the first place, if such a declaration is to be read, it must be coupled with something much nore definite in the way of a declared on of the status which Burma is going to enjoy after separation. I raised the point in the sub-Committee, and I repeat my objections here, that it does not do simply to ask Burma to be sat stied with a vague assurance that the prospects of constitutional advance towards responsible government will not be prejudiced by separation. Both Burma and India are entitled to have something much more definite than this and I put forward a certain suggestion which was not accepted by the sub-Committee.

It might well be urged that this is a matter entirely for Burn a, and that it does not matter to anybody in India what particular form of government Burma should enjoy. If the question was metely one for Burna to decide I would have nothing to say, but we in British India are asked to make ourselves parties to this decision and therefore I have every right to express an opinion with regard to the sort of constitution Burma should be given after separation. It is a matter of vital importance to India. I do not suggest that Indian interests should be allowed to dominate the Burnae point of view, but India should certainly know what sort of constitution is to be given. Indian interests may feel themselves perfectly safe with a self-governing Burma, because the two governments of India and Burma new sit down and har mer out solutions of the various questions that will corre up when separation becomes effective. But India may not be equally safe with any

and every form of government that Burma may have, and theretore some assurance, even from the point of view of Indian interests,
is very necessary. Much has been made of the fact that what is
being due is because of the overwhelming feeling which is supposed to prevail in Burma with regard to the question of separation.
I should be this Committee to note that if there is overwhelming
teeling in Burna on the question of separation, there is an equally
string beeling that after separation Burma should have some form
of Deminion Status. While the two Resolutions of the Burma
Coeffel have been quoted to us repeatedly, the third Resolution
has not been given be same publicity. That third Resolution was
passed on this August, and urged His Majesty's Covernment to
grant Burma remodiately the status of a self-governing Dominion
within the British Empire.

I will quote no less an authority than that of U Ba Pe, the representative of Burna at this Conference. This is what he said in the Legislative Council: "All these three motions are interrelated, and if the Government is keen on one and opposed to the other it will not suit the wishes of those on this side of the House. Either accept all the three or reject them. Separation without Daninion Status is of no value to us... we want separation and Dominion Status together." I was not aware of this when I placed my point of view before the sub-Committee, but this categorical declaration of U Ba Pe lends emphasis to my argument that if you are going to make any announcement you must couple with it a declaration that Burma will get Dominion Status.

I have another objection to any premature announcement. We have been here now pretty nearly a month, and we have come to no decision on any question of importance relating to the affairs of British India, and we are asked at this stage when everything is in the melting pot to commit ourselves to a definite declaration relating to just one problem. I have very grave objections on the -core of procedure to proceeding in that way. My point is that if a declaration is to be made at any stage it must be made when some definite conclusions have been reached with regard to the main demands of India. Although I, and I think every single member around this Table, will beartily wish it may not come true, it may be that the only constructive piece of work this Conference has done may turn out to be the separation of Burma, and as my tried Mr. Chintamani observed, in a private conversation, "when we get back to Bombay and are asked whether we have got Dominion Status, we may have to answer 'No, but we have separated from Burma '.' Therefore, Sir, I feel very strongly that no declaration of any sort affecting such as a vital matter ought to be taide until we are more clear in our own minds as to what is going to Lappen to the main demands of India. If you do not object to my reading a telegram which seems to have been sent to various people this morning. I would like to say that these objections of mire, which have been briefly embodied in my minute of

di ent, are endorsed by the General Court I of Barriese Asseciathos in the emphatic marker. The telegren which I have received says: The Committee of the General Council of Burnaese Associations congratulate Messis Mody and Sl. vi Rao for the attitude they have adopted in dealing with the smaration cuestion and annuly support their point of view. In the opinion of the Committee there repetition of the 1917 declaration is not abough, as it is well known that it is open to various or struction. The question is not of a certain form of responsible Gevennent but of the status of a Dominien similar to that of India. Twen such a declaration cannot prevent detraction of the international status of Burma as separation will automatically result in loss of nembership of the League of Nations, International Labour Conterence and International Court of Justice. It is therefore essential that Burma should be guaranteed not only Doninion Status within the Empire but its present international status must be adequately sateguarded, otherwise Burma will irretrievably lose even that position which she enjoys to-day."

Sir, for these reasons, which I have endeavoured to put as briefly as possible before the Conference. I am opposed to any declaration being made in the manner and in the terms in which the sub-Committee have framed their recommendation.

Sn C. P. Ramaszonii Aryar: Mr. Prime Minister, I do not desire to travel over the wide ground covered by the previous sprakers, but in relation to what fell from one of the speakers representing Burna, I may point out that I have received telegrams not only from this Council of Burmese Associations, but from important comme c'al interests on which Indians are represented. It meet no doubt be stated that these commor fal interests take an Indian, as against a Burnese, point of view; but that is not so; they are responsible men who have stated definitely in their telegrams that epinion in Burma is by no means uranimous; and, having heard what has fallen it in the Burmese representation, I have now cone to the conclusion that the Burmese demand for separation was conditional on the attainment of Dominion Status. We, the representatives from India, are thus placed in a very d ffeult position. We should desire to know exactly what Burmese sentire at is, and whether that sentiment has taken into account all these objections. It is for that resson that I desire not to recard a silent vote, but to make it clear that it shall be ascertained that Barma artially does desire separation, with a full understanding of the implications of that separation, before this question is finally decided one way or the other.

Claiman; Now I think we have best divery admirable statements for both sides and all considerations have been brought to best upon us. If I may, then the Chair just remark about telegrams, I do hope that this Contenence is not going to be swayed by orbignams; because otherwise I have not telegrams; gainst every

one of you. There is not one of you who has taken up a position, which has been cither accurately or inaccurately reported—and I smypathise with you, because mostly it has been inaccurately—but I have received telegrams asking me to regard you as being non-representative of whit you say you do represent. What we shall have to do is to rake up our minds and to take our own responsibilities upon us, whatever we do.

Now the quistion that is before you is this; not that you accept this finally, but that you note it; and the paragraph which you are asked to note and pass on for consideration and study in the light of what you have said to-day is paragraph No. 1—that that paragraph he note! The object of noting is that it is recorded in the

minutes as being noted.

Maulana Muharer ad All. I should very much like it to be acted to that we strongly object to any declaration being made by His Majesty's Government and to say that the consensus of opinion of the Conference at this point is that His Majesty's Government should make to such declaration. I think that is very emphatic and very clear.

Chairman It can well that noted and indicated, we shall have to do it.

### Sir Samuel Hoare: What does it mean exactly?

Chairman: I in they do not want any statement to be made; that is the effect of this proposal. I do not take that as being the general opinion at all, but that is the effect of the proposal, that it should also be recorded that this Committee does not wish His Majesty's Government to make that declaration. There is no date attached to that statement; there is no instruction that to day, or to morrow, or the rext day, the statement should be made; please note that. It is involved recommendation from the Committee that His Majesty's Government should not make the statement. Now do you wish that record to be taken, that the Committee does not wish His Majesty's Government to make the statement either now or at any other time?

I do not like to divide you, because the nature of this Conference prevents divisous. Is it necessary that that note should be taken, if the explanation is given that as a matter of fact if this is noted, as it has come up to you, it does not mean that His Majesty's Government at present should make a statement? His Majesty's Government at all likely to make statements until it knows that the whole of the facts have been considered, and some sort of final opinion has been expressed.

Lord Reader q. Prime Minister, may I ask one question before you do that? Are we to understand, as I thought I had from you, that note there in ling that we note here to-day at this Committee the resource; by a that is being made, no action will be

taken upon it until attentions has been a Plenary sitting of the Conference which determines it one way or the other. If that is right, as I understood you to say at first, surely it is not necessary for us to have an interim Report that we do not require to do a thing which is never going to be done until we have had the opportunity of discussing it at the Plenary Conference.

Chairman: I am very much obliged to Lord Reading. That is, of course, precisely the situation: that what you are doing here to-day is not coming to final decisions, and passing had resolutions which we place on one side, and that then I refuse to allow you to have it re-opened at a Plenary Session: that is not the position. The position is that to-day you just pass this raw is atterfal from your sub-Committees, and when the Reports are all co-ordinated and the Plenary Sessions begin, then you can look after the operative part of it. What Lord Reading has said in the form of a question is precisely the position in which you find yourselves.

Mr. Junuale: Then will you make it clear as your reling on the record that nothing that is noted here will constitute a decision until after the Plenary Session of the Conference has decided?

Chairman: Yes, This is my ruling: that what passes to-day under the expression "it is noted," is not a decision of the Conference, and that nothing can become the finding of this Conference until it has been considered by a Plenary Session. Then is that clear?

Mr. Junch: And the Government will make no announcement in the meantime?

Chairman: I want to get confidence, and it is no use putting these questions. How can the Government make an announcement with the authority of this Conference, after the ruling that I have given, until and after the Plenary Session has dealt with the subject?

Mr. Mody: May I, with great respect, submit to you that, even as a provisional statement of the case, this would be misleading. I quite understand you, Sir, that liberty will be reserved to every member of the Conference to subvert this if he wants to at another stage; but, even as a preliminary statement of the case, it is not correct as a decision or as a note of this Committee, because we are objecting first of all to say declaration; we are objecting to the terms in which the declaration is to be made.

Charman: The point is this: Do you object to the accuracy of this statement, not as your opinion, but as the Report of the sub-Conncittee, because that is what you have got to do to-day? That this should be roted as a Report of the sub-Committee. Now surely you all agree to that?

In. Manage: It would be more correct to have it noted along with this disserting note: then it will be a full and correct version of the sub-Committee's Report.

Chairman: All that you have said to-day will also be noted, and is noted already, and will appear in the record of this meeting.

Dr. Meange: The point is why should it not go with this Comnative's Report?

Charen and But that is altering the Report of your sub-Com-... Hee. All you have got to do is to note the Report of your sub-Committee. I am sure you all agree with that: that the first section should be noted. That is agreed to.

The second section deals with details regarding the protection of the offices, regarding which. I understand, there was unanimity. That that be noted. That is noted.

- "(3) There must be a financial settlement between India and Burna," and there is a proposal as to how the operation should be carried out. That that is noted. That is agreed.
- "4) The sub-Committee recognise that adequate arrangements noist be made for the defence of Burma," and so on. That that be noted.

Mr. Shira Rao: With regard to (4), I raised a question in the sul-Committee and we were assured it would not be decided by expect military opinion, but only that expect military opinion would be consulted on the question. I think that should be made clear.

I and Russell. It says: "must be decided in the light of expert will tary opinion."

Chairman: Is not that clear. Mr. Ruo? It is not to be decided by expert military opinion, but is to be decided in the light of expert military opinion. If you like a record to be made, as is now being done, that that is taken to mean not "by "but—what is your expression, Lord Russell?

Lord Russell. "in the light of expert military opinion." That is in the report.

Chairman: That that does not mean "by military opinion."

Wr. Shira Ram: Yes, it may be just as well to emphasise that.

Chairman: Well, that will be jut in, that you raised that point.
And with that that 4) be noted. That is agreed.

Then (in as to the taking over the administration of subjects now classed as Central. That that be noted.

Divan Balandur Mudaliyar: I do not understand the exact effect of this. Once the question of the separation of Burma is conceded, and it is taken up. I take it a question that will be considered is the constitutional development of Burma, and the nature of the constitution that there may be. Is it meant that as an interim process the present Central subjects should be handed over to the Burmese Government? I am unable to understand this recommendation.

Lave a change from the Central subjects which are now administered at Delhi, to the Central subjects which will be administered in Burma, it is quite obvious that arrangements trust be made for the way in which those subjects are to be conducted. A Central Service or a Central subject which is administered in the Central in India now will afterwards have to be administered in Burma, and arrangements have to be made for the transfer of the administration, possibly for handling over some part of the administration, or a great part of the stiff, and so on. If means the arrangements which have to be made in order to enable these Central subjects to be administered in Burma afterwards.

Chairman: The question is: That that be noted.

Mr. Stree Roy I raised this question also in sub-Committee, and I suggested that the word "scientific" should be dropped in the last line. My point is that the field of possible co-operation between the two Leveren ents, after separation has been effected, should not be a striced only to scientific services. I note that the G vermount of India themselves in their Despatch only mention "cartain's ientific services" by way of illustration. I think it would be much wiser to leave the field as wide as possible, and to leave it to the two Governments concerned to see in what respect composition is possible even after separation. I suggest that the word "scientific" should be dropped.

Chairman: Would it not be sufficient just to note that, although scientific services are specifically mentioned, if does not mean that the salefont intree wave it in mird that only scientific services toight be regarded from this point of view.

Mr. Shawa Ray: Would it not be better, on the whole, to put it in the broadest name "cortain services," because that would not exclude scientific services. It would be more accurate to say "certain services."

Lord Resell. Mr. Shiva Rao is quite right in saying that he raised the point is the substantitue. I then asked whether the

Burnese Delegates or anybody else could think of any other services to which it might apply, and they could not. Therefore we retained the word. But I pointed out, what of course is the fact, that this does not in the least prevent the taking over of other services being considered when you come to the separation.

Sir B. N. Mitra: That is the point. We understood that Burma had got its own services except in the case of certain scientific services which she shared with India. Therefore the words "scientific services" were put in designedly.

Chairman: I think with those observations we may note Section 5. The question is that Section 5 be noted. (Agreed to.) The question is, that Section 6 be noted. (Agreed to.)

## Sub-Committee No. Y (North-West Frontier Province).

RIPOPH PRINCIPLE OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE CONFERENCE, HELD ON 16TH JANUARY, 1931.

- 1. Sub-Conneittee No. V submits the following report subject to adjustment to the complete constitution.
- 2. The terms of reference to the sub-Committee were to consider "what motionations, it may are to be made in the general previncial constitution to suit the special circumstances of the North-West Frontier Province."
  - a. The sub Condition comprised the tellowing members: --

Mr. A. Henderson.

(Chairman).

Lord Russell.

Lord Reading.

Lord Lothian.

Lord Zetland.

Sir Samuel Hoare.

Maulana Muhammad Ali.

Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto.

Captair, Roja Sher

Muhammad Khan.

Dr. Moonje.

Sir B. N. Mitra.

Raja Narendra Nath.

Mr. H. P. Mody. .

Sir A. P. Patro.

Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum

Khan.

Sir Muhammad Shaii

Sardar Sampman Single.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan.

Mr. C. E. Wood.

Mr. Zafrullah Khan.

It held meetings on the 18th and 30th December, 1930, and on the 1st January, 1931.

- 4. The Need for Reform. The sub-Committee is unanimous in attaching argent importance to the need for reform in the North-West Front er Province. It reconfinends that the five administered districts should cease to be as they are at present a celtrally administered territory under the direct control of the Government of India, and that they should be given the status of a Governor's province, subject to such adjustment of detail as local discumstances rectors, and the extent of the All-India interests in the province necessitate.
- 5. The Classifier of Porceal Subjects, The sub-Critian term of the character of the Porceal Subjects, The sub-Critian term of the classification of previously subjects commisted to the charge of the province of a very continual subjects commisted to the charge of the province of a very continuation of subject between the Contre and the North-West Tractic Position will represent all a vestigation, it recessing by a specially restrict to a fifteen the unglinearly the lines of the classification of the provinces. Subject to the padings of such a committee the sub-Contract Contemplates that the charge of the ordinary civil subject to the provinces of the ordinary civil subject to the administered districts excluding

he tienter constability will pass to the provincial government of these districts, but in view in particular of the close relation of the province with matters of defence and foreign policy the sub-thinmittee considers it essential that all matters of All-India importance and all matters connected with the cortrol of the tribal tracts, for instance, the trontier constability, frontier remissions on I allowances, and strategie roads should be excluded from the purview of the provincial government and classed as central subjects. The broad point is that in making the dividing line lets on central and provincial subjects, regard would be had to the need for classifying as central certain subjects of All-India (in the province) and province, which could not properly be entrusted to the provincial legislature.

G. The Everntive.—The sub-Committee recommends that the Executive should consist of the Governor assisted by the advice of two ministers drawn from the non-official members of the legislature, at least one of whom shall be elected.

The Governor should also function as Agent to the Governor-General for the control of the tribal tracts, and the administration of central subjects peculiar to the North-West Frontier Province. With these subjects, since they will be not provincial but central subjects, the ministers will have no concern. The sub-Committee considers it essential owing to the close inter-relation between the trans border tracts and the settled districts and in order that All-India interests may be adequately secured—that in addition to possessing all the powers vested in the Governor of a Governor's province, the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province should be the effective head of the Provincial administration and should preside over the meetings of his own cabinet.

Note I.—Sir Samuel Hoare holds the view that in accordance with the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, and the Despatch of the Government of India, one of the ministers should be an official.

Note II.—Sir B. N. Mitra suggested the words "acting on the advice of two ministers" in place of the words "assisted by the advice of two ministers" in the first sentence of the paragraph.

7. The Legislature.—(i) A uniconseral legislative Council. The sub-Committee recommends that there should be set up for the five administered districts a single-chamber legislative Council with power to pass legislation and vote supply in regard to all subjects that may be classed as provincial. In addition the legislature should possess the usual powers of deliberation and of interpellation.

(ii Its size. The size of the legislature should be suited to the convenience of the constituencies. The sub-Committee contemplates a legislative Council with a probable total membership, elected and nominated, of not more than 40 members.

- (iii) Its composition. The sub-Committee considers that the legislature should for the present be composed both of elected and of nominated elements. The nominated members shall not exceed 14 members in a house of 40; and of the nominated members not more than six to eight should be officials.
- (iv) The franchise. The sub-Committee suggests that the manchise in the North-West Frontier Province should be examined by the Franchise Committee to be set up to report on the franchise in all provinces.
- (v. Minority representation. Subject to such recommendations as the Minorities sub-Committee may make, this sub-Committee considers that if Muslims are given weightage in provinces where they are in a minority, the Hindus and Sikhs in the North-West Frontier Province should be given weightage in the legislature of that province. Their representation might be three times the figure to which they would be entitled on a population basis.
- 8. The Financial Settlement.—The sub Committee is satisfied from figures placed before it that on subjects which may be expected to be classed as provincial, the province will show a large mancial deficit. It follows that the provincial government will require financial assistance from central (or federal) revenues. The Committee suggests that there should be preliminary expert investigation into the allocation of expenditure between central and provincial heads to supply the basis from which the financial subvention from central (or federal) revenues may be calculated. The sub-Committee apprehends that if the subvention be open to debate annually in the central (or federal) legislature, the substance of provincial autonomy in the North-West Frontier Province may be impaired. It suggests that the difficulty might be met by an agreed convention that each financial assignment should run undisturbed for a period of years.

(Signed) ARTHUR HENDERSON,

Chairman.

St. James's Palace,

London.

1st January, 1931.

COMMINIS IN COMMITTEE OF WHOLE CONTERENCE DITH JANUARY, 1951) ON RIPORT OF SUB COMMETTEE NO. V. (NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE).

Constitution of the Committee. No. 4. Noted, 5. Noted.

Paragraph 6. Noted.

Note I and Note II, which are appended to paragraph 6. Noted.

Paragraph 7. Noted.

Paragraph 8. Noted.

That the Report as a whole be noted.

Sardar Sanapuran Singh. In sub-paragraph (v) of paragraph 7 it is suggested that 'if Muslims are given weightage in provinces where they are in a minority, the Hindus and Sikhs in the North-West Frontier Province should be given weightage in the legislature of that Province'. I wish to propose that they should be given weightage both in the Central Government and the Provincial Legislature.

Mr. Sastre: Where does the Central Government come in?

Sandar Sampuran Singh: It is not mentioned here, but when the Provincial Governments have to elect members for the Central Government it is only natural the minorities should be given some weightage for the Central Legislature as well.

Chairman: This is purely a provincial report, dealing with matters internal to the Province and not with the Province in relation to the Central Government.

Dr. Monage: I was concerned in the matter, and I made it clear at the time that this weightage was only for the Provincial Legislature and not for the Central Legislature, so that may be noted.

Chairman: Yes. The question I have to put is that the Report as a whole be noted.

Sir Abdul Quiyum: Sir, I must express my very sincere thanks to you for having allowed the formation of a separate sub-Committee to deal with the future constitution of the North-West Frontier Province, although I personally should have preferred the Provincial sub-Committee to deal with the matter on the same footing as it dealt with the other Provinces of India. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to the Rt. Hon, Mr. Henderson, the Chairman of North-West Frontier Province sub-Committee, for the uniform courtesy and indulgence which he exhibited

towards no in order to enable me to put the case of the Province fully before the sub-Committee.

I am, however, sorry to say that in spite of the latitude given to me by the Chairman I could not succeed in convincing some of the British Delegates that, with foreign affairs and defence as reserved subjects and the powers vested in the Viceroy and Gevernertheneral in various o her directions, and after the settlement of the Federal and Central subjects for British India and the energeboy and ordinary powers given to all Provincial Governors, and with the separation of the tribal areas and amous from flose of the settled districts, there was rothing left to necessitate the placing of the North-West Frontier Province in a different constitutional post on their that of the other Provinces in India. In the discussions in the sub-Committee to one could point out ony other matter of All-India interest, and I could not tollow why a simple declaration of equal status with the rest of India with respect to the remaining very ordinary internal matters could not have been made to satisfy the people.

I am smaid, Sir, the people of the North-West Frontier Province will look upon any differential treatment in such matters as a stigma of interiority, and will naturally continue to be discontented.

Sir, I had hoped that on my return to my country I should have been able to convey the message to my people that I had been able to secure equal status, equal civic rights and equal rights of citizenship for them; but that was not to be. I could see the view-point of some of the British Delegates as to the uncertainty of the manner in which the new constitution would be worked in a Province having no previous experience of formal representative institutions, and could follow their consequent suggestion of excluding such matters as the Frontier Constabulary from the purview of the Council, or of the inclusion of an official and nominated element in the local council for some time and even of the Governor remaining the elective head of the Provincial Executive for a time. But I thought the Report of the sub-Committee would include a recommendation that these special safeguards should Let form a part of the Government of India Act itself, but would orly be embodied in tules made under that Act and should disappear after a short period. Although I formally moved an an cultiert to that effect. I am somy to say it did not receive the serious consideration of the sub-Committee, and this stigma now appears to be a permanent feature on the bright face of the North-West Frontier Province.

I decetore continue to suggest. Sir, that the following two paragraphs be added to the Report of the sub-Committee. The fact world provide that the special safeguards and differential features suggested by the sub-Committee should not form part of the tiovernment of India Act but should be secured by rules framed by the Government. Who will have the power to amound them at any time he lifes and will withdraw the said safeguards after

the expiry of the firsterm title local council, or at the most after

My second perce, Si., is that the North-West Frontier Province shall be represented in the Lower House by sax, and in the Upper House by two percentages, in the same percentage prescribed for other Provinces.

As regards the first point, Sir, it is necessary, as suggested by the local Covernment of India - I am now quoting from the local Covernment's report—that the Prevince should be given "a flexible constitution, capable, with the growth of political experience, of development and expansion, with ut the meessity of subsequent violent changes or nadical statuory omerdment." New such flexibility can only be ensured if the special tectures of the North-West Printler Province constitution are prescribed by the rules, which can be amended without going up to Paul amont, and it is only such flexibility that may possibly give a little satisfaction to my people. It is not easy for a poor Province like ours to bring to bear influence that will move this lugg Parliament to amend the Government of India Act; hence my anxiety that the matter should be left in the purview of the Government of India.

It has indeed been recognised by both the local Government and the Government of India, S.r. that the success of any constitution will depend upon the amount of popular support that it attracts, and I will earnestly request that all signs of discrimination which are likely to injure the self-respect of the people, should be removed as far as possible, and that every attempt should be made to give the constitution an acceptable shape and substance.

As regards the second point, Sir, that is the question of representation in the Central Legislature, my plea for a larger share is lased on what you. Sir, call the All-India importance of my Province. Such importance, if it exists, should not only be emphasised when it is a question of imposing unusual liabilities and curtailing civil rights, but, I submit, should also be taken into account for giving special weightage at the Centre, and everywhere else. The Bray Committee recommended 4 and 2, the Simon Commission 4 and 2, and the Government of India proposes 3 and 1 representatives for the Assembly and the Council of State respectively: but I would carnestly press for 6 and 2 in the Central Legislature, for your syn pathetic consideration.

I will not say in ite on this subject, and I hope there will be at least some members of this Conference who, having realised the possible, will support my lest after of the proposed constitution of the North-West Frontier Province. I must repeat that we shall really feel this discrimination and this hand cap in the exercise of full citizen rights as part of Irdia.

Mr. Zafrallah Khan; Sr. I asso into a veilt entirely with what Sr Abdel Qaiyum has sed.

Mr. Jinnah: Sir. to use the words of the Lord Chancellor, I feel, after examining this Report, that the people of the North West Frontier will not be satisfied, if you want to satisfy the aspurations and the ambitions of the people of the North-West Frontier Province. I would not have taken the time of this Committee, but I have studied this question very carefully; I have had a great deal to do with it, and therefore I want to emphasize that these recommendations will not satisfy the people of the North-West Frontier Province. As a member of this Committee I cannot sit here on this question and remain silent. I reserve to myself the fullest liberty, and I am not to be taken as bound by this Report.

Chairman: That the Report as a whole be noted? Noted.

## Sub-Committee No. VI (Franchise).

REPORT PRISTRIED AT THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE CONTERENCE, HELD ON 16TH JANUARY, 1931.

1. The terms of reference to this sub-Committee were as follows:—

" (in what main principles is the Franchise to be based for men and women."

The following Delegates were selected to serve on the sub-Committee:

Sir W. A. Jowitt

(Chairman).

Lord Zetland.

Major Stanley.

Sir R. Hamilton.

Mr. Foot.

Dr. Ambedkar.

Mr. Basu.

Mr. Barooah,

Mr. Chintamani.

Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq.

Mr. Ghuznavi.

Lieut.-Colonel Gidney.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.

Mr. Hafiz Hidayat Husain.

Mr. B. V. Jadhav.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir.

Mr. Joshi.

Dr. Narendra Nath Law.

Sir P. C. Mitter.

Mr. Pannir Selvam.

Raja of Parlakimedi.

Mr. K. T. Paul.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao.

Mr. Shiva Rao.

Sardar Sampuran Singh.

Sardar Ujjal Singh.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

Kunwar Bisheshwar Dayal Seth.

Sir Phiroze Sethna.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan.

Mr. Zafrullah Khan.

Begum Shah Nawaz.

Mrs. Subbarayan.

Mr. Srinivasan.

Mr. S. B. Tambe.

Sir Hubert Carr.

- 2. The sub-Committee met on the 19th, 22nd, and 30th of December, 1930, and on the 1st of January, 1931, and have authorised me to present this Report.
- 3. In our discussion of the franchise principles we have found that they were closely connected with questions which more properly concern the composition of the legislature, the nature of the constituencies, and the qualifications for candidates for election. These points have not been considered in the sub-Committee as they fall outside its terms of reference but we are of opinion that they should be further examined since the efficacy of any franchise system depends as much on these points as on the qualifications for the franchise.
- 4. Extension of the franchise.—While it was generally held that adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained.

it was agreed that the basis of the tranchise could forthwith be broadened and that a large in rease was desirable.

Some difference of oph on existed as to the extent to which this was practicable in present circumstances, and it was realised that the sub-Committee had not the recessary material to determine the precise limits of the advance. The Statutory Commission suggested such an increase in the number of electors as would bring that number up to 10 per cent, of the total population. Some of our members thought that are increase to 25 per cent, of the total population was immediately practicable.

We recommed that an expert Franchise Commission should be appointed with instructions to provide for the immediate increase of the electorate so as to extranchise not less than 10 per cent, of the total population and indeed a larger number—but not more than 25 per cent, of the total population—if that should, on a full invetsigation, be found practicable and desirable.

We recommend that, in addition to providing for this increase, the Commission should consider the introduction of a scheme by which all adults not entitled to a direct vote would be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner, for the election of one representative member from each group, who would be entitled to vote in the Provincial elections either in the same constituences as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be formed for them.

[Mr. Joshi, Mr. Shiva Rao, Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Srinivasan, Mr. K. T. Paul, and Mr. Jadhav regard these proposals as quite inadequate and consider that the immediate introduction of adult suffrage is both practicable and desirable.

Sir Cowasji Jehangur and Sir P. C. Mitter dissent from these proposals and consider that the basis of the franchise should be broadened, if at all, by another system.]

5. Uniformity of qualifications for the franchise.—We recommend that in any given area the tranchise qualifications should be the same for all communities; but we desire that the Franchise Chamisism in making their proposals should bear in mind that the ideal system would as nearly as possible give each community a voting strength proportional to its numbers and that the Communission should so contrive their nauchise system as to secure this result in so far as it may be practicable.

[Sardar Ujid Slagh, Sardar Sampuran Singh, Sir Cowasji Jelang t. and Lieut.-Colonel Gidney dissent from the latter part of this conclusion.]

property qualification to the franchise and that in this connection the word "property" should be understood in its widest sense as a cluding not only the ewnership of landed property but also the occupation of landed or house property or the receipt of income or wages whether in each or kind.

- 7. Educational qualification.—We are of opinion that the Franchise Commission should consider the possibility of framing a suitable educational qualification as an additional qualification for the franchise, bearing in mind the ideal enumerated at the end of paragraph 5.
- 8. Mulitary service qualification.—We are agreed that the existing Military Service qualification should be retained and we recommend that the Franchise Commission should consider the extension of this qualifications so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces.
- 9. Special franchise qualification for women.—We observe that under the existing franchise the number of women voters is infinitesimal as compared with that of men. No system of fram hise can be considered as satisfactory, or as likely to lead to good government where such a great disparity exists between the voting strength of the two sexes. We do not anticipate that the recommendations we have already made will reduce this disparity, nor do we think that they provide sufficiently for the entranchisement of women. We therefore agree that special qualifications should be prescribed for women but we feel that there is not sufficient material lefere us to justify an attempt to formulate these special qualifications. We therefore recommend that the Franchise Commission should devote special attention to this question in the light of all the evidence available including the recommendations of the Statutory Commission and the suggestion made in this sub-Committee that the age limit mentioned in the proposals of the Statutory Commission should be lowered from 25 to 21.

[Mr. Joshi, Mr. Shiva Rao, Dr. Ambedkar, and Mr. Srinivasan dissent from the proposals in paragraphs 7, 8, and 9.]

- It. The tranchise for special constituencies.—We are of opinion that the trunchise qualifications for special constituencies depend essentially on the nature of those constituencies. We are not empowered to consider the latter point nor are we in possession of information as to what special constituencies are contemplated. These questions require examination by a competent body. So far as the franchise aspect has been discussed in this sub-Committee a division of opinion has shown itself as to the desirability of permitting a voter qualified in both a general and a special constituency to vote in both.
- 11. Urhan and rural enfranchisement.—We are of opinion that the Franchise Commission should endeavour so to adjust the tranchise qualifications as to remove in those areas where it may exist any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas.
- 12. The residential requirement.—We are of opinion that the residential qualification for the vote required by the electoral rules of certain Provinces should be abolished.
- d wn any programme of automatic extensions of the franchise. We

preter that it should be left to each Provincial Legislature to extend its franchise at its discretion after the lapse of 10 years from the date of the introduction of the new constitutions.

- [Mr. Josla, Mr. Shiva Rao, Dr. Ambedkar, and Mr. Srinivasan consider that a programme of automatic extension of the franchise should be fail down.]
- 14. Franchise for the Central or Federal Legislature.—The form of the Central or Federal Legislature has not yet been decided and in these circumstances we do not find it possible to make any suggestions regarding a suitable tranchise system.
- [Mr. Fazi-ul-Huq and Mr. Ghuznavi desire it to be recorded that their assent to this report is contingent on the retention of separate electerates.]

(Sd.) W. A. JOWITT,

Chairman.

St. James's Palace, London. 1st January, 1931. COMMENTS IN COMMITTEE OF WHOLE CONFERENCE (167H JANUARY 1931) IN REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE, NO. VI (FRANCHISE).

Chairman: Paragraph 1 is merely a record of the composition of the Committee, and paragraph 2 is a record of the meetings held. Paragraph 3 noted. Paragraph 4 noted, with the inclusion of certain notes at the end. Paragraph 5 noted, also with certain notes. Paragraph 6 noted. Paragraph 5 noted. Paragraph 8 noted. Paragraph 8 noted. Paragraph 9.

Mr. Josla: I want to make me point clear on paragraph 9. It is said that Mr. Joshi, Mr. Shiva Rao, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Srimvasan dissent from the proposals in paragraphs 7, 8 and 9. I want it to be noted that we are not against the claims of women for sence kind of qualification being created for them. Unfortunately, we had to take up the attitude which we did in the Committee, on account of the fact that the Committee fixed a certain limit to the total number of voters being created, and in those circumstances it became our duty to protect the interests of the unenfranchised. because it we accept the principle of giving votes to the wives of those who are enfranch sed, the limit of entranchising these who had not got the fram hise is bound to be higher. On account of the special and difficult position in which we were placed, we had to take up the attitude of not giving votes to the wives of those who are already entrophised, and thus depriving the unenfranchised of their rights. We are not against removing the disqualification of ~6Z.

"taph II noted Paragraph 12 noted. Paragraph I3 noted.

P. ragraph II roted. That the Report as a whole be noted.

Mr. Mody: On the Report as a whole, I should like to say that as the central feature of the whole Report is that the working strength of each community should be proportional to its numbers. I regard the Report as very unsatisfactory. It is a sort of handicap apposed on advanced continuities like the community which I reposert. I think it is a retrograde measure if this is going to be regarded as an essential qualification of voting, and I would therefore like to express my dissent.

S'r P C Matter. I associate myself with the remarks of Mr. Mody, that this is going to c eate great heart-burning in the minds of various small communities.

Sir C. Jehangir: I signified my disagreement in writing. I quite agree with what Mr. Mody has said. I think this is an impracticable suggestion. In practice you could never carry it out. Therefore, believing you will never be able to carry it out in practice. I have contented nyself on this present occasion by merely dissenting in writing.

I also dissent a from the main proposal because I felt that the factor should have been considered in Committee from a linerent point of view. The Chamman very landly allowed us to consider it from every point of view. These points of view are not in this Report; naturally they cannot be, but some of us did feel that one of the recommendations was nearly in the margin line of adult in nohise. We strongly dissert from that. Beyond that, I have nothing further to say, except what I said in the Committee in detail.

Mr. Mudaliyer, The ideal system of franchise would undoubtedly be the abult system of tranchise. Most of us are agreed with the principle of adult franchise, the only difficulty being that in practice it will not be found possible to establish it at once. It seems to are that there is nothing else in this recommendation than to bring out the idea of adult franchise. My friends could not object to the system of adult franchise except on practical grounds. The communities would have the same disadvantages and disqualifications as they have under the proposal now put forward. It seems to me that this proposal is merely carrying out the essential features and ideas of the adult franchise system.

on remarks there. I take it that those remarks will go before the responsible authorities?

Charamen: Certainly, I can assure you of that. All points of any importance will be underlined and attention drawn to them. Every view which has been expressed will be surveyed by those who will be dealing with the matter finally. That the Report be noted.

the fact that the Committee left undecided two questions. We never discussed the question of franchise with regard to the Federal Legislature. The fact now remains that the Committee and this Conterence is passing on to this subject without any discussion of the tranchise for the Central or Federal Legislatures. That is one to effect which has been left over. There will be no further opportunity, I take it, for a discussion on this.

Chairman: May I say on all these points you will find that, in Report after Report, certain points have not finally been decid.

D. B. Rumachandia Ran . And have not been dealt with also.

Chairman: Not even dealt with, but that means that the work of this Conference is going to be continued under other conditions, the continuity of the Conference being preserved. Therefore, you tend not make any comments upon what is recorded in the Report 1st not settled; and even things that are re-orded in the Report will come up when the practical details to being considered. That is Report be noted. Agreed.)

## Sub-Committee No. VII (Defence).

REFER PARSON OF THE MEETING OF THE COMPLETE OF THE WHOLE CONFERENCE HELD ON 16TH JANUARY, 1931.

1. It a terms of the letter of this substimential water as follows:—

determine of the first the strictly constitutional aspects to be considered under heads 6 (Powers of the Executive) and 12 (Relations with the Crown)."

The orlowing Delegates were sele ted to serve on the sub-

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Chairman).

Lord Peel.

Sir S. Hoare.

Lord Reading.

Lord Lothian.

H.H. The Maharaja of Alwar.

H.H. The Nawab of Bhopal.

H.H. The Maharaja of Bikaner.

H.H. The Maharaja of Kashmir.

H.H. The Maharaja of Patiala.

Sir Akbar Hydari.

Sir Mirza Ismail.

Celonel Haksar.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapiu.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

Diwac Bahadur Ramaswami Madalivar.

Sir Pheroze Sethna.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar.

Dr. B. S. Moonje.

Mr. Jadhav.

Sir B. N. Mitra.

Sardar Salib Ujjal Singh.

Lieut.-Col. Gidney.

Sir Hubert Carr.

Sir Muhammad Shafi.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan.

Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum.

Rain Sher Muhammad Khan.

- 2. The sub-Committee met on the 7th, 9th, 12th, and 14th January, 1931, and have authorised me to present this Report.
- 3. The discussion in the sub-Committee centred manly round the question of Indianisation, and every aspect of this question received thorough attention. It was unan mously agreed that in a matter of such importance as Defence, the utmost care was necessary in expressing opiniors, and the sub-Committee as a whole was very anxious not to create the impression that anyone in any way or to any degree wanted to say anything that could even remotely tend to imperil the safety of the country or to weaken the strength of the Army It was in view of this general feeling that all secfrom of the sub-Committee emphasized the importure of maintaining the same standard of efficiency in training as prevails now in England. The sub-Committee also recognised that in dealing with the question of Defence it was not possible to overlook that a factor that must govern all considerations of the subject was the responsibility of the Crown through the Committee of Imperial Deferce, which body was altituately responsible for exam ning all these problems. It was realised that the responsibility of the Committee of Insper al Defence was not semething that was special to India, but was common to the Empire as a whole.

Subject to the above mafters of agreement, the general discussion regarding Indianisation was on the following lines. The und the of the sub-Committee considered it impossible for practical reasons to lay down my definite rate of Indianisation of invining of , process character that modal in any way embarrass those responsible for Defence and fetter the judgment or the discretion of the reducer authorities. These that held this view felt that the principle of the Indianisation of officers of the Indian Amy could ret be looked upon as recely a question regarding the efficiency of a single officer or group of officers, or even of a single unit or group of units. It was a principle that to the majority appeared to affect the Army as a whole. It was in consequence the view of this Lage section of the sub-Committee that a highly technical question was unrolved on which the sub-Commute was not qualified to express or opinia, the section of the sub-Conquittee, however, was in are unof a strong affirmation to the offer that the complete Indianteator of the officers in the Indian Army should take place within . specified period, subject of course to the requirements of efficiency, and further subject to the provision of suitable cardidates for requiring the officers in India Those numbers who were of this opinion held the view that this was not a technical one tion at all, but involved only practical considerations. The d Perer e in these two views being trandamental, the sub-Committee decided to incorporate these in its report, and the Chairman further in dertook that, where, in parsuance of the realitions of this sub-Committee, expert conmittees were appointed, those expert multices would as a matter of course take info consideration the proceed ugs of previous Committees and in particular the proceedings of the Military Requirements Committee of 1921 and the Committee on the Indianisation of the Indian Army of 1922.

- 1. Subject to the above the sub-Committee arrived at the follow-ing definite resolutions. —
- (1) The sub-Committee consider that with the development of the new political structure in Irdia, the Defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people, and not of the British Government alone.
- (2. In order to give practical effect to this principle, they recommend—
  - (a) That immediate steps be taken to increase substantially the rate of Indianisation in the Indian Army to make it commensurate with the main object in view, having regard to all relevant considerations, such as the maintenance of the requisite standard of efficiency. (Mr. Jinnah dissented and desired a clear indication of the pace of Indianisation.)
  - (b) That in order to give effect to (a) a training college in India be established at the earliest possible moment, in order to train candidates for commissions in all arms of the Indian detence services. This college would also train prospective officers of the Indian State Forces. Indian cadets should, however, continue to be eligible for admission as at present to Sandhurst, Woolwich and Cranwell.
  - (c) That in order to avoid delay the Government of India be instructed to set up a Committee of Experts, both British and Indian (including representatives of Indian States) to work out the details of the establishment of such a college.
- (3) The Committee also recognise the great importance attached by Indian thought to the reduction of the number of British troops in India to the lowest possible figure and consider that the question should form the subject of early expert investigation.
- 5. A view was expressed that an addition should be made to these resolutions to the effect that the sub-Committee recognised that the action should be taken so as to prejudice in any way the power of the Crown to fulfil military obligations arising out of treaties with particular Indian States. It was ruled, however, and accepted by the sub-Committee that such a specific declaration was unnecessary: the Chairman giving an undertaking that beither this sub-Committee nor any other Committee could in any way abrogate treaty obligations and engagements that were in operation.
- 6. In agreeing to the foregoing recommendations the Committee were maninous in their view that the declaration must not be taken as a mere pious expression of opinion, but that in mediately the Conference was concluded, steps should be taken to deal effectively with the recommendations made.

7. The alvisability of establishing a Military Council including representatives of the Indian States was agreed to.

Signed on behalf of the sub-Committee,

J. H. THOMAS.

ST. James's Palace, London, !4th January, 1931. CCMMENTS IN COMMITTEE OF WHOLE CONFERENCE (16TH JANUARY, 1931) ON REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE No. VII (DEFENCE).

Chairman: Paragraph 1 is just a record of the Committee, and paragraph 2 is a record of the meetings.

Mr. Chintamani: I should like to invite the Committee's attention to the last part of the first paragraph under head 3, which refers to the Committee of Imperial Defence. I should like to know for my own information whether the Committee of Imperial Defence in relation to the self-governing Dominions is only an advisory body, or whether it has any definite rights by virtue of which the Dominions are bound by the decisions of this Committee. If that is so, I have nothing more to say; but if that be not so, I should like it to be trought out in this paragraph that it is only during the transitory period that the Committee of Imperial Defence will have those rights, and that afterwards it will be in the same position in relation to India as it is with relation to the Dominions.

The Moonje: With regard to the same point, my contention is that as it was graciously agreed in the Federal Structure sub-Committee that "responsibility for the Federal Government of India will in future rest on Indians themselves," so in the same way as regards Defence. I think a principle should be laid down that India alone should be considered to be responsible for the defence of her land frontiers, chiefly the North-West Frontier. Empire responsibility comes in when international complications arise.

Defence being a reserved subject during the period of transition, the Viceroy should, in consultation with the Government of India, lay down a comprehensive policy for the Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian Army proper, the development and training of the volunteers, University Training Corps and territorial forces, and evolve a system of elementary military education so as to provide a steady flow of well-trained young men for the Indian Sandhurst.

It should be laid down that in future India alone should be responsible for the defence of her own frontiers, and that the Empire responsibility comes in when international complications arise. As a corrollary of that principle the details to wihch I have just referred are relevant.

Chairman: The points made by both speakers have been referred to in the sub-Committee and will be noted here.

Paragraph 3 is noted.

I will put paragraph 4 section by section. Section (1) of paragraph 4 is noted.

We come now to 4(2)(a).

Ilr. Moonje: I want it to be noted that the complete Indian-isation of the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army proper

should be accomplished in 28 years at the most, according to the scheme of Indianisation prepared by a Committee of Experts appointed by H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India about the year 1921 of 1922, subject, of course, to the requirements of the proper standard of military efficiency.

Raja Sher Muhamund Khao. In making a few remarks on the question before the House I should like in the first place to express my heartfelt thanks to the Chairman of the sub-Committee, the Rt. Ifor. Mr. Thomas, for the extreme courtesy and fact with which he conducted the business of the sub-Committee and for the spirit in which he has managed to solve the most difficult and crucial questions which have come before this Conference. I hope, Mr. Prince Minister, that you will bear with the blunt remarks of a soldier, who has not inflicted any speeches on you so far, but who heels he cannot retrain from making some comments on a question affecting the future of the Army. I hope I shall have the support and sympathy of old soldiers like Mr. Wedgwood Benn and be given some time to speak on this subject.

Chairman, I do not like to pull you up, but would you mind beginning again where I have interrupted you when I come to put the whole of (2)? Otherwise we shall get our business into a state of great confusion. I shall be glad if you will help me to deal first of all with the details of (2), and then you can make your statement when I put the whole of (2).

Is there anything on 4 (2) (a)?

Dr. Moving: With regard to Indianisation, I desire it to be noted specifically that all recruitment for the commissioned ranks in the Indian Army proper should beneeforth be made in India from amongst Indians, subject to the requisite standard of efficiency, provided that it should be open to the Government of India, to provide for recruitment in England to fill up such of the valuences as rank not be alled up in India. These two reservations of mine should be noted.

Mr. Chintarian: I associate myself with Mr. Jimah's part of view and like him I desire a char indication of the page fundianisation.

Chairman: That on Mr. Jinnah's part is recorded here.

- (2) (a) is noted.
- (2) (b) is noted.
- (2) (c) is noted.

Sindar Sempara, South I should like to propose an additional sub-paragraph, to be inserted as d). I would suggest that it least

To per cert, of the officers selected for the Army should be chosen from an angest these peoples who pain the ranks of the Army. It is really very unit, it to those people who are ready to undertake the difficult part of the Service on a smaller pay to find their sons and them kins in deprived of the higher positions in the same department. They have been in that incimalous position for some time, because it is always the people who can laring influence to bear on the higher authorities who have eventually to make these appointments, who get their own people in though they have no military service at their back. They get their children taken in as officers. I think it is only fair and just to those people who join the ranks that they should also have a good share in the cadre of officers.

Chairman: A note will be taken of that.

Mr. Judhav: I want to say something against it.

Charman That will be recorded -that you do not support it.

Dr. Ambiedher: What I want to do is to move an amendment to anse (2) of paragraph 4 of this Report to the following effect, that in nediate steps be taken to see that recruitment to the Indian Army is thrown open to all subjects of His Majesty, including the des presed classes, consistently with considerations of efficiency and the possession of the necessary qualifications. I do not merely wish to have this matter recorded; I wish to move it as a substantive amendment, so that the sense of the House may be taken on it. My arreadment is a very simple one; it seeks to remove all discrimipations between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects to enter unlitary service. No doubt I move the amendment primarily with a view to prote ting the specific rights of the depressed classes, but in doing so I am not asking the Committee to confer any favour: I am a sking the Commuttee to see we realise in practice the principle recognised in the Government of Italia Act, that no subject of II's Majes v shall be debarred from entering any public service by reason of his caste, creed or colour. In doing so, therefore, I do not think I am asking for any special favour.

I may point out to you, Sir, that this an endment is on the lines a lepted by the Services Committee. If you will refer. Sir, to the Report of the Services Committee appointed by this Committee, you will find that the Services Committee did make a serious effort to see that all subjects of His Majesty had a fair and adequate the nee in the Public Services of the country, and that they not only entercated certain fundamental rights protecting subjects of His Majesty from being debarred from entering any Public Service, but they went out of their way to make special recommendations, to stioning certain specific communities, such as the Anglo-Indians and the depressed classes.

But, Sir, this amendment is not merely in the interests of the depressed classes. I submit it is also in the interests of all commu-

nities and subjects of His Majesty. I think, Sir, that it is a great public danger that any community in India should be allowed to monopolise any service in the country. I say it is a great public danger, because it not only excites a sense of superiority in those particular communities which have been placed in that position of advantage, but it also jeopardises the welfare of the people by making them dependent upon the protection afforded to them by certain specific communities. I therefore submit that as we are enunciating a new constitution for India, we ought to begin with a system which will permit every member of His Majesty's community to play such part as he is capable of by reason of his fitness in any Public Service of the country.

And, if I may say so. S.r. the amendment which I am moving is only a logical consequence of the principle enunciated in this paragraph itself, because if you refer to sub-Clause 1 of Clause 4 you will see this: "The sub-Committee consider that with the development of the new political structure in India, the defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people, and not of the British Government alone." Now, Sir. if that sentence has any meaning, that the defence of India should be to an increasing extent the concern of the Indian people, it must be the concern of all Indian people and not the concern of any particular community.

I therefore submit that this House do accept the amendment which I am proposing.

Dr. Moonje: With regard to Dr. Ambedkar's proposal that recruitment should be thrown open to all classes, I entirely agree with him provided the standard of efficiency is maintained.

Dr, Ambedkar: That is my amendment; I say that it shall be consistent with efficiency.

Sir Tej Bihadur Sapra I also associate myself with Dr. Ambedkar.

Mr. Besn. Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. This ariendment overlaps a portion of the Report of the Services Committee, which says, in Clause 5 (4): "membership of any community, caste, creed, or race shall not be a ground for promotion or supersession in any Public Services."

Dr. In badkar: We excluded the Army from our consideration.

Mr. Thomas: Mr. Chriman, I to not think there is any need for the amendment. The paragraph was deliberately put in: "the sub-Committee consider that with the development of the new political structure in India, the defence of India must to an

the British Government alone." That does not say that the defence of India must be the special concern of any section in India. It was deliberately framed to cover that, and the word "India isation" is applicable.

without there being the opportunity given to all communities to enter Public Service. Ladianisation may still mean the nonequipout of some communities.

Chairman: The position is that it will be noted. It is quite in possible for a Committee's Report to be altered. The only procedure that is possible is to reter back the Report to the sub-Committee again for reconsideration. We are short of time and we have not adopted that method; but everybody who has got a contribution to make to the clarification of a declaration that is made by a sul-Committee, or an amendment to a sub-Committee's Report, shall have it on record, and I have given you again and again my word that they will all be considered when the actual details are fitted in.

Raja Sher Muhammad Khan; Sir, some of the speckers have concentrated their attention on the period required for complete Industrisation of the Indian Army. Sir, in my opinion no military authority on earth can fix up the exact period of complete Indianisation. It involves the question of ediciency, equipment and espirit-de corps. We can produce a dozen Viceroy's from among our trænds who are sitting here: Sir Tej. Sir Muhammal Shafi. Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Sastri, each quite capable to take up the duties of I erov of India. I do not mean the ship. But can they produce even one general, amongst themselves? Generals cannot be man it ectured: they reach this highest rank after more than 35 years continuous service in the Army. Complete Indianisation from top to bottom will take a long time. Within 26 years you may Indianise the regimental officers, but what about the huge big staffs? An Army without efficient staff is a rifle without ammunition. I welcome the announcement of the Chairman about opering the Military Academy in India for all arms as soon as possible.

In my opinion the Army problem is threefold:—(1) political and financial control: (2) internal organisation, commissions, etc.: (3) production of material to fill up the commissioned ranks.

The first and second I leave to the expert, except that I am strongly of opinion that the Army must be controlled entirely by an Army Council in India composed of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and three or four other expert members. It should not be given into the hands of a civilian inexperienced Minister.

Perhaps I may be permitted to tell a story which is very interesting as showing how these civilians deal with the Army in India at present. The Quartermaster had submitted the regimental ration return for the month for a plit, and as from the loth. the return showed an increase of half a ration for families. Back came the return from the audit endorsed with the request that the increase in question should be explained. Being anxious to oblige, as is usual with such great personages, the Quartermaster wrote an explanation to the effect that a son and heir had been born to the wife of No. 80 Sepoy Noor Khan and had been taken on to the ration strength. He attached this to the return and again submitted it to the audit people. Back it came, for the second time, marked: "Please state hour of lirth of infant." "10-30 a.m.", wrote the Quartermaster, and submitted the return yet once again. Back it came for the third time, marked: "Increase disallowed for the 15th, allowed from 16th onwards, under Regulations. paragraph 233, volume so and so, section so and so, paragraph so and so Please correct accordingly." The Quartermaster turned up the authority quoted by the audit people, and found that it was in these terms: "Troops disembarked in the foreneon will be rationed on board for that day."

The biggest problem is the production of officers. The raw material is there in ample quantity, but it is not being shaped proporty before it reaches school-leaving age. The solution is solely a matter of education. The Military Academy can only function when there are excellent Public Schools to fill it. Whatever the pace of Indianisation may be, I most humily suggest that the commission should be given in proportionate number to the tribes which provide the rank and file. At present the King's Cot missions are going far too much to non-martial races. The Separs will not stand this, and the system will break down when the test comes. The breakdown will do infinite harm to India.

We want the best type of officer. I will tell you another stry to definite the last type of officer. Once in Mesopotamia a battalion was attailed and the Turks were stelling heavily. An officer, whose nationality I will not mention, nor to the Commanding Officer and said, "Sir, may I go lack to the reserves and look after the wounded?" The colonel said "Yes." The officer in back to the testive lines, and I do not know where he hid himself. The next day the officers were discussing the battle. One of them said that has company had done this, that, and the other, and this officer, about whom, I have told you, said he was bored stiff because he ran behind so fast. That is the type of officer we do not want in the Army.

All the facts want careful consideration, and I strongly hope that the Committee will not look over the right of the martial race and of the present Indian officers and men of the Indian Army who have proved themselves splendid tighters, and who are capable of even higher commarab.

Chairman: Paragraph 4 as a whole noted. Paragraph 5 noted; paragraph 6 noted; paragraph 7 noted.

Sir Provish Chander Mitter: Several of us have sent in a memorandum. Will it be noted?

Chairman: Certainly. That the whole of the Report be noted. That is agreed. I am sure you will all thank Mr. Thamas.

<sup>\*</sup> To be printed in supplementary volume

## Sub-Committee No. YIII (Services).

REPORT PLES NIED OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE CONFICENCE, HELD ON 16TH JANUARY, 1931.

The terms of reference to this sub-Committee were as follows:—
"The Relation of the Services to the new political structure."

The fellowing Delegates were selected to serve on the sub-

Sir William Jowitt (Chairman).

Lord Zetland.

Major Stanley.

Lord Reading.

Sa Refert Here ten

H. H. The Maharaja of Alwar.

H. H. The Maharaja of Nawanagar.

Nu Problem of a Post and

Rao Bahadur Krishnama Chari.

Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed Khan,

Mr. Chintamani.

Sir P. C. Mitter.

Dr. Narendra Nath Law.

Mr. Basu.

Mi Temte.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

Mr. Shiva Rao.

Mr. Mody.

Sa Cowesii Jelergir.

Sir A. P. Patro.

Rei Banaci v Kunwar Bisheshwar Dayal Seth.

Malatajadi data Kameslawar Singh of Darbhanga.

Raja et l'arlakimedi.

Dr. Ambedkar.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney.

Mr. Paul.

Sarial Sar paran Sirgh.

Sir Shah Namuz Bhutto.

Mr. Ghuznavi.

Khar Bahadar Hanz Hidayat Husain

Mr. Zafrullah Khan.

Dr. Shata Lat Alatad Khan.

Mr. Lazad-Huq.

Sir Edgar Wood.

The sub-Committee met on the 6th, 7th, 8th, 6th, 12th, and 13th of January, 1931, and have authorised me to present this Report.

enument of India Act and the structs.—Inasmuch as the Government of India Act and the tides in de thereunder by the Secretary of State in Council guarantee cutton right, and safeguards to members of the Services, due provision should be made in the new constitution for the maintenance of those rights and safeguards for all persons who have been appointed before the new constitution course into force.

When the new constitution is drawn up suitable safeguards for the payment of pensions (including family pensions and provident funds, should be provided.

As it is important that those responsible for the working of the new constitution should not at its unitiation be embarrassed by the economic waste and administrative difficulties which a change of staff on a large scale would entail, it is desirable to take such steps as are necessary to reassure existing members of the Services with the view that they may serve with loyalty and efficiency for their normal term.

To this end the sub-Committee agreed that the right to retire on proportionate pension should be extended, but opinion was divided as to whether the extension should be for an unlimited term or for a definite period of years, not exceeding five years.

2. Future recruitment for the All-India Services. We recommend that for the Indian Civil and Indian Police Services recruitment should continue to be carried out on an All-India basis, but the majority of the Committee are of opinion that recruitment for Judicial Offices should no longer be made in the Indian Civil Service. The Indian Forest Service and the Irrigation Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers should be provincialised.

(Four members would prefer that the Imigation Branch should remain an All-India Service.

Mr. Shiva Rao and Mr. Tambe desire to record their view that all Services should be provincialised forthwith.

Dr Ambedkar, Mr. Zafrullah Khan, and Sardar Samputan Singh are averse to further recruitment on an All-India basis for the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service, save in respect of the European element in those Services.)

3. The recruiting and controlling authority for the future All-India Services.—Since we are recommending that the Inlian Forest Service and the Irrigation Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers should no longer be recruited on an All-India basis, we do not think it necessary to offer any special observations with regard to these two Services.

On the question whether we should record any recommendation as to the desirability of securing a continuance of the recruitment

of a Luropean element in the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service there was some divergence of opinion.

The majority of the sub-Committee are of opinion that in the case of these two Services it is desirable that some recruitment of Europeans should continue. On the question of the ratio there is a difference of opinion, some holding that for the present requitment should continue on the lines laid down by the Lee Commission, while others would prefer that the matter should be left for decision by the future Government of India.

Whatever decision may be reached as to ratio, the majority of the sub-Committee hold that the recruiting and controlling authority in the future should be the Government of India. They would leave to that authority the decision of all questions such as conditions of recruitment, service, emoluments and control. Those who take this view attach importance to complete control over the Services being vested in the Central and Provincial Governments. A minority of the sub-Committee think that the recruiting authority should be the Secretary of State, since they hold that without an ultimate right of appeal to him, and through him to the British Parliament, it will not be possible to secure recruits of the required type for the British element in the Services. Those who take this view consider that adequate control over the members of the Services can be secured to the Indian and Provincial Governments under the Devolution Rules.

There is one further observation we have to make under this head. In existing circumstances the Government of India can and does obtain officers from the Provinces to fill certain central appointments. Under the new regime we hope that it will be found possible to conclude arrangements between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments so as to secure the continuance of this practice which has obvious advantages.

4. The Indian Medical Service.—Subject to paragraph 1, the sub-Committee are of opinion that in future there should be ro civil branch of the Indian Medical Service; and that no civil appointments either under the Government of India or the Provincial Governments should in future be listed as being reserved for Europeans as such.

The Civil Medical Services should be recruited through the Public Service Commissions. In order to provide a war reserve, a clause should be inserted in the contracts of service of a sufficient number of officers that they shall undergo such military training and render such military service as they may be called upon to do. The extra cost involved should be borne as an Army charge.

Further, the Governments and Public Service Corunissions in India should bear in mind the requirements of the Army and the British officials in India and take steps to retruit a fair and adequate number of European doctors to their respective Civil Medical Services, and should be prepared to pay such salaries as would bring about this result.

It is suggested that igreement might be reached between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments whereby the latter in selecting their European doctors might grant a preference to those members of the Indian Medical Service who have pertorned a period of service with the Army. We contemplate that such members would sever their connection with the Indian Medical Service during the term of their employment in the Provincial Medical Service—subject only to the acknowledgment of a claim by the Army authorities in time of emergency. The practical details of any such arrangement would have to be a mister of agreement between the Army authorities and each Provincial Government.

Major Stanley wishes to make it clear that his acceptance of this section is contingent upon the possibility of securing satisfactory agreements under paragraph 4.

Lord Zetland and Sir Edgar Wood fear that under the scheme proposed neither the Provincial Governments nor the Indian Medical Service will secure European Medical Officers of the type required, and they would prefer that the present arrangement should continue until Indianisation both in the Indian Army and in the Civil Services has proceeded further.)

- o. Public Service Commissions.—(1) In every Province and in connection with the Central Government a Statutory Public Service Commission shall be appointed by the Governor or Governor-General as the case may be.
- (2) Recruitment to the Public Services shall be made through such Commissions in such a way as to secure a fair and adequate representation to the various communities consistently with considerations of efficiency and the possession of the necessary qualifications. This part of the auties of the Public Service Commissions shall be subject in the case of Provincial Commissions to periodical review by the Governor, and in the case of the Central Commission by the Governor-General, both of whom shall be empowered to issue any necessary instructions to secure the desired result.

Raja Natendra Nath and Sardar Sampuran Singh desire to add a proviso that the proportion of appointments to be filled to redress communal, class and caste inequalities should not in any case exceed one-third of the total appointments to be filled, the remaining two-thirds of the appointments being filled solely on considerations of merit.)

The Governor shall, before considering any appeal presented to him against any order of censure, of withholding an increment or promotion, of reduction to a lower post, of suspension, removal or dismissal, consult the Commission in regard to the order to be passed thereon.

3) Members of the Public Service Commissions shall hold office during the pleasure of the Crown and be removable by the Governor,

in the case of a Provincial Commission, and by the Geven reflected in the case of the Certial Commission. They shall, after consigned by members of a Commission, be ineligible for a period to be fixed by the Governor or Governor-General as the case may be for further office under the Crown in India, except that persons who have been mentions of a Provincial Public Service Commission shall be eligible for appointment as members of the Central Cemmission of Commission of Commission, and case considering the control of Commission of Commission, and case considering the control of Commission of Commission, and case considering the control of Commission of Co

- 4) The sub-Committee recognise the special position of the Anglo-Indian community in respect of public employment, and recommend that special consideration should be given to the relains for employment in the Services.
  - (5) There should be a statutery declaration that .
    - on, No person shall be under any disability for admission into any branch of the Public Services of the country recely by reason of community, caste, creed, or race.
  - (b) Membership of any community, caste, cred, or race shall not be a ground for promotion or supersession in any Public Services.

In nading the streeountendation the sub-Committee have particularly in mind the case of the Depressed Classes. They desire that a generous policy be adopted in the matter of the employment of the Depressed Classes in Public Service, and in particular recommend that the recomment to all Services, including the Police, should be thrown open to them.

- 6. Internal Administration of the Police.—Subject to the recommendation which has already been made by the "Provincial Constitution 'sub-Committee, that under the new constitution responsibility for law and order should be vested in the Provincial Governments, the question whether in consequence any special recommacadation should be made as to the internal administration of the Police was left to this sub-Committee. We have given consideration to various suggestions made under this head. Some of the sub-Committee think it undesirable to make any recommerdation which might be he'd to impinge upon the distretion of the ruture Provincial Governments. Others, who consider that the control ever the Police Forces at present secured to the Inspectors-General by statute should be preserved, advise that the Pelice Act at 1861 should not be subject to repeal or alteration by the Legislature without the prior consent of the Governor General, and that the Pulice Aus at the Governments of Bombay, Bengal, and Madras should be included in the category of Acts which should not be repealed or altered by the Privilian Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor-General.
- The Control Services. We recommend that the Government of Italia should be the authority for recruitment to the Services which are under the orticlet Min-sters responsible to the Legis-

lature. As regards the Services under the control of the Governor-General, we do not feel called upon to make any recommendation.

Signed on behalf of the sub-Committee.

W. A. JOWITT,

Chairman.

ST. James's Palace,

LONDON.

13th January, 1931.

COMMENTS IN COMMITTEE OF WHOLE CONFERENCE (16th January, 1931) on Report of Sub-Committee No VIII (Services.)

Claiman: The first page is the asual record of the Committee and the meetings. Page 2 beg as number 1. That I be noted. (Agreed.) Now 2.

Sardar Ujjal Single: I want to associate myself with the renarks of Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Zafrullan Khan. That is on No. 2.

Mr. Jayakar: I want the question to be left free to the future Government of India whether, with reference to the Indian Civil and the Indian Police Services the recruitment should continue on an All-India basis or on a Provincial basis. I want that left for the future Government of India to determine in the light of their experience and requirements.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: I entirely agree with Mr. Jayakar on this point.

Chareman: It really almost means that, but still . . . 2 note 1. 3 noted. That carries you away down to 4.

Mr. Jayakar: On No. 3. desirability of securing a continuance of the recruitment of a European element in the Indian Civil Service. That should in my opinion, be left tree to be decided by the future Government of India according to the necessities of the Service.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: I associate myself with that

Chairman: No. 4.

Mr. Josha: I am against accepting the principle that the European employees of the Government of India have a right to be treated by European doctors. When we are thinking of giving self-government to India the European employees should not insist upon saying that the Indian doctors are not good enough to treat them and their families.

Dr. Mornjo: In India, Europeans of their own accord submit themselves to the Indian doctors for treatment. At the same time it is also a fact that Indians go to the European doctors for their treatment. It all depends on the matter of qualifications and the matter of faith. I think, therefore, that there is no use in making out that the British Officers that would be still in the Army or that would be still in the Civil Service would not be willing to submit themselves to the treatment of Indian doctors, so I do not think that kind of principle should be laid down here, and I therefore record my dissent on this point.

Sir Committee very strongly and you will see in the Report that it is provided that no civil appointment, either under the Government of India or under the Provincial Governments, should be listed as being reserved for Europeans as such. That is actually provided in the Report itself. The point raised by Dr. Moonje, I will repeat, was argued in the sub-Committee, and the sub-Committee ultimately came to the recommendation which has been placed before you to-day, and personally I do not think that the wording of this paragraph can be interpreted to mean that European officials should always be treated by European doctors.

Mr. Chintamani: I have only one observation to make on this—that the whole of this paragraph, excepting for the statements of dissent, was intendede to be essentially a compromise between opposing points of view, and therefore those who subscribed to this in the sub-Con mittee will consider themselves free to go beyond or behind it if the others, with a different point of view, seek to go behind it too.

Lt.-Col. Gidney: I have one remark to make on this; on page 40ti. "members would sever their connection." Might I suggest that the word "temporarily" be there, too—"temporarily sever their connection," i.e., seconded from the Service while so employed.

Chairman: Well, we cannot make the alteration, but we can note it, because it will have no importance really when this is considered from the point of view of practical working. That 4 be noted. (Agreed.)

Now 5. 5 (1). (2), (3), noted. (4) noted. Now (5).

Mrs. Subbaragan: May I ask a question to clear up a point. I learn that the sub-Committee first inserted the word "sex", but subsequently removed it from this clause because it was definitely stated that the word "person" implied a person of either sex. I should like to know whether it is definitely understood that "person" implies man or woman.

Chairman: Our great legal pundits have ruled so. I do not know.

Sir Provash Chinder Mitter: I can tell you it does. The question was discussed, and I can tell you that it does include both men and women.

Chairman: You drafted this under the impression that you have provided for them both.

Sir Provash Chander Mitter: Yes.

Chairman: I think, as a matter of fat, that is so.

Mrs. Subbarayan: Thank you.

Chairman: (5) noted. The whole of 5, noted; 6, noted; 7, noted. That the Report as a whole be noted. Noted.

## Sub-Committee No. IX (Sind).

REPORT PRESENTED AT FEE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE CONFERENCE, HELD ON 16TH JANUARY, 1931.

1. The members of the sub-Committee were: -

Lord Russell (Chairman).

Lord Zetland.

Lend Parlander when Mr. Fort acted as substitute).

H. H. The Aga Khan.

Mr. Jinnah.

Sir S. N. Bhutto.

Sir (c. Tr sain Hidayarullab.

Sir Abdul Qaiyum.

Sir M. Shafi.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan.

Sardar Sampuran Singh.

Dr. Moorge.

Mr. Jayakar.

Raja Norembra Nath.

Mr. Chictamani.

Mr. Jadhav.

Sir P. Sethna.

Mr. Mody,

Sir H. Carr.

The terms of reference were to consider—

"the question of constituting Sind as a separate Province."

The sub-Committee sat on 12th, 15th and 14th January, and have authorised me to present this Report.

- 2. They consider that the racial and linguistic differences between the inhalitants of Sind and those of the Presidency of Bunday proper, the geographical isolation of Sind from Borday, the difficulties of communication between the two, and the insistency with which separation has been advocated, provide an impressive case but a division of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and the creation of a separate Provincial Government there.
- 3. They observe that the Government of Bonday have pointed out so than a limit is native difficulties in the way of the separation of Sind, but they do not believe them to be insuperable.
- 4. They note that no detailed examination of the final consequences of separation has yet been made. On the figures available to them they are unable to express an opinion on the financial aspects of the question

The sub-Committee with two dissentierts (Dr. Moonje and Raia Nateudra Nath) are impressed by the strength of the arguments the fain iple of separation so all he accepted. They there is recommend that an expert Consisting as India should exacent rainfully the probable of each and expenditure of a separater Sad and the security of the all from the Sukkur Barage, and should also recommend an equivable adjustment of the armoral ectar analysis for which Sind may prope by he considered holds. If the invest eather shows that separation would have the new Prayer with a desiret, the sub-Comment of think that the representatives a Sind should be asked to show satisfactor by how the center to all the next before the rew Prayir ects set up.

Signed or hebalt of the sib Conmittee,

RUSSIEL

St James's Parace.
Lovers.
Library, 1951.

COMMINES IN COMMITTEE OF MHOLE COMMITTEE NO. IX (SIND).

V.B. With the permission of the Prine Minister the question of creating a separate Province for the Oriva-speaking people was raised in the course of the discussion on this Report.)

Chairman: The first paragraph is again the record. Paragraph 2—noted. I noted. A noted. Now in putting the Report as a whole, a promise was given to the Raja of Parlakimedi that he should say something on this general Report, but as a matter of fact it is on the subject of Orissa.

Raja of Partitionedi. Sir, on behelt of 10 millions of Onyas, the subjects of His Majesty, I lise to represent their leng-standing gurvances in this consim. The memorandum" I have placed in your hand a rea days since has been able, I hope, to give a clear in sight into al the present difficulties the Orivas are placed under, situated as they are in a lifterent Provinces. I will not the you with the details of the ristory for unification of the Univas, agitating as they have been but the last quarter of a contury and more. As one we build outed in the facts, I should lay before you all to-day that de tunat on of a separate Province for the Organ is a life and cente problem to them. They feel tentured with all the keabilities and disalvantages of one being a distant adjunct lying at the tail old of every Province wherever they are, the away from the seat of dovernment of the respective Province, and always in a unrique in nority, completely lost sight of, being merged in the teening millions of population of those Provinces

I appeal to you all, gentlemen, to appreciate the peculiar position of the Oriyas and their demand, as recommended by several off, half bodies true after time. We want a Province et our own on the basis of language and mee, to be ourselves a homogeneous unit with feelings of contentment and peace, to realise and be benefited by the projected reforms to India by both Indian and British politicians, who look forward to the day when the United States of India will censist of small federated States based on common language and race. Without a separate Province for the 10 millions of Oriyas, let me tell you, Sir. that all your labours at this Conference to develop Parliamentary institutions in Provinces with a itonomous powers, will prove, on the contrary, seriously injurious to the Oriyas.

The patience with which we have waited and the loyalty to the British Crown with which we have looked up to always for justice, syn pathy, and fair treatment, have proved as Lord Curzon put it once, "Were the Orissans an agitating people, which they are not, they would soon make their protest heard. As it is they have been sacrificed without compunction."

<sup>\*</sup> To be printed in supplementary volume.

I are right, I think, Sir, in my presumption, that you all consider the Oriya problem as the least controversial of all the problems that this Conference has had to deal with. You are aware that the Simon Commission, the Government of India Depatch, and all the Provincial Governments concerned have recignised the tagent necessity for the iranediate solution of the question. The question of fnance, however, is evidently the only obstacle in the way of their recommending the formation of a separate Province. in the Omyas. My absver to that is that mance is not, after all. a tence of such insurmountable dimensions when we have to save a great nistoric race with an ancient civilisation and culture, from being officerated. The old saving: "Cut your coar according to the clith" if strictly applied, comes to the rescue, to a great extent, in ferming the long-sought after O. issa Province; and, again, I am fully contident that the Central Government with the since feelings of beneaction will come to the rescue of the new Province as it did in the case of Assam and Binar and Orissa, when first they were created. One redeeming feature, however, which I should point out to you is, that we will be starting with hardly any debts; but, on the other hand, with appreciably riore income that Assam lad to start with. At page 104 of the Memoran luca submitted by the Government of Bilan and Orissa to the Indian Statatory Commission, we gather that the annual revenue of the Oussa Division of B.har and Orissa would be about ten millions of repress, and I am sure that with the additions of the districts as recorded by different official bodies with their gath red evidence of the people of these parts, and the people of other adjoining Orive speaking areas, that may be recorded by the Boundary Connaission, will bring in about 20°2 millions of imposs to solve the incincial difficulty. I may illustrate that the agency traces with their scope for excise revenue, large meas of waste lands that are being developed and valuable forest produce, will contribute Isrocly to the Provincial funds. In addition to this, there is an extensive constal and containing large sleets of salt pars and scope for shipping between different parts of the Enpire birther to in was the Irovincial revenue. I can also assure you, Sir, that It chicumstances so necessitate, we the Orivas are prepared to hear the builden of special taxation to rect any financial I get of the tuture Province.

Without tather encrosching upon your valuable time, encuch if I have been able to impress you, gentler on with the urgency of the problem. It is for you to make or man the distiny of an ancient race, tast in numbers, cultured and advanced, but placed under paintial chemistances row, though their past was bright and tule of unique interest and of historical in portance as those of any of the present advanced communities of India.

Sign. P. Patro: As one interested in the formation of a separate Province for the Oriyas. I support the proposal whole-heartedly like formation of a separate Province for the Orivas has been

agitated for since 1902. I was the first cleaf the agitation about this matter. I think a Committee should be appointed to go into this matter as soon as possible.

Sir Procush Churder Mitter: I associate myself with those remarks.

Dr. Moonje: In connection with the Report, I have been jut down as one of the dissentiants and I want to state in a few words why I dissented. I opposed the separation of Sind on a principle, and that principle is that no new Province should be created with the object of giving a majority therein to any particular community. When this question will come up for consideration as a put of the larger question of re-distribution of Provinces including the question of the Province of Orissa, as a previous splater wants Orissa to be constituted into a separate Province, I should have no objection

Then there is another point. The re-distribution of any Prevince without the consent and agreement of the two communities. Handus and Mushins, is likely to increase the area of communal conflict and endanger the relations between the two communities, not only in that Province but throughout Incha. The Hindus are against separation. Besides, it will be a detail Province. It is on those points that I dissent from the Report.

Chairman: That will be noted.

Raja Narendra Nuth: I did not at the time give my reasons for my dissersion, and I would briefly like to give them now.

My reasons then were as they are now, that the Minority question has not been settled. I apprehended at the time that it would not be settled, and my apprehension has proved to be true. The has been no declaration of rights unassailable by the majority our numity, and I do not know when we shall come to an agreement that point. These were my reasons then, and are now, in associating myself with Dr. Moonje.

See Shah Name: Bhatto: I think I shall be here out by many members of the Committee when I say that we considered and decided this question on its own merits. It was not considered from any communical point of view or with regard to the Mulority question. I think that the point which has been raised has place in it at all.

Chairman: That will be noted.

## GENERAL REVIEW OF WORK OF CONFERENCE.

## Plenary Session, 16th January 1931.

the Plenary Meeting of the Conference.

The business which is before you now is to note the Reports which you have received from the Committee of the whole Contracted, and that, of course, enables you to raise everything.

It has been suggested that a resolution might be put in the following terms:

The Conterer co sitting in Plenary Session has received and of all the Reports of the pircs b-Committees submitted by the committee of the whole Cornercice with comments thereon.

Here Reports, provisional the ghother are, together with the encoded notes attached to there, afford in the spinion of the Unterence, material or the highest value for use in the tracing of a constitution for India, embedying as they do a substancial measure of agreement on the main ground-plan, and mark helpful indication or the points of detail to be britten pursued. And the Content is tools that arrangements hould be made to pursue without interruption the work upon various lass been engaged."

With that draft in front of you, the whole field is igen for an exemperation of the work that we have been doing during the last nace were's.

D. R. Bull due Rossierlie ind a Ray: I should I ke to ask what has been earlier to establishment of a Supreme Court. Nothing has been said about that.

not raised. The reply will be read by the Lord Chancellor.

It is the the Prince Minester, wor Highnesses, Ladies and to the act, it is the final constitution such as the crew propose to it if, a Feleral Centris are essential elevant. There is such a teact in Caraca, in Australia and in the United States. The scale fined not and the exact constitution of the Court can be selled later. In a yview, that will not be a difficult task, I though their terminate details which will remain the discussion. I would the face verbine to take the opportunity of advising you to pass a resolution after ing the opiniciple and having the other questions oper for further detaination.

Chairman: That will be recorded.

<sup>\*</sup> See page 473 for the form in which the resolution was finally adopted by the Conference.

be enverient at the amortem for a closay that while the question of the Supreme Court is taked, there are obtain questions with regard to the High Court while well also have to be raised. I taked to raise these questions at whatever stage it had be convenient to raise them.

Lord Sankey: Yes, certainly.

Lt.-Col. Gidney: I should like to mention that I sent a note to the Lord Courseller on pury trials so tarks it a freets Anglo-Indians which I hope be will consider when the Federal or Supreme Court is constituted.

Lord Surkey: Certaidy | Lem very ninch obliged to you

Mr. Jayakar: May I mention, with the permission of Their Highnesses, that a may also be necessary to consider whether it is possible. I am not proposing anything contreversial row to link up the Supreme Court with the policial systems of Their Highnesses. I am only asking for that question to be considered. I do not know whether any powers may be given of an appollate character to the Supreme Court. I am only suggesting that because it will link up the whole jud coal machinery of entire India.

Lord Reading: I understand that everything will be open because I also have some suggestions to make with regard to the Supreme Court. I are not going into their now. I understand everything was open.

Lord Sankey: Yes.

Chairman: The subject is going to be the Supreme Court.

forget the question of the status of the Indian Bar.

Lord Sankey: That I always remember.

II.II. The Malarage of R was Mr. Prino Minister, I should be to began by adding my quota to the tribute of praise which has already been paid to the patience, the sympathy and the impartable of the which you and your adheadies, among whom I must particularly mention Lord Sankey, have possibled wereom discussions.

I think it can fairly be claimed that an atmosphere of good will has prevailed thrombout our delilerations; and the creation of this atmosphere is. I believe in itself a substantial achievement, and one which will go an to assist in the solution of the many problems at retail, some of them sufficiently interctable, which yet awart the constitution makers.

It is, I approx inevitable, that as the Conference draws to a close we should each one of us ask ourselves what we hoped to a higger it this Conference, and what has been the measure of our constitution bank ered out, and I am not disappointed it it this has not been done.

There are great interests in India which are not represented be e. For that recon. if for no other, it behaves us to proceed with care and caution.

So har a the Indian States are concerned, the med in pertant development of the Conference has been the emergence of the idea of Federation. It has been transformed from a distant and lazy real ent the incredince object of practical codeavour. As such, it has been webcomed by the Delegation of which I am a meraber, At this age, lowers, I feel compelled to lay before you or e very is person point. Opinious may lifter as to the way in which F leadin and its implications will commend themselves to the Primes of India It may be that the grat assisting will at once e oft if On the other lard we must be prepared to foce the possibility of a dissentients. For my own part, if Tederation is to come, no newill be more pleased than I to find it aregit d is mediately, wholesbeautedly and unanimously, by those of Ly brether l'inces, who fully realise its necessary pupilications. My present points only this it has to be recognised that any estir ates we now just borw and of the speed with which the tederal idea will speciaral gen acceptance, are conjectural.

We cannot thereby bind anyons but ourselves. Federation has have accorded by the Indian States Delegation, but if his not yet lacer accepted by the individual Princes of India. The relations of the States are with the British Crown and they are individual. It seems to me to be ineverable that some of the States, whether they be run a very the future will show, but it is inevitable that - new the felo and the felond idea, and it is their cause which I on pl ling now with I say that Pederation must ret be forced I calle or a figural of any one of them. They need be secured in the rights and procleges which they enjoy, and the number of the relation with the British Generalment must remain thaltered. trial the the tree, vita, viluntarily and without compalsion, agree I charge. It is who that 75 procent, or the Status will accept declarer; travia dat 90 per cit, will accept; it haveven ith off percent will accept be riftlevelo, and it only one m or is but limit at the court, there for mount money there has emper real related to the first be on break of faith with them In all trates the faith of Brania all the lor our of their In the Indians to see that historic pholocolate full lied, whether by the Government of the day, or by my an eding Government on which peace has be devolved in future. I not sure they will not trust in vain.

Here betwee Exess for a nonceat four entapos ible contrist.
In a sylengered that the States which do not accept Peleration,

stand out with the deliberate object of in peding the progress of India as a whole. This will be a completely mistaken idea. These States which stand out well do so I feel certain, with the object— they be a mistaken object, but with the sole object— of preserving the position and bentage which comes to them from the past.

It is terms to prove that they are mistaken. It is easy to be impution twith these was tail to see eye to eye with us; it is easy to say that it is in the rown time interests to accept the change, and that on that ground it is justifiable to bring pressure to bear. This is not the way of statesmanship. The way of patience is the way of peace, and only by patience can the full harvest of mutual trust and confidence be reached, and a feeling of security be engandered.

The advance of political ideas cannot be equally rapid in every part of India. Among the States great diversities of conditions prevail, and there must, I fear, be some whose carticu may make them at first unreceptive of the new ideas; unresponsive to the new tendencies. Their hands must not be forced—their confidence must be won. That way and that way only, lies the read to a contended India. Not every nation has yet entered the League of Nations. The Fed ration of India may in the same way take time to complete. Above all, let it be remembered that the spirit of corporate progress which has animated us in our discussions here is a new one. It is for us to enthuse that spirit into those who have not been here to receive its inspiration at the source. Human nature is obstinate stuff. It needs sympathy and understanding to win over a man to your side. Confidence can either be received nor can it be extracted. It has to be earned. Victory must be a victory of the spirit, by conversion, not by compulsion.

For my own part, I can see that Federation is a high ideal and with reservations I could accept it here and now, but I distrust an acceptance with reservations. When I accept. I prefer to accept without reservations, and in the stage that this proposal has reached. when the Federal structure has hardly been outlined, I do not feel justined in making any commitment on behalf of the conservatives among the States. Personally, I am not opposed to the ilea of Federation, and I believe that a scheme of Federation will be levised which I am accept. Till the scheme is before me, I prefer not to give my opinion. Giving a verdict before evidence is made available will be an uncommon proved me. There is one other point on which I wish to say a few words. In the course of a speech resterday, a proposition was enunciated that Tederation is a higher rleal than isolation. For the sake of theoretical argument alone, one car also say that listribution is a higher ideal than staguat on, or that uniformity is a higher ideal than distinction. The truth of all these philosophic axioms I admit. Who would deny that Federation is a higher ideal, but I suggest that Federation is at present an ideal, and it is an unfortunate fact that in human affairs bleal can either not be attained or they can only be attained gradually and by approximation. Faither, until all the Princes of In lia should strive to the proposition that Federation is a higher deal, it should not be imposed upon them. We may dislike their views, but they are a tactor on the problem which cannot be disagraded. Cool and bad men are found in every society, but so far as we are concerned. I can assure you. Sir, that we do realise the advance of time. We realise the necessity for improvement. There may be some differences in the page, but we are all mar ling torward, and with the patience and good-will of our countrymen. I feel sure you will not find the Princes lacking in any respect in the discharge of their duties and in tooking after the interests of their people.

I have little more to say. I take back with me to India warm and lively menonics of friendship and hospitality offered in genetous measure; of patience and uncerstanding in the handling of our problems; of unflagging sympathy and unfailing good-will. I go back with my traditional loyalty to the Crown broadened by a tuller understanding of the bonds that hold us together. I for one am convinced that Great Britain wishes India well, and is ready to give her the best help of all, by helping her to help herself. I believe that the fatme will bring again a full measure of happiness to my distracted land; that the welter of strife, jetlousy and suspicion, will subside, and that the sun of prosperity will again shine on an India once more content. If this be the result of our labours, then even if the final scheme to be evolved differs largely from the expectations with which we came and returned, we may take pride to have played our parts in these days of stress at the Indian Round Table Conference,

Mr. Basic: The cecisions about which there has been the largest measure of agreement are such as do act, in many respects, come up to the ideal cherished by a large section of the Indian people. There has been a feeling that vested interests have sometimes been attended to even in disregard of the ordinary rights of the pulls. We have at times not fully realised the strength of the total solid the present movement in India. It has to be realised that it is not only the intellectual classes but a large part of the masses of India that are concerned in the movement. The intense desire to attain self-rule and the status of a self-governing people on the has been repelling the couple of India to suffering and my routh after roughly has not been largeby prominertly before us in our deliberations.

The history of India for the last twen v-five or thirty years will allow that it consequence of that apply a force not being taken to account, dischartion has become deep seated and has spread tability and extensively, and there is now an active distrinst of Britain and her intertions which, in a dispelled scon, is likely to crystallise.

Where a final gest are of trierdliness ard trust might have drawn Bratanic and I or closer, the discussions have often scripht to fore down suggestions for account with a leavy admixture or set maids, the interpretation of all oh, to a large section of the

Ind at people will be that Britain expects India to trust her, while she herself does not trust India.

Matters which are not of much moment in the actual day to day I to ct. It if a have to extraophifed into higherness in the path of India's progres. Communal differences and the question of non-titles have been discussed in a manner which suggests that such differences do not exist anywhere else in the world, and as it all you strike where there have been continual differences have in consequence lost all title to self-rule. It has been ignored that the different communities in India have been used to living with one another in amit everyday of the r lives for many centuries. There are or isional closhes, but they are far from trequent in large infinitesinal who computed with the number of amically contacts. To the millions of India who have neither the leisure not the inclination to tarely and feel in communal terms of matters of Statz which allocation to tarely and feel in communal terms of matters of Statz which allocation to tarely and feel in communal terms of matters of Statz which allocation to tarely and feel in communal terms of matters of Statz which allocation to tarely and feel in communal terms of matters of Statz which allocation to tarely and feel in communal terms of matters of Statz which allocations are not be inclinated as a subject of the respective feet and the community of the respective feet and the respective feet and the respective feet and the feet and the respective feet and the feet and the respective feet and the feet and feet a

The millions of India want a better stardard of life and they want progress. They want to send to the Legislatures net who will work for the welfare and uplitt. They want to choose their epresent tives on these ground, and not because they are of a particular religious pursuation. If the discortent of the masses is to be allowed, the soone we case to talk of communal differences the better, not only for India but for the future relations between Britain and India. I trust the people of Britain will see the real inwardness and appropriate and the attitude taken up by the locisions of the Conference and the attitude taken up by the Delegates, individually or in groups, I trust that the strong current which has communed to any, and which is gaining momentural every step, will not be impeded by artificial obstructions. A hesitoting, little hearted measure would not have satisfied Britain if she had been in our position, and will not satisfy India.

We from India, Sir, have appreciated the sympathy with which attempts have been under it this country to understand our difficulties and our aspirations. The Lord Chancellor has stated that this Counterence is only the planting of a seed. He has assisted in the planting of that seed, but it is the spirit it which we water it and tend it that really matters. I carnestly trust that the spirit it which Lord Sankey has assisted in the planting of the seed will anomate all in this country and in India who are interested in the growth of the tree of our vision. I add my tribute of grateful appreciation to the kindness and haspitality which we all have met with in this country.

Khan Bahad o Hafes Hidagat Husana If one screets the work of the Conference, the cannot but be struck by the extent to which rustinst has been replaced by confidence, with such rapidity that it is not easy to believe what has really been achieved. So fir, Sir, I think the work of the Conference will always remain indestructible. I am sure that a solid foundation has been laid, and with that solid

foundation, Sur, you came will over be associated as one who has had the sincerest intentions towards India.

The fut are constation of India will. I musure, be such as to saleguand not sals the interests of the prajorities let also the interests of the remaities. The purture which has been drawn by the Leid Cla clar may fail to be of value af the finishing touches I the artist are not given to it. The plant to which Lord Somey he sectioned that will in the uncorganizal atmosphere of Julia it it is a tiple med on a congenial soil. No emstitution in India can word, it is attracting to say, if it becount give to India autonomy and responsibility. In these two attributes of the future constitut or of Italic every minority wints to take its legitimate share. Lord Readiry, who we applicated so much for his speech, he given the reservations which were latert in that speech. The Co servicives have not blessed the picture painted for them. It has been expressly st. ted that the prinordies and the Depressed Classes were definite in their assertion that hey could not consent to any constitution proveling self-government for India unless the ridenands vere met in a reasonable marker. I hope that our future deliberations will contribute to the solution of this question in such a way that it will meet the reasonable denands of the majority and the minorities.

Speaking of the Milammodans of India, I can always say that our attitude has been, as free and patriotic citizens and children of India, to contribute to the general welfare. We have played our part and we will play our part, and I hope that in the future deliberations the contributions of the Indian Mussalmans will not be instruction. I hope also that the constitution, when it is finally placed before the British Parliament, will be such as to eliminate all those suspicious and that distruct which are at present so evident.

I do really hope. Sir, that when we return to India the pas ton will be such that we shall feel we have contributed something to bring us together for the common weal of India.

H.H. The Mahing of Dholpa. Mr. Prime Minister, I have to thank you for allowing me at this stage of our precedings to express the own sentence is as to the work which we have been alled under your shifted in a superphetic guidance to accomplish. When this Conference opened some nine weeks ago, the prospects before us, as most of us felt, were none too hopeful. The situation in India was serious; those of us who are charged with the duty of informing His Majosty's Government of the political sentiments which exist in our country made. I hope, no search of our belief and reading of it we have no hear worked at the Conference for nine weeks and we have too tatively arrived at some definite proposals. In a sentence, we have and down the foundations of a United India. That there are many difficulties still to be solved, many questions to be at sweet l. no one will deny.

In reaching this consumation I am happy to think that the Indian States have played an important part. As has been recognised and libes, their willingness to work for the federal ideal has

marked a turning point in the fortunes of the Conference. There is still much to be done, there are still many details to be filled in, before their final alkerance to any teleral's home will be possible. But I can clearly chira that I and my brother Princes have shown not ancely a willingness to contribute our characteristic contributions to the progress and stability of India as a whole, but also are desirous to consider in the friendliest possible spirit any just scheme put forward by British India with an object of acomplishing this end.

Mr. Prime Minister, it has been repeatedly at rived in the unity stages of this Conference, that all the opinions expressed must be taken as tertained rather than as final. The adherence of myself and my brother Princes to the general principles haid down by the Conference sub-Committees naturally partakes of this general haracteristic. Until we see the final shape which the picture will assume, we cannot clearly distinguish the part which we shall occupy within its trame. But this much, I am quite sure, I am justified in saying. The Princes of India will do their best to see that the progress of the country is advanced in a true sense. We will use our limited and humble influence in order to promote the welfare, not mendy of our own subjects who are always so near our hearts, but also the welfare of the country as a whole.

The reason which impelled the Princes to take up the attitude they did is not far to seek. They saw that great forces of disruption were arising and a mighty upheavel was coming in political India. They realised their twofeld duties towards the Crown and towards the country. Our attachment to the Person and the Throne of His Majesty the King Emperor needs no proof. From the time when the connection of Britain and India began the Indian States have been true to their treaties, and have faithfully of served those chivalrous obligations of honour to which the treaties gave rise. Along with it, we have the fullest confidence that India is destined to be as great in the future as it has been in the past. With these two cardinal principles before us, we set about our work. We believe that there is no conflict between the real interests of India and her connection with Britain. We are, on the other hand, convinced that this has been devised by Providence for the benefit of both countries and for the evolution of a greater and nobler culture, which would unite the Fast and the West in indissoluble bends of mutual understanding and goodwill.

Mr. Prine Minister, I do not desire to include in any false hopes. I am not blind to the difficulties with which we are confronted. He would, indeed, he are over-confident individual who would proclaim at the present moment that our work was over-Much still remains to be done, many problems cry aloud for solution. But I think that I shall be justified in saying that the spirit that has animated our Conference is the spirit by which all problems of India will be solved.

And I should like in this connection to pay my personal tribute to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to the Lord Chancellor, and the popular

Secretary of State for India to all those removes of the Majests's Givernment, as well as to the representatives of the great political parties of Britain who have outributed so much to the progress that has been had. I cannot refrain from acknowledging the marner in which the represent tives of British India have appreschate I the position in which the Indian States stand to-div. And it this connection I should not be surprised if one of the greatest gains which have accound to India during this Conference, should not prove to be a better in derstar line between the India States and British Im in which has grown up during these last tew week. Mr. Princ Minister, the difficulties which loors before us ar all faridables but, at the historic gathering. I venture to thick, that, we have all of is leveloped that spirit by which distinities are overcome. I pray that the blessings of Providerce nay rest upon the skies of the Corbentre, and when the receives tor is to builty close. I hope all opinions and parties will ready feel grateful, united and satisfied.

But, before I conclude, I must give expression to the satisfaction I test at the results of the Conterence Nobody imagined that the greatific task at framing the future destines of one-firth of the lumar race boild be accomplished in the short span of a few weels: but t gives no small satisfaction that the basic principles of de schene Lave been outlined. And more than this; we, belonging to In his and Britain have, by weaking together around this Table in the atmosphere than which to hing could be more triendly, have been able to understand each e her. While the British Delegation has reclised the position of Imbia, let me assure then that it has been amply proved, it trepured to be proved, that Britain desires sincerely to help fiductorward. When we came, we came with rang misgivings and anxieties as nessengers of India to appro-British of the real feelings of the people of India and to find out a r medy. I tiel nov, and I hope every other Delegate from India will probabilities, when I say that I can be tarning to India as a tessage of Britain, conving her coldid bessage of god will and sancerest it endship to my beloved Motherland; a rassege which I hope will be understood and responded to.

(At this point the Prime Minister was called away and Lord Sankey took the chair.)

Lt.-Cal. Gidney: Mr. Chairman, I have very few remarks to make at this stage of our beliberations when the cuttom is about a factor the Relate Table Contention. Before we can increed out the tig to-lay I was a mappy man, happy in a feeling of deep grantime to by Indust lightlers to having passed a resolution of the Sources ab-Containties which was natified at a whole Contention Contributes the morning which afforded some consideration to my continuity. But, Sin, with the Hindu-Muslim contributes will unsettled, and the remail this norming of my Indian brothers through its the vested and commercial interests of Europeans in India, I feel very pessionstic regarding the future self-governing India.

inder the majority rule. I shall not indulge in any language that in ght be misunderstool or appear ingrateful, but I want to say, Si., with all the criphasis at my command, I feel, with this uncertainty, with these two hig problems still unsettled, that we, the minorities, are still living in the land of conjecture and consideration and it I may add grave apprehension of our future in India. I hope I am wrong.

With these bugger interests still musettled, I are seriously thinkare what will be the position of the minorities. Each one of us has stressed as well as we could that we require adequate statutory protection in the luture constitution of India, and I feel sure that members of all minority communities will join me when I say that we are gravely apprehensive unless we do receive that protection. Remeraber the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem is not the only one at this Conference. The settlement of the other minorities is also of great, if not of equal importance; and I would ask you, Sir. in settling the interests of these minorities and the labour interests of India that you and your Government will clearly , ealise what we demend. We do not ask for a continuance of such transitional and academic protection as las been afforded to us in the 1919 Government of India Act, during the past decade. That protection is to be found in the instruments of instruction to Clovernors, and is merely of paper value, for not one of our interests has been adequately protected in the past. We are now developing a new constitution for India, but we still feel so apprel ensive that it makes us all the more anxious, Sir. indeed we are determined to stress pane. 18 of the Minorities Report. Para. 18 of the Minorities Report was before the sub-Committee a few hours ago, and with the other naivority communities. I join in our demand for adequate statutory protection of minorities with Courts of appeal: otherwise we. I am sure, cannot and shall not be a party to any new constitution.

The needs of my community are very few economic and educational, but if these needs are not to be statutorily protected, our induce is indeed perilous. You know as we'll as I do. Sir, what my needs and their remedies are, so I shall not again detail them. But I do ask you, when the new constitution is being trained, that you will not tail the minorities in affording them adequate and ample statutory protection, and in particula, do I ask for the Anglo-Indian Community occupying as it does a singular position—a class of His Majesty's subjects whose peculiar interests you cannot fail to recognise nor deny protection, because as claims are not only just but constitute a moral and homeurable obligation on every Britisher and Indian and who are our joint trustees in the new India.

Mr. Garin Jones: Lord Chancellor, first I wish to thank the Prime Minister, who has presided over this Contenence, and yourself. Sir, who have presided over the Federal sub-Committee, for the antalling courtesy and primes with which you have treated us. The success of this Contenence is due to the fact that you, Sir, and

the Prime Minister, have fulfilled the duties of Chairmen with consummate skill.

I also wish to pay tribute to Their Highnesses and the representatives of the Indian States for the patriotic statesmarship they have shown in coming forward willingly to rederate with British India. They have shown statesmanship both in their terests of all-India and in their own interests, for it is quite certain that whatever happens in British India will have its repercussion on their peoples. Moreover, India has now become a protectionist country, and they are wise in wishing and endeavouring to guide that policy. In fact it is their right to do so.

I very much doubt whether the British Parliament were right when they concluded the Fiscal Convention with the present Legislative Assembly with no representation from the Indian Princes.

That, Sir, is taxation without representation.

The great problem of India can only be solved by a federation of all-India, and although there are many, many great difficulties in the Indian States before the problem can be solved. I consider that the problems in British India are far greater because we have still to create our constituent States. This is where I have great tears in regard to this future Federation in which I am keenly and enthusiastically interested in seeing that it is successful. My reason for this is that the British Parliament have, I think, made rather a fetish of democratic institutions, and have forced upon India at too rapid a pace democratic institutions for which they are not prepared.

In support of this contention, I will only quote two things which, I think, confirm my contention. One is that since the introduction of the Montagu-Chalmsford Reforms, the Congress, which at one time was a reasonable party, has now become a revolutionary party. That would not matter it it were not for the fact that there is no effective opposition in the country to that party among the Hindus. I maintain, Sir, that if you cannot find sufficient men in a country with loyalty to institutions, respect of law and order, and the moral countage to oppose revolutionary propaganda, that strikes at the root of democratic institutions.

The second thing I wish to note in regard to democratic institutions is that India is not homogeneous, and that it will be a long time before India will be homogeneous. It is more varied than even the nations of Europe. I think the British Parliament now understands that separate electorates are absolutely essential. This really strikes at the root of pure democracy. But I maintain that India can progress without hising everything on a pure population democratic basis. Democratic institutions and their birth and origin in the City States of Rome and Greece, but when Rome expanded into a large hermogeneous Europe, they had to alarged democratic institutions. Decoration government is a multar unstitution, and India is 90 per cent, and and beterogeneous

I should like to quote Sir Mitza Ismail, an Indian stateshala when speaking of Bargulore, it referring to the Indian State. He and that the atthe Indian States where the attended customs and believed traditions on test endure, on the shrewdly a ided that, after all, European countries are beginning to doubt whether democratic institutions are the best form of government.

You, are the peoples of British India very different from the peoples of the Indian States? I do not thank so. Have not the people of Briss India hallowed eistens and traditions? They b. ve. and we gnore them at our pend. The British have lone much tor India; they have created a new India in the towns, and in those towns decorrate institutions are beginning to develop, but the countryside, rural India, remains substantially unchanged. Great Britain has united India as she has never been united before, but I am beguining to fear that she is failing intellectually in that she is endeavouring to force apon India institutions which are foreign to India, and which I am afraid may, unless we handle then with great care, bring India to grief. My Indian friends here are very fond of quoting from Edmund Buile. Let me quote one of lis passages it which he states that " a State is a partnership not only of the living, but a partnership of the living, of the dead and of those who are still to be born." I very often feel that we are apt to torget the partnership or the dead, and thereby we are risking the tuture of the living and of those still to be born. Therefore, Sir, I would plead with the British Parliament not from their own point et view and from the point of view of their own institutions, valuable as they are to homogeneous Great Britain, but from the point of view of a vast sub-Continent.

I do not wish to go back on the announcement of 1917, but I wish it to be clearly understood that if democratic institutions are to be developed they must be developed gradually. The first thing, Sir. is to ensider the franchise, and the Franchise sub-Committee's Report does not altogether please me: it is too vague and too nebulous. I dare say that that is an advantage, because it has got to be considered by another Franchise Committee hereafter. But I am very interested to see that the urban constituencies are separated from the imal: that is to say, that the franchise is so arranged, and the representation is so arranged in the Legislatures, that the urban interests will really be represented. While I was a trender of the Council of the United Provinces, out of 100 elected members 11 were urban lawvers, and yet there were only 12 urban Oust mercies Therefore the Franchise Committee that will be torm i should vay carefully consider the best way to represent the real interests of 90 per cent. of rural India.

Are there went I would like to emphasise as a safeguard for this deriorratic development of the Provincial States is that Second Char bers should be introduced without doubt, and that they should be made strong and have powers so as to steady and control the development without allowing the mobito run away with the Council.

Another joint I want to emphasise is a point with regard to the Services. Now, the Services are really vital to India and I maintain

that the Largue Commission recommendations must be nautumed for some considerable period, because it is the backbone of the government of inval India. You must maintain the best that you can get in the rural areas. Also, Sir, we must see that the Frontier Array is kept sound, because there are people ever the border wanting to possible upon riel India, archading Russia and many countries up north, as I we must therefore guard the Frontier and keep our Army cali iest. Lastly, Sir, I would like to quote from the Prime Michaels wise words which he uttered at a banquet given by His Highness of Alway: Constitutions are made by the minds and from the experience and history of the people, and only in so far as we are successful in marting the past with the future, shall we be successful in helping India to real political liberty.

Views of the work of the Round Table Contenues. I do so with mixed reclings. I do not do it with a feeling of unalloyed satisfaction, not do I do it with a feeling of unalloyed satisfaction, not do I do it with a feeling of unalloyed satisfaction, not do I do it with a feeling of unalloyed depression of gleon when I contemplate what we have accomplished. I wish to be as objective, as impartial as I possibly can. Sit, in the consideration of the work which we have accomplished, it is always best, in my opinion to take the credit and also the debit side of on account. The one question which I regard as far damental to the solution of some of the important problems with which we are controlled in India of the present time has not yet be a satisfactorily satisfact later, of course, to the Hindu-Muslin problem. I regret to have to state it: I am sorry to have to refer to it; I do so only because I shall be failing in my duty to any community if I do not bring this matter province the later the English public.

It is a view which has been held by all persons who count, persons of influence and reputation, that we cannot say whether a on stitution is good or had unless we know how it is worked and al evonks it. It voi tell me, it a cyle ly tells ne, what the torms I the Cuttal Legislature it. India are going to be. I must ask line also is going to work it. I must ask him who are the men who will control the naccitery and acquire power in the Central Governne to I am by no means the Hed when I am teld that it is gong to be very democratic. I do not object to it at all; but I am entitled to brow what the commagaties and classes will be, if which the new Central Legislature will be composed. The constitution of Mexico the rest the most permet pieces a machine, we could taink of. On paper at is almost perfect perfect in the amount of liberty concerned on the individual, perfect in the grant of power to the Legislature, pertect in the salurd mater of the executive to the be a slitting and the rich sitem of the more up-to-date principles of ciliamenta surand demorracy which have been made so tamiliar as by the glazous examile of the American system. Yet low in the survey of difference My reply is that it does not week at all. Mexico has no constitution. There is a revolution every six months. As Lord Rice informs us in his classical work on 

The board time At the ma Republican a spet of the first the to be American travellation, and gar over all the prophenically et it to promote that it at atoms, by exert that the first we care in pights, the troverse outs of South Ausgran Report of all complete and the the tell burns. We notely, there's . Si . have a very postert a statistic to one property last were true of the someth in which we all somet it if I where we see how it works, how it affects the variety cor minmakes and at take a Dead Sea mun. Therefore, while I pass me prior entre the great week treated work in teated directions or tro Pederal Stracture sub-Committee, and suspend my pulgment on it. hiefly because I do not know what position by centure ring is good; to eccupy in the new organism which you, Sir, with revalapled ability, patient earl tast, have brought into being. I nest laweter, reter to the great and enduring work which has In a newly a rumber of other sub-Committees, and I take the of continuity of the charge the Claimmer, who have shown underno e litest and rd bette to every neigher who has tal n part in the discussion. I have had the opportunity of wealth of the every sub-Committee, except the sub-Correlated dealine with Bernon and the Poderal Structure sub-Cornective and Lam ver except at no when I say that the Reports of these sub-timen trees er torn a solution of some of the most injustant problems with vhiel we have been faced in India I seed only a still the Squatum et St. Lie Blott diamento to the l'inther l'incipe the representation of remergies in the public services. Everyone would welcome such class, distance and emplican prescumences. is these thorny problems by the sub-Committees that dead with them.

Sir, the second important point which has energed from an deliberations in the last two snal a half months is the part which the Princes are going to play in the future polity of India

My Lora Chamellor, I must state quite candidly that it was not with our considerable hesitation and doubt I have ever so arapainen that some of is viewed the citiv of the hid, it Prices er the areas of Italia politics. There was sever burningst us wild from Indience in the new policy and who should a woold be Litter to Bottskelted a te develop along the live at had and a the production of the state of the े राज्य के राज्य कर के का किए प्रकार का किए प्रकार का किए हैं कर का निर्माण endant to which they have been been constitution of a text restitution for [1] . It is a vegetally admitted that takes at little Praces co come into the lederation of vill be diffeor thit not mapossable for India to have respect ble Gavernment a the Centre. We are therefore on the lower of a dilemma. Withour the Princes, the present autocratic regime will continue; aith the Princes, the constitution will in norm be democratic, in practice, cligatelie. There is another result of their co-sperition to which I should refer here. If the Princes are allowed to discuss and vote thou ques ions concerning British India, they must in turn understand that this must have repercussion on the radiomistration also, As they discuss British Irdian problems so we will have to deal

with the problems of their States. Of course they do not like it. and do not want it. We do not want either, and want to confine ours dies to our owr problems. But the irresist bloam that events will shatter the thin will that separates the two Irdies into nau metable tracta its far visual sirg the future and project remyseli m to faturity. What I me m is this. When the representataxes of the Princes in the Assembly vote upon and discuss part. as concerning British India, their States are bound to be ustractely subjected to discussion by people of British India, When the Princes take an active part in British Indian politics, representatives of Brabsh India would also like to exercise the right, my, cischarge the luly, of dispissing problems of Indian States. I wint to emphasis: this point, because I believe it will be found in actual working that the Processant a buill a Climese wall want then States. Not only will they or their representatives have to come in regularly to the Assertable but there will be so many shoutles of suggestion, in Artion, influence, and example working, scraetimes cpenly and vigorously, it other times imperceptibly, that the distinction between British India and Irolian States will disappear, In all practical purposes, and India will act as a united, honogerecus comby or mary in portant problems.

This is, Su, my conviction. It we apply this test, and this test only, we are just hed in saying the proposed constitution has been the greatest nears of brighing about the unity and the solidarity if India and the complete fusion of the various classes that constitute Indian solidar.

Sir. I should have to been to one or two other points which have been covered by the Reports of the various sub-Committees, and I would in particular draw the attention of this horounable body to the excellent work done by the Services sub-Committee. Previous speakers have already referred to it. A closer examination of the sub-Committee will show principles for which Muslims have been striving and folding for a long time have been recognised. I refer in particular to the principle of scent ng tair and adequate share in the public cryices to all communities, and to the portion lealing with the Angle-Indian community. I am sure everybody here will admit that that community has done great things for India, and that the sub-Committee has acted in a very just, may, generous manner.

Before I sit lowe I should like to make the attitude of the Mulanum adams of the United Provinces quite clear. We have reveren any occas in opposed any advance either in the Centre or in the Provinces. We have never fined to counte an Ulster ir India; that his never bein our desire or our wish. On the contrary, we have said that we will fight boulder to shoulder with our frethres for the cause of India, the cause of our common Motherland. But, while we have said that, we have at the same time made it perfectly clear, as clear as we possibly any that our safegrands, our rights, the rights to which we have been light to for years must be preserved and guaranteed; and before I sit down I must repeat that the demands of our community coulded to the Delhi resolution have not been

rect, and the Muslans of United Provinces will most certainly be disappeared at this aspect of the work of the Round Table Conference.

Mr. Shina Rear Now that the proceedings of the Conference are drawing to a close. I want, on behalf of my colleague Mr. Joshi and myself, to make a very brief statement to in hitate the point of view of the Indian workers. Let me say at once that we cannot entertain any warmth or enthusiasin for the principles of the new constitution which have on erged as a result of the discussions in the various sub-Corim trees. He warfed a statutory declaration of the rights of labour; he have legislation and its administration to be a Federal subject; the right of implementing international obligations, and part cularly the conventions of the International Labour Conference, to be a concern of the Federal Government, the introduction of adult suffrage, and, lastly, if special interests were to continue to enjoy the rights of separate representation, adequate representation of labour in all the Legislatures.

Sir, we cannot but express our misgivings that in the new constitution, unless a radical revision is made in the later stages of discussion, the position of the workers will not only be not better than it is to-day, but it some respects it will be definitely worse. We are not certain of the statutory declaration of rights. According to the Report of the Federal Structure sub-Committee, labour legislation is not to be a Federal subject but is to remain a Certral subject. The plain meaning of this is that labour in India will have to be prepared hereafter for strenuous opposition in the Federal Legislature from the capitalists on the ground that that legislation will not apply to the Indian States. Moreover, such protection as has been afforded during the last ten years to the In lian workers by the International Labour Organisation at General will cease to be effective in a Federated India. There can be no question in future of ratifying the conventions and recommendations of the International Labour Conference under the new constitution.

Not only adult franchise but even a wide extension of the franchise was opposed by certain members of the Franchise sub-Committee. We do not know how far the claims of labour for adequate representation will be met, but there is no gleam of hope in any of the proposals that have so far been made, either by the Government of India or by the various Provincial Governments. We must point out that if the rights of the workers are ignored there is bound to be a serious upheaval amongst them.

Sir. at this Conference other voices—those of the Princes, the capitalists, the landlords and the middle classes have tended to drown the cry of the under-dog. The masses in India have little or no concern with the controversies and the disputes which have figured so largely in our proceedings. Their essential needs are food, education, housing, sanitation and the barest necessities of life, which are in millions of cases beyond their reach to-day. Will the transfer of political power from a foreign government to a

combination of representatives of the Princes (normated, not elected), hardlords and capitalists make an approvable difference to the masses of the Indian people?

Sir, let us not ovolcos be sign tic, nor of what is happening it. India to-day. There is a revolutionary spirit working in the spire of politics. How to the log timate aspirations of the Indian nationalists will be satisfied by a constitution of all of reservations and qualifications in every aspect of it. I shall not it thought to say here, but the solution of India's political froubles will not be the end of the period of aniest; the relations between landlords and ten ints, and employers and employees, will have to be suitably readjusted better India can have proceed that the read problems of the India of to-morrow are economic and social.

Sir, Mr. Joshi and I have been asking ourselves during the time that this Conference has been silting, what message can we take lack to the workers in India. So far we fear we have not been able to formulate one that would assure them that their interests will be sategualded. We shall be lading in our duty at this Conference if we do not make it perfectly plain that a constitution which keeps labour leg do ion outside the jurisdiction of the Federal Legislature, which deprives the workers of the protection which they have enjoyal so far as a result of It dia's numbership of the Inter-tutional Labour Organisation, and which is based of a very testicated translise, can rever be a reptable to the Indian workers and we hope. Sir, that before the principles enunciated here are translited into a Parliamentary measure, these furdamental defects will be removed.

Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao; My Lord Chancellor, we have now are ved at a stage in our proceedings when we are called their to real. The concluding elservations on the whole work of this Conference. Many decisions have been taken, many points have been eserved to further investigation, and the method and manner in which this trather investigation is to be conduited has not yet been referred to. Without arrespating anything that yen and the Prime Minister may say as regards the method of this further investigation of points that have been reserved for further consideration. I trust that machiners will be devised which will be satisfactory to this Conference and to the people of India for these further stages which are absolutely necessary to complete the work of this Conference.

beset to tractlat the results attained so far have received the wilber assent of the thinking people in India, and that many devictors from the general framework attled in this Conference will be generally in contoraity with the public opinion of India, and that it will adequately meet all the national aspirations of the people of India.

Sir, in order to preduce a satisfactory at iosphere in India for the consideration of the results of this Caterence, I also venture

thins that a clamere of policy in regard of the present political -ituation in India is also absolutely necessary, and I trust that before we disperse from this country we shall have the satisfaction or hearing from the Pri be Minister and yourself that there will be Tiese take take measures to produce that rules und satisfactory atmosphere in Italia for the consideration of the whole subject of ladian constitutional development. As you know, Sh. many of our countrywer are new in jail, and some of the leading and most influential for are act able to give any attention to this subject till the steps which I advocate are taken by His Majesty's Government in this matter. I can only say this, that without a lequate consideration of all those people, members of the most influential organisations in India, who are not able to give any attention to this subject. I do not think that the work of this Conference will be complete in any manner whatever. I need not say much more on that subject. Sir and I trust that we shall depart from this country with the satisfact on of knowing that the Government of Great Butain have done everything to give us in India an opportunity of discussing the various proposals made in this country with those who are not now here. You have already said. Sir. that there are many wise men in India, and I hope that those wise men will be given a dequate apportunities to examine the whole of the scheme and to make their contribution to the work of this Conference in any manner that may be decided upon hereafter.

Sir, there are two other remarks that I venture to make. We have evolved a constitution which I trust will not be departed from in regard to the spirit in which it has been made. Many deviations will be necessary in the scheme, but I trust that whatever may be done in the future, the essential framework that has been settled Lere will be adequately kept in mind by those who may have to deal with it in the near future.

Another matter that I should also like to say is this, that the further progress of the work of this Conference should not be done in the same leisurely manner as has been done in regard to previous constitutional development, namely, years and years, the matter being again reterred to the Gevernment of India, and then the Provincial Government, and then the whole thing to come up again for reconsideration here. The various stages will have to be speeded up if the work of this Conference is to be successful. Delays are dangerous in putting off things from time to time, and I also venture to think and impress upon you and other members of His Majesty's Government that whatever machinery you devise, it should work for conjoury of time and speedy progress of the scheme that may be ultimately adopted.

Having to de all these preliminary remarks, the only matter to which I should take reference is the question of the finance of the whole scheme. We have had no occasion or opportunity to consider how the Februal Government is going to get on, and what the framial arrangements of that new constitution will have to be. Sir Walter Layton's scheme was conceived under entirely different

conditions and I really do not know and cannot say whether those proposals will fit in with the Federa. Structure that you have devised, and with the Provincial constitutions which will work under your new scheme. Ther fore, Sir, I think that the whole question of finance has still to be examined, and we shall have to go very carefully into the question of financing the Federal Government as well as the Provincial Governments under this new constitution; because, after all, we hour adequate finance no Government am succeed, and one of the difficulties of the Montague Chelmsterd scheme has been went of adequate finance in the sphere which has been transferred to Ministers in the Provinces.

Sir, smothing las decide been said by my friend Mr. Jayakar to the effect that an attempt should be made here and now to transfer at least some portion of military control to the Minister in the Federal Government. I entirely agree with him, and I suggest that a Committee should be set up immediately to consider ways and means for effecting this transfer and separation of administrative and legislative as well as financial control in regard to the Army which vests now entirely in the India Office. On this matter so great an authority as the Esher Committee have made this observation: "We are at the same time confronted with evidence of the continued reductance of the India Odice to relinquish into the hands of the Gevernment of India greater freedom in the administration of the Army, even in cases where this could be done without compromising the administration of the Army at home or centravening the sound principle of uniformity in military policy. We are strongly of opinion that greater latitude should be allowed to the Governor-General in Council and the Commander-in-Chief in India in matters affecting internal military administration, in order to secure efficiency and especially the greater contentment of the Army in India."

Now, Sit, I venture to think that if in regard to Army administration and Army brance the existing state of things is to be continued, because it is to be a reserved subject, and he India Office will indertake the same metaculors control with regard to financial administration matters with regard to the Army, the position will be entirely hopoless. I think that this question requires immediate ensideration, as does also the question of reducing Army expenditure in India.

The whole of the scheme will be judged in India by the consideration as to what extent India will be able to defend herself in future; and if no adequate arrangements are made, and if any scheme is devised either with any mental reservations, or with the idea of not securing adequate and satisfactory alvance in regard to Indianisation, I may say at once that the old state of things will continue

I was a rember of the Sheen Corarictee, and I can inform you that this que tion of the Array and the Indianisation of the Army, and one percents to enable Indias to houlder responsibility for the defence of the country, was said to be the fundamental frame-

work of the new constitution. It there is any failure in this respect. I think the whole of the scheme will be rejected in the country. I therefore appeal to you. Sir, and the British Government, to say that this postion of determining the pace of Indianisation should be examined as carefully as possible, and that a very generous measure of Indianisation should be initiated at one.

There is only one other matter with which I want to deal, and that is this. We have been informed that a Committee has been appointed to go ante the question of the financial adjustment between Gran Britain and Helfa in regard to capital charges and other noncets. These questions have been pending ter a long time. I trust that the terms of reterence to that Committee will be published in India and that the enquiry will be public. In that way an apportunity will be given to those who are interested in this matter to vertilate their views with regard to the reduction of military expenditure and also for a preper distribution of expenditure between Great Britain and India. This is one of the matters which has been exitating public opinion in India for several years.

I do not wish to add anything nore except to say that I am in an optimistic tood, and that I trust that the whole of the scheme will be received in India provided adequate safeguards and transitory arrangements are made, for responsibility to be transferred as early as possible.

Said of Unit Single: This Conference has achieved a large measure of success in many directions. Let me say at the outset that the great credit for the success of this Conference is due to the Prime Minister, because of the deep synapathy and interest which he has taken in the Conference. It was sometimes a miracle how he kept himself cool and collected in the midst of heated discussions.

Next to the Prime Minister, you, Lord Chancellor, deserve the singlest graticale of all of us for the way in which you have conducted the deliberations of that most in por ant sub-Cormittee, the Federal Structure sub-Committee. No one knew more about the subject than you lid. You always came prepared with a wealth of detail and information. You were all sweetness and courtesy for onised. It is due to you mainly, and to Lord Rending's statesmanship, that the most difficult and the nost important constitutional problems have been solved with such a substantial measure of agreement. The Secretary of State for India's interest in India's aspirations has always been felt behind the scenes. The Chairmen of the various sub-Committees also deserve our sincere gratitude for the way in which they have conducted the deliberations of the various sub-Committees.

The outstanding features of the Conference have been the Schene of Federation and responsibility at the Centre. Federation no longer remains a distant ideal, as it was when we left the shares of India. Thanks to the patriotism and broad vision of the ruling Princes, that distant ideal is now almost an accomplished fact. The

and the form of the form of the test of the first of the state of the they be read properly interded to be retheir finel hiper Opinion. in liable vill certainly have a great influence the language that a fi the first scape by which the legitimace aspirations of the people of Ire a will be set steel. The distribute in the Polend substitute matter have admitted that the British haliens ment have be feat tom the apresentatives of the Police States. The will be as patriour as the reasonable and stable element in the British Ital an elected des will be. The dinger of Federation is the secret the social sorges duto des All Indicepatrotica will have to be guarant a first, but I am sure the Federation shows a brackvists and a given is fature for ladia, which could never otherwise have come about In'l Diminion Status with all its implications is now a contour of a few years. Tederation without responsibility laster come, and from Highbosses made it alan arth clear that they sould act telerate unless they shared the powers and rights they surrendered for the common object. In that way they have wholeshed tedly associated themselves with Indan ecling. The important achievement of the Conference, therefore, his been this, that, with the exception of Deferre and Foreign Alaus, the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature in all ther spheres is complete. Sateguards need not frighten any one. They will be cantully examined when the detri s are worked out in the interests of India done, as Lord Realing pointed out.

Another import at result his been that out of the deliberations of the Defence sub-Conneittee. Mr. Thomas, by his tact and harmon, cut short the deliberations and brought matters to an issue with high the ignoral daty; but I consider its decisions to be of the utmost a partiance to India. Though we could not lay down the pare of Indianisation in the Report itself, yet in discussion it was made clear that the Report of the 1922 Committee, which contend plated any late Indianisation in 30 years, should be the chief consideration of the Expert Committee to be set up.

Then, Sir, we have in the Provinced sub-Committee evolved a serie e of cuiplete responsibility for the Provinces; all subjects are to be tansiered to noted cid Ministers respectible to an clearer from slowing on a wing box, of tranclase. This is by no ments a nor acareverent. The only unfortunate leafure has been the absence of a just settlement of the claims of the various Munite It is really pointful that after long and profacted to solidare, I all privately and in the Minoraties sub-Corol ince. we are still without a perfect solution of the intrible problem the M routers I do not propose to allot blane to anyone or to any . time The enough or ever a tul mapor ; not do I be ite lare the tent of the state of the state of the state of the the east to a new and the Majorities are entitled that the rain padite I com in the Provinces is going to pass hour the British to the Majority communities. The Manifes have there are, the purpose with the regulated that champial thing a plant of the court of principle is bound to

remain part and parcel of the constitution, the Majorities, theretire, should be generous to the Minorities. Let the Minorities feel that they have a serse of security and that they are fairly protected. When they do so they will march along with the Majorities. The Majorities should take a lesson from Egyptian history. When a similar problem controlled Egypt, Zagulul Pasha, the great Nationalist leader, agreed to give to the Minority in full what it wantel. When that offer was rade in a generous spirit, the Min uity took advantage of it in a reasonable manner and the whole question of the Mirority was solved. If the Hindus would treat the Muslims and he Depressed Classes in the same sort of way. and the Mashins in the Punjab would treat the Sakhs in the sume spirit, the nervousness in the minds of Minorities would disappear. We would then target our minor differences and work for the betterment of hamandy and our starving country as children of the same soil. I do hope that before the new constitution is brought into tral ships we shall be alle to solve this problem also.

Turther, Sir, I should like to make an humble suggestion tor which I think there is a great necessity. We all real so that this constitutional scheme is going to be thrown open for discussion and constructive criticism in India, and I wish, all of us wish, that this scheme is outlibed a massed, add that opinions should be expressed on it in a spirit of goodwill at i in an atmosphere of peace. To ensure that point of view, I would begind the British statement here to consider, and the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Italia particularly to consider, that if you release the political prisoness, not on norted with any violent mine, it will create a healthy atmosphere in which all these proposals will be considered in calmness, peace and goodwill.

Locally, Sir. I have to thank all the British people for the great hesp tality they have shown us all throughout our stay in ters constra

Saide Surpresun Sorgh: There is one thing which I must in abticing. We are all astorished at the wonderful patience and unitibed temper which all the British statesmen and politicians h ve shown throughout the proceedings of our Conference. I must solurit that this is a great historic occasion, this Conference and the greatest point that we have a hieved in this Corference is the bringing of the Indian States into the Tederal Government. The incres of thinking of India as British India and Indian India always sounded like a sort of separation which never gave pleasure to the nand. Now there is something consulou in the whole country, so that when we say Ind a we can always mean the whole thing. I repeat the idea. Sir, that we have sown a seed of raustard, and I would submit that it is still a seed of mustard—the relation letween the States and British India. No doubt a great foundation is laid. but I will say unless that plant comes up and grows, and these relations are made stronger, till ther I would always look upon this little plant with a certain anxiety, and I am sure that all of us will combine to water that plant every day and look how many leaves

plant and take care of that plant. I feel sure that it is going to develop into a very big thing indeed.

An ther great thing which we have achieved here is that we have removed a lot of mistaderstanding between the British and the Indians by coming into direct touch with British stateshed here, and I am sure that when all of us, who with our advisers and others ande more than 100, I think, go back to India and spread all over that big land and talk about your intentions, and assure our country per that you all mean well to India—I feel consident that there is going to be a good feeling very soon created between this country and my own land.

There is one thing that I would like to submit to the Rt. Hon, the Secretary of State for India, who happens to be absent at this time, and that is that this constitution may take time to be completed; but there is one immediate necessity in India, and that is the comonic necessity. There is no doubt there is a slump all over the world, but we have a saying in India—I might first repeat it is Puniabi, and t'en translate it. "Nangi nahaigi kia aur nich it gi kia." i.e., "If a woman bathes nude, she would have nothing to riuse water out of." So India is already very poor, and in this slump her condition has really become extremely critical, and she requires some immediate remedy. India cannot afford to wait; they want just bread and butter to live, nothing more than that at present, and so I would submit to the Rt. Hon, the Secretary of State for India to attend to that immediate need of India at once, and not wait till the constitution is completed.

One thing more about this question of finance. We have seen Sir Walter Layton's Report; I am afraid we have not discussed it much, but the point which he has raised in that Report about taxing the acticultural income will hit very hard those innumerable people, those tailbons of people who are really the loyal subjects of His Majesty, because land already does not bear anything in India. I need not go into details, but this is a fact which can be gone into later on; but I would submit that this point should also be made their as so in as possible, because land is already so heavily taxed, according to the their of the Revenue Department it can be taxed up to 50 per cent, of its net incone; and, as you know, the Revenue Department of the Government of India is usefully availed themselves of that rule, and there cannot be much stope left for taxing the land income.

In the end, Sir. I would just thank the British statesmen who are therefore of this Concerence, and the British public in general, who have really been so kind to us during our sojourn in this country.

The Continuous adjuntated at 5-20 p.m. unt 1 Monday.
19th January at 10-30 a.m.)

## Plenary Session, 19th January, 1931.

H.H. The Moharaja of Paintle; Mr. Prime Minister, now that the deliberations over which you, as head of His Majesty's Government, have presided with such conspicuous tret and sympathy are drawing to a close, you will not be surprised at the desire which many of us feel to take stock of the progress which has been a Lieven. We net in an atmosphere which, though not will out its gleams of hope, was alreast oppressive in the responsibilities which it cast upon us all. The representatives of the Indian States and of British India alike, though conscious of the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government and of our British colleagues to understand and to consider Inlin's claims, were uncertain as to what response our advocacy of these claims would evoke. On the British side also, there must have been a large measure of uncertainty as to what form the demand of the Indian representatives would assume: as to whether communal difficulties would hinder unanimity among the British Indian representatives: as to whether the Indian States and British India would hold divergent views in regard to the powers and functions of the future governmental structure. Fortunately, as the Conference proceeded with its work, many of these doubts and difficulties were cleared away. The communal problem and the problem of the minorities still, alas, remain, despite the lest efforts, for which the whole of India must be grateful, of statesræn from the British, the British Indian and the Indian States side But it is encouraging to notice that these difficulties have not hindered the unity of the demand, put forward from the British India side, for political advance. Nor, it must now be plain, has the p-culiar position of the Irdian States, with their nexus of rights and oldigations linking them to the Crown, prevented their representatives on the Conference from associating themselves wholeheartedly with the representatives of British India in working for the common advancement, henour and dignity of India as a whole.

Some surprise has been expressed. Mr. Prime Minister, at the readiness with which the Princes and representatives of the Indian States have accepted the idea of Federation, and have proved their willingness to make the sacrifices of severeignty which they will not essarily entail. Yet long before the meeting of the Conference, we made no secret of our belief that Federation offered the only possible method by which the Indian States and British India could join together in building the Greater India which was a pre-requisite to Dominion Status. We were not blind to the difficulties involved: for Federation in India presented problems which were unique, alike in their magnitude and in their complexity. But we believed that they could be faced and overcome. Thanks to the efforts of our distinguished friends from British India, this Conference has now advanced to a stage where I think it can fairly be claimed that we have laid down the main outlines of the future

difficult to challenge.

Tacte are, of centse, many apportant details which must be discussed and settled; but I do not think that we were asked lare to settle details. Indeed, I have observed that in the work of the Contenence, success has been post easily achieved where we have corcer trated upon the funnulation of general principles, and have reliqued details to d'acassical en a sabs quert orcasion. However that may be, the main principle of Federation stands accepted: and I echo the confider thope expressed the other day by His Highness The Maharaja or Bakaner, that by tar the larger proportion of the States will come into the federal structure at once, and that the r manuelt will soor follow. We have all made it clear, however, that we consider outsin things to be essential. We can only to let ate with a British India which is self governing, and not with . British India governed as it is at present. Next, just as we do not desire to dominate British India, so we cannot consent to Bruist In Fa don mating us. We want to eater the Federation as epual parmers in a great and honourable enterprise, under conditrons which will safe and the reternal autonomy of our States. and secure for our people at the advantages of itizenship it a mights country. It has been the mistortone rather than the tault of the States that they are less wealthy and less populous than Bruish India: they have been kept in artificial isolation: there int is to large leen relegated to the second place. We finst that recre equitable conditions will henceforth prevail, and that our prople vill ret til tlem dies debarred from the prospect of l'onourable advancement.

But, Mr. Prime Minister, it Pederation is to come into existence, med it our work at the Contractor is no to go for nought, it is Looses at the Great Britain to need no be intentions towards India. and that with it timiles delay The medles which we all deplote I lita are largely the product of despair, and of a loss of faith in the effect of berevient interface divorced for prompt and adenote of the You may say, I you will that this is a matter for Be ain and But sh India to with, and that, a this uniter, the Ind a States leve to right a special Yell smell we In Pale Price are also sons of India; and the ills from which part of our ternates is sufficient comment force us unmoved. Moreover, nothing which see is likely to premote harmony between Great Britain and British India see matter of jud to some to us. No section of the Continues, Lam suce, welconed more heartify the conregeous and inspirit a speed, of Lord Reading, than the representatives of the Ind an States We join with at 'esitation in asking that our colletry should be wire that homeworlds status within the Empire which can alcres tisfy the aspirations of lar sous. And may I respecttally point out. Mr. Prince Minister, that the Princes of India are the called agit at as on irrestorsible prople. We have a great at in the country; we all to the best to suffer it chace and I have the me the har in her in the herealdown in India

the fill filteria and the first and the transfer of the late of th to Al involve any political party in Britan. You it is now, the Prince of It has, whe bear a regite apon the Conscionant and It is of Britain the me exity for collaged a for generols, for prompt, political advance. It we are prepared, a tel lu l'enterdatstien of all the or a states, bearing in mind our own position, not give responsibilities and the magnitude of our stake in the contity, I we tre prepared to accept to ourselves, and to be onenomity on both of Prices for their acceptance, the allangements which we have been devising during these many weeks, need anyone in Britain lesstate? The risks are far greater for as than for you May I there appeal to all who are hesitating as to the expediency or the silety of granting India's request for control over Ler own abairs, subject to sufeguards during the transitional period, to remember that this is quest has the support of those on this side of the Tables I venture to think that the Indian States and their Rulers have a record of devotion to The Throne and Person of His Majesty, and of attachment to the B itish cornection, which lends a certain voight to the attitude that they are now adopting; and I contidently appeal to all parties and persons in this country to take a line which is courageous, bread-minded, and in the best maliticus of British statesmanship.

I conclude. Mr. Prime Minister, by appealing to you as the head of His Majosty's G vermient. The announcement which we are caretly expecting is being awaited with pairful anxiety by one-fifth of the entire hur in race. Will you not confirm the confidence which brought us, your colleagues and well-wishers to this momentons Conference, and emble us to secure for the constructive work which we have performed under your able guidance, the co-operation and the support of the rising nationalism of our country?

Vis. Sunburagan. Si, may I or behalf of the women's Delegation express our appreciation of the valuable work of the various sub-Committees. I think that the amount of agreement which has been achieved on general principles is a subject of oughtedation to the Committees concerned, and particularly to the Chairmen who have steered their braks through difficult water. I do not know how any of us. British or Indian, could have contemplated the the me if these sub-Committees had not given us the hop ful mess, go that vurs through their Reports. I would also like to take thas opportunity of expressing our deep appreciation, Sin, or veur personal services to this Conference. As Chairman, wour ability, co sideration and symmethy have helped largely to create the almospicie of peace and good-will which Lore prevailed even when tie most delicate and difficult matters have been under considerntage. As one of the smallest in norities on the Conference though in numbers we are by no means small in our country the women's Delegation less always been consciens of your Lelpful and sympathatic attitude. They have also had the privilege of serving under your Chair anship on a sub-Committee which presented perclian difficulties, and your inexhaustible sympathy and parient were

most remarkable and even moving. I connot believe that such carrest elliss will en without this reward, and I feel encouraged and bejor that were swill ultimately low 'dived in finding a salationer die na teli Veult matter. While we bed hat these Reports give as food for hope, we must remember that they are only grevisited, and consequently we reserve our final judgment on them. Let us not forcer that i'e filling in of the preture pesents mearly as money problems as the designation the author. We have a very · with the first the content and I per mails for all helicas that Inducable and a form of Grant ent which, while conrece o consult pro aparonica, ablianda self-movemento de la cala details and reservations which might rade it in reality something different from that. Sur, we want to take back with is to India the properties one which will entain the cosertial details as well as the come differe locate overs bling Nevertheles, we miderstand the auxiery of a ne of our Bitsh friends on cerain heads. and we then, a list such a very should be met, as lar as soons sout with our national aspirations, in a sympathetic and outilistory spiret. But I would ask by representatives of Great British to re rember that it is the spirit rather than the letter of the relationship between the two countries which should be the overning factor, and that a generous gesture may achieve more in the bag man than reising ready disfigult berriers in the shape of reservations. I believe, lowever, Six, that it the filling in of the picture can be approached in the same spirit of good-will that has been apparent at this Conference, the hopes that we now entertain will not be disap inted Like our fellow Delegates we, too, are glad of the assurand that the details of the general scheme will be carefully worked on by Italia which will be well versed in their subjects, and will Last ill ke while of conditions in India. We are also glad that British and Indians are both to be represented on these bodies, and we loot they will number an engitheir members women as vell is mea. West off uxion by anait the Reports of those bodies. become the success of the whole scheme and the satisfaction of the espirations of the Indian nation will depend upon the condusions they reach.

Sit we are interested in all matters concerning our country, and we are particularly concerns I in the emestion of the political status of a mean in the new Italia and have explained our case to the Frankier and Minimizer and Committees. We do need most consistly that if Italia is to the her rightful place among the modern rations of the world her women should be given full opportunity to contribute their share to her service.

May I have express the thanks of my collective Berum Shah Norman Law II for the courtoons and sympathesic hearing which we have not consider that the interest of the report of the when we have not forward or page. Is a heldful of we seen. We hope that the political states of word in will not be forgotten at future out frences and carmathes, and we respect to perford our thanks to the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy for laying recognised are important principal. In it didn't we men at this Conference

Mr. Charana I and Sankey, under whose able and sympathetic clairmanship the Federal Structure sub-Committee has given us so remarkable a Report, has compared the achievement of his sub-Committee to a small plant. He asks us to take it to India, to transfer it to the kindly Indian soil, there to tend and nurture it; hit, Sir, may I point out that if it is to be suitable to the soil of India it must be a plant of quiex growth, and the prospect of the tallgrown tree, under which we are all to find peace, prosperity and contentment, must not be long deterred. That such a tree may be the lasting enablem of friendship between our two nations moist be our carnest hope, and it is on such a note of hope that I wish to conclude my remarks.

Lead Peel. Sir, I have compressed my speech into the small stressible compass. I can do so because my colleagues and myself have already expressed our more detailed views in the Report of the Foderal Stratements.

This Confere e. I teel, has treated the subjects under debate with a high dignity not unworthy of the great duties which have here extrusted to it. Only those who have probed all the intricaores of Indian political conditions can estimate the scope and range of the problems with which we have been confronted. Builders of other constitutions, in the British Empire at any rate, can congratulate themselves with having dealt with simpler problems. Perheps it is for objects rather than ourselves to measure the success that we have attained. Int without question our discussions I ave been of the highest value in informing and shaping public opinion here and probably in India. Even those most experienced in Indian afford that admit that as the subjects unrolled themselves before Committees and Plenaries, their knowledge must have gained immensely from the volume and variety of expressions of opinion. This greater internacy of view, this closer familiarity with so many aspects of the Indian scene has had a tremendous elicating effect upon the public, always interested but not always well intermed on Indian subjects.

The most outstanding fact of the Conference, of course, I as I con the depret change in opinion that has brought the conception of a Federal India from the realm of dreams to a state of reality. We the no longer hounted by the risks and dangers of two Indias moving on different and pathaps opposite paths. This fortunate result has conscious to the two personalities, Provinces and States coming together in order to near a thousand problems in the larger unity of a united India.

I should like to pay a tribute to the enlightened action taken by the ruling Princes. It would be impertinent for me to praise their patriotism. I know their high record both in peace and war. But it am impressed by their statesmanship and foresight, which, in spite of risks and possibly of sacrifices, has insisted on representation both in Cabinet and Legislature in order to contribute all their experience of government and administration to the control of sub-

jects of common concern. I should like to pay my tabute also to those leaders of opinion in British India who have given their political aspirations a Februal Colour. Further I should like to point out how great a rai torture it would be if this nighty scheme could not soon be started on its great career.

I desire to explain, quite briefly, the attitude of ny offeagues and myself of the Conservative section of the British Delegates. Our aim has been to sketch the main outlines of a constitute use pure so flexible as to meet the lillerences of the rederal units and o fum as to create a strong cerrent of unity in the Centre for the manifold diversities of Indian social and political life. We have done our lest to tree our roads from all of the old witary adherences and have shaped the new structure, so far as we are, on purely federal lines. We have tried to divest curselves of the passion ter precedent and not to look with suspicion on any is symmetal merely because if was not crafedded in some older constitutional system. British Parliamentarizas though we be, we have not thought that our Parlianestary ratheds should be mansferred wholesale from Westr, inster to Delhi. We have suggested that we might well consider for India the Swiss or American Pathic Lentary models and that devolution of authority from this century to India is not incompatible with a separate legislature and each utive on the Swiss or American plan. We were anxious that the Central Legislature should be securipesed that the tie with the Provices should be family impressed on their constitution, and that while making laws for all-India they were a ting as the agents and interprefers of Provinces and or States. We put forward the illa that the self-governing system for the Provinces should at once be put into action so that the views of the responsible Ministers of these Provinces should add their experience to that of this Conference in approving or modifying the new constitution. We have striven to give to our ideas a practical and working form. It was suggested in debate that it did not matter so a uch how the machine was constructed provided it was worked in a reasonable namer. We do not want to exercise the ingentity of our Indian legislators by increasing their dilemmas. Alove all, we would try to avoid unnecessary complexities. In letters and constitutions the simplest is usually the best. We me very nindful of the promises and un lextilings that have been given by past Cover ments to India. We are be ulv interested in her political aspirations, and when we Lave been discussing what are called the constitutional safeguards. we have been novel by no desire to fetter Indian freed m, but by the new divid carrieg out our Imperial responsibilities.

It is perently a ladded that certain subjects must be reserved to the Crown. It is, he to I day or turn reserved powers construction with the Viceroy. But those who lead the discussions the last few day will a discussions the last few day will a discussion there is except diversity of a interest with a safeguards doubled and I without well be puried to to the Those should, I submit, be no havings on the exalt in the It is importable that while safeguards are pressed the

In its should be as let be doubt as preather what are the functions to be disclorated by Indian Ministers, what we the controls of the Verroy, what is the process derive of authority Parlament, till we as the accordance of a like Secretary or Series. All this is necessary to see the a working constitution. That in and suspicion and display, all those evil denous that we would like to banish from India, will rise as, in and multiply it, through any lack of vision, we fail to set out the limits of authority.

I caunci di cuss to sateguards in detail. They are set out in p. g. 203 of the Govern Lt of Ind a proposils. But it is in the interests not of mere authority but of pereral confidence that the prote tion i'r nahorities are clearly to be set out. Again, as reads the translat semities. It has been suggested that any It tation of their powers maybles a distant of Indian Ministers. Having bal many years of political pie, and having known a great remy Ministers, Brail, and other, I, permips, have not the same Strong confile on the res Mr Seshi adothers. I am expressme no district of Indian Ministers when I say that, for the present, 1 would assis them and would make their steason, if the financial safeguards be so drawn as to give confidence to the great commercial and finemaid community, wherever it may be situated. Again, in the ferring power, the British Government cannot be indifferent to the interests of those who have trusted to her protection and security.

I confess that I I stened with surprise to the reservations made in some quarters on Prilay last to the complete equality of treatment, which I had understood it was agreed on all hands should be awarded to British traders and British trade. I must make it clear that our fature attitude will depend upon such equality being accorded. I shall be oblighed to withdraw what I am about to say ies unless that condition is fulfill d. It must not be assumed in any way that we consider that these constitutional difficulties and requirements are not espable of solution. If the safeguards can be made effective with care and good-will, and if our practical problems can be met in a worknanlike spirit, as I believe they car be, then we shall not hesitate to accord our assent to a new constitution been se it involves a transfer of new powers and respons, lilities to It d'aux. It is accred that apinion neither here nor in India is to le presented at the end of this Conference with a scheme that must be accepted as a whele or rejected. It is agreed on all sides that many problems one still left over and may perhaps be thought over in order that pulle opinion may have further time for reflection and for congressive. All reask is, and surdy it is not an unreasonable request, that these problems should be squarely faced and fairly sittled. Our Indian colleagues have set forward their requirements with great lucidity and doquence, and I am sure that they are well en loved with the in greation which will enable them to appreciate our points of view. Lord Sankey has told us that we have soon a seed which may develop into a noble tree. As a lover and

plante of many trees. I know well that it is not from seed only that you can prophesy the tree. It is the soil and the sun, the rain and the seas as, the protection and saelter from animals and winter words that columnae whether the plant shall be a poor stunted those, or become a giant of the torest raising its crown to heaven.

I have at mes lence so long on the Minorities sub-Contraitae that I may be adeved one observation on the great communal dimentry. No doubt it is a madter of regret that no settlement his yet been reached, manifeld and sincere as have been the chorts of the leaders on both sales to himg one about. When you are dealing with these vast comamities, so dafferent in their history and scend customs and religion, vet living side by side in India, long patience must be shown a name necestrations before settlement can be macked which not only gots the seal of approval of the leaders, but receives the ready asser at their millions of followers who are measure of : Il to tour vail of spirit through which the leaders have passed become the terms were arranged. The leaders thetaselves must erilibe to their view on political advance are affected or what nothing would device to embine political advance with co margial service. But it is manifest that, unless a sat. belowy . In them is end ladel, the success or a by farmer astitution, land be gravely in outlied. Again, the just claims of the Depressed Classes, or the Anglo-Indian community and other Misorites must be satisfied.

our libours, it not now, yet in the months to enne, it sy bring peace as how its controllered will to India. It is of such vast more entitled su please and describ hould be exercised and good-will and horses and describ hould be exercised and good-will and horses and library be restored. I have those of the the technical distribute to the well-being of the other and an anterial lattic spiritual values as well. I to so that in the countries can contribute to the well-being of the other and an anterial lattic spiritual values as well. I to so that in the countries the scale is, y be a fixed to this new horses in the second in the two countries. May the leaders of India and their contribute to mother ance of their great constructive task.

III. It Mchanger of Alberta Prince Minister and ray tellowoff the control of Libert stantly undertaken and ran haccomplished. There is a lead into which we have actually planged, the quesander term is what to see. Still more inscription is the problem of wastern assay. What works warfare has raged within these wills of St. James's Palace!

What hopes have been aroused within its precincts and how human breasts have at times reached the pinnacle and at other times subsided to zero. A day hones at anyone will visit these Charbas he will discover within the enable the dumb silence of sucraty. Think of the history these wall could relate if only they had tangues! What hist ries, even of the Rear d Table Conformac

could not this very table and these walls expressed it only they were human!

The some this is at the first time in the listery of the world that. Contered chas been convened. How many have gone that way, and so shall this one. At the beginning, sums greetings, and then the business we have embarked. Numbrous enations speeches, and vereined statements of sentiment have found expressed, and new as a confusion omes, high lopes, advictes and interpations rule the name. But every mundance existence has have an end, in I so the Hound Table Conference on India, having parsed through an weather and rough seas, is now reaching the list tap before it passes the wanning post, to be judged waether if he concred succe. Even the lecisions that we give at this conent was to to some extent our own creation, but the dings that survive will, complicatively speaking, by the realities.

No compliments, words warrane or coolings and woolings will count in the end. We have been pledged for life to love our motherians. India We are attached to the great consideration derivation to denity call I the Engire. We are glited to that great contributed in the called English, which we are third.

By Chat standard, then may we judge? I suppose all judgments, to a melection to standard, then has be sed, but before proceeding further Lapper or a test and one alone: who loves India best and England singleon easily.

At done will take leave to proceed to mimilate alians. I shill not repeat these four days of general discussion which preceded this Conference, which we attempted to create an atmosphere in which the work of this organisation could be conducted. It is natural, however, that the membran of those utterances, like all things in late, after a certain time should have their force; and so, Prince Minister home we take heave of you shores and of those who have helped as, we do see to treate a new momentum which well survive, I hope, longer that trose to which we have given expression in the beginning.

But I halls' low cally you avery from the Conference into the law of life, wor 'ers expressed by the single word expansion. Disinity give both to undividuality which developed into community, society, i. ionality, into a tionality, universality, merging back into the Divinity. But in this circle my country for the last few centuries has by no ment's been what she was in the past, and one of the causes which has led to this degeneration has been the narrowing ct her surprof vision. But an event occurred in the history of existence which is now coming to truition. The Aryan races parted from one another; one lived in the East from Central Turkestan to Cape Comorin and the other tounded numerous dominions and empires, countries and republics in the West which has formed these two disintegrating factors. Those was lived in the East, bounded on the north by the sach caps of the Himalavas, the fresh water rivers rolling like oceans and the mount timous forests in their solitude, compelled those who lived there to turn their vision inward so

er, till y become intresertion. In the West, these rates arrive but port of the cottle which were becautiful; not the settlement there, per a manife. Ha D tany las main brught these two all the attended in the part of and hilly years, and what are In the rule of the contract of The rustle civilisation of the Latis and the arrive the marching forces that surnamed a moto for West but, if I may say so, the West will san de av nles, lung tale and longs, it is not able to turn its thoughts to much ug au ide nere pourds, stillings and parce, schatting nul the rate of the far I committee, something outsidemere so-called brob tidade of existence. And so the East and the West have come togeth ray in, the Earta child in political organisations and in restter, of a namer a and trade. In the West -and here I must distillments the ma brity see nothing more keyend ther noses team loss the City at life homes can thrive on the raw paterials of Infa. but but er with ours, whether with powler at learnen a tile theorem de, nor si aller powder and cannot marshalled in t e for e as words by Lord Rad, somere and others, can laing things to a ni a steur, qui te two Aran races anless -however feeble or has ray be the spirit is will a z to units. Why are we working here in Earl and? Why are Englishmen united with us in Latio? Not he are they are union saily afraid of events that The sking place in my country as a philosophy of despair, nor bear our are so king gains and prouts through sweet words and or tray for our County, for according to the great Law none lave corrachaved in thing except that which they deserve, and as that applies to individuals it equally applies to countries. But my joy accord to the voun individual and humble conception is that the unification brought about by Destiny of these two Aryan races is ultin ately, it one has the courage and forbearance, going to produce n civ lisation by which India wall be proud of England and England will not be as arred of Irdia. But we have to life many " hiterhits" it the mountitue. If we keep our vision high the results will accome. If we not saated by those who do not wish us well in your country. Prine Minister, or mine, or even outside both our Hone ands, then it is not they whom we will condemn ton I ving I d as estray but we ourselves for Laving been led astray to rectal at ient principles of unitied beckerhood. This may be considered to be in ipid a timentaling as me soul in a mero jumble e voids. I for one shall be, din in lis unhall by any one animas or verile in the research. And now let in come down to material 1. t. Put lescre I de so I will utter one route enterce. Surely. Prime Minister, if the Past does not forget its culture that has in Halle hat a verice that the end continues, do von think, or d comment in the training of the off lance look alread to the jut per only calife that, when all is said and dene, unsaid or or bre wild will court will be that bu elich arving souls ain ed and which, a address to their diet des and ideals, they all mately . Hoved And so, have not each one of us, whatever party or maiorality, married of deposition to belong ton denterlution are thug to our ideals but the one common god?

20.5

Sentimes it may have been narrowed by various visions, but never can it be circumscribed by minute channels. We must realise the fact that the problems before us are of such a momentous nature and so utparalleled throughout the world that when you come to limit their within the period of two-and-a-half months I think it can be felt that the results are something of which we need not feel ashamed.

But our Conference is not the end of our labours. Our vanity compels us to behave that we must take something back to India wherewith we may survive; but that has never been the source of salvation to any country. All that counts is encased in that one world "Worth." It we are worthy, if we have proved worthy, it we shall prove worthy, then we need not be proud but we shall neel gravited at having served our Horieland, our Motherland, our Country and our Empire.

The principal scheme that has been before us has been the evolving of a system which is ultimately going to lead to that happy consumation which it like to bestile as the "United States of India" within the Empire. In order to achieve this ideal we have worked on this scheme of Federation under which term cone all the other points that we have been discussing during those last few months. Lord Sankey originally made out twelve points for our consideration, and I am glad that they have escaped the fateful number of fourteen pronounced by the late Mr. Wilson, or America, and have brought us to grips with the actual situation of the tuture.

The component elements of the Federation, the type of Federal Legislature, its powers, the number of members, the method whereby representatives from British India and from the Indian States are to be selected, the constitution, character and powers of the Executive, the powers of the Provincial Legislatures, the constitution, character, powers and responsibility of the Provincial Executives, the provision for Minorities the problem of establishing a Supreme Court, the Defence Force and the relation of the Federal and the Provincial Executives to the Crown, have been the twelve items round which we have centred our deliberations.

The Federation that we have been attempting to devise is one of a unique character, for the reason that we are bringing two Indias together into a political unity where, each, working out its individual domestic and internal problems, each will combine together for the good of India as a whole. This Federation scheme which in the Simon Report and the Government of India Despatch was looked upon as a remote contingency has become an actual reality, and why? Because British India and the Indian States have come determined to join hands in order to make this scheme a success. British India has made its valuable contribution to this scheme, and I believe it is already realised that the Indian States have played no small part for the scheme of their country in making this scheme a workable proposition of the future. Whereas in other countries this federation by our let under easier circumstances with a comparathis federation by our let under easier circumstances with a compara-

tive inity in races and creeds, with a comparative unity in political organ sations, these questions have been more complicated in regard to be like location we have to contend with so many different races, as will as with the ancient system of rule laid down by our Raj Neet's, the exponents of which are the Indian States.

(), car ple if the table, we have attempted to make a contribuin or which I hope our rellow countrymen and others present in this toma will not have reason to say that we in any way put a spoke in the placel. On the other hand, we have had it stated by no less a per mage than the Prino Munister of the present Government, by the members of the British Delegations representing the Conservotives and the Liberals, that the attitude which the Indian States to k by coming into this federation has revolutionised the situation. While we are not revolutionaries in the strict sense, we are glad that for the sake of our country and its interests, we have contributed to the stast change in the hope of its ultimate success. Its excetual realisation lies in appreciating two basic principles. tirstle, on which we are all agreed, that we want India to aspire to the I glast status possible within the British Empire itself; and, secondly, and a less a fundamental principle, that we must cach be left free to go our own way in working out our internal problems of the Provinces, of the Centry, or, on the other side, of the Indian States recording to our lest distates and of our human capacities for the happing sand progress of the people destine I to have been placed in the hands of our respective Governments. For while the one cannot dictate to the other as to the best facthod of government for all. I think that it is not altogether on unfortunate factor in fact. I felieve that it is for the common good -- that we have two r ranes, to working out their proposition towards our ore common in it ide the "ideration. It is only by mutual understanding of ran nest clive nights and privileges that we can in unanimity and with war of our united good. There will be tendencies for the or it should from our wide to the other, and as none can afford to get the choice encared in water-tight compartments. I am sure that all a to literate estimation accent of the East, the then the content of the West, for the sike of our Motherland, we ., a still trive it om verv laulable ged for the benefit of India. He wash its at the centre of the Government of India is a questen ie. we elect put of the success of this Conference depends. and a overly of the sacres of the future governance of the . Little : . I blile cert. in sulpress lave leen 'eserved, we hope that the sport will move and one we ideals on all siles that will telp to od the warking out a satific excellence in the dantest space of time.

In Atrica, where there were more expressive in Government, due to merchants, when the cost tution was fromed and devised to, but courtry in took a sudder plunge trom provincial autoromous tick note is to a unitary system. British India seems desirous of thing a phone in the appointe direction of tracking the Previoces to a complete course and analyze the Contre responsible

principally for the relevated subjects and others , clating to Imperial issues.

So far as the detailed problems outside the immediate construction of the rederal institution is concerned, there has been the problem of detecte, in which I cannot but not prongratulating once again, as I have the ady done, Mr. The mas and his collaborators in problems a scheme which gives prospects to Indians to open out the possibilities of their taking a real part in the defence of India, and I have that a time will come before long when India will have this essential power in its own hands for the service and assistance of the Empire.

As for the Services, or course it is vitally essential that they should be highly brotan sed, and the power should rest in the hands of the Government of the day, but we must give and have already giver, concerts process of our honourable desire to safeguard the interests of the Services. And while we cannot do without Englishmen also nere than Englishmer can do without us in India, the rivin proposition scores to be that these Services should be under the control of the Infan Executive. There has been the question of the Minorines, a rost essential proposition to be satisfactorily settled, but the word "franchise" has li night this question into prominence, and I sincerely trust that the wastom of my countrymen, in whose heads this proposition has been given, will satisfactarily work uself out and that not only what is settled on remains unsettled, will be finelly settled to the satisfaction of all concerned as soon as those involved come to an agreement on the subject in India.

I can quite understand the point of view expressed in many opinious that no constitution can be framed or be accepted unless this question is settled; but we have worked out the constitution and this question, surely with good-will on all sides is one that is not only capable of adjustment but one that must soon find a solution acceptable to the spirit of our Conference, and, in so are as is humanly possible, acceptable to the people and to the new Government of India. It is not for me to go into these details as there exist and ultically be a great deal of give and take. But if the higher vision is kept in view. I am perfectly certain that this solution is by no means impossible, and I hope eventually that India's sons will rise to high that, with the ideal of her nationhood before them, these communical and sectional forces will merge into a whole and enable Bultish India to go forward as one united by ly

In order to assist to this end, the Indian States came in as co-caust partners with British India never. I hope, to obstruct or deminate but always to help and build; and it is on the basis of a right understanding that the Indian States have the sincere desire to help India to rise to its full stature, and, similarly, with the desire of British Indians to realise, appreciate and guarantee the position of the States, that they, too, join honds for our common consummation.

The Province lattice same similarly ferrig produced in such a machine that the Provinces can give full expression to their find mental needs and I hope be a source of strength to all concerned.

Then there are ano here quescions on which I would like to say a leve works in passing. One is the representation of the concluded Deep al Classe. Elas i e name which, I believe, las ben invented by the me communes in human, and whilst many people say " of a rethere in wells or in names?" I attach a great a clost abiportion to him as and webls, by this they that envey the sage gestion when her in lunar, minds. I must earnestly all the Tupite of Color of the Colors, for the first place, to let be that stip in which i expressed in the name "Depressed Classes" Will must we allow them to be called depressed? Indeed, they are a vital fact r in our ludica conheculty. Many of these mustions negating this class do refer to a represential remain other parts of India, and where they contributed, if my history is not wrange, was in Madras, where, in forturately, they had rany absolutely rapus alled restrictions and anteraktions charaches. But I believe that the goods some and the eightse coments in the country are sate realising that this street a consense has been and maked must not Ist. The very tase puchlings and Fask Dr. Amb duar and his I presentatives in I. has to charge this rame, to place it as a rative, where there a relate proud of I done on to our curtive They must an least be called Depressed or Untourbables; they that the father better the ending the stall nestall all see, whather the last to the Indian Street Illinish India, that the , 'cond is no voil tom our midst, and then, as they already le ling to in held of n to the l, we hope that they will not have carrie and make here to be leave as so of degredation but will bed that that also with as, I is an I one, our lly interested in the progres of India and a king part in the education enter it the country.

Such all lose who had not the beset to their courts and wak to its upliff, are indulging in a labour of love. All I have to say on this subject is that there is nobody who can progress satisfactorily in this world without the labourer angiving his rightful position, and we are proud of these y ho blour, and we shall be prouder still when we appreciate that, amongst them, we have our bedrock or which we build the India of the future. But pray do not stress these points in order to constrict in the system of class differences, but I appeal to Helians and to India to give due consideration and due regard to these essential factors.

Many of these questions that we have been discussing here have been harmered out on the anvil by Sir John Simon in his Report, and whilst many of us may disagree with some of these conclusions, and while it is unfaturate that they did not receive a better whom e in our country, we would indeed be inhurant if we did not pay a tribute to the Chairman and to the Commission for the very streamous labours they included in from their point of view for the success of our country.

Now, Mr. Prime Minister, you have said that the Princes have caused a revolution in side this Conference; but I turn to the British Delegations, and I will refer to the present Government last. There the representatives of two distinguished Parties in this room, the Conservatives and the Liberals, and how delighted one feels that a mild accolution has taken place on these leaches also, where the principal representatives and spel then on behalf of these two Parties have had their contributions. But, is it strange, altoget er, that this should ha pen, for we have to look to the history of the Deminions, which I hope will not be horing to you 1: I real it briefy. Canada becar e a Dominion. It federated in 1807; the Government in payer in England was Conservative under Lord Derby as Prime Minister, but it received its Dominion status under the terms of responsible self-government in the time of the Liberal Gevernment, in those days called Whigs, when Lord Elgin was Givernor-Ceneral, Linself a Whig. And so in Australia similarly Feder, tion came in 1960 and rathe régime of Lord Salisbury, a Corservative, but Dominion status was again reached in the time of the Liberal Government. Ireland in 1922, under the Coalition Gevernment of Mr. Lloyd Cenge, who was a Liberal, received the states of the Lush Free State. Suth Africa, in 1909. under the Libral Administration et Mr. Asquitl, received its constitution. New Zeal rd. no 1907, under the régime et the Liberal Covernment, with Car Fell Bannerman at its head, rose to its stature et Deninion strus. Newfeun llard, in 1855, under a Literal Government, wit Palu ester, tits head, was given its due position as a Deminion. When one reads this short history of these Dominious to-dry, I ask you, is it strange that the Conservative P rty who started the Feducation of Carada and of Australia, could show any grudgine spirit chan the turn comes of India to sel that same goal? It peas the ders progress that the Conserv tiv. Priv will lead greater and greater support to the ambitious of India. Similarly, is it in any way strange, that, with those word iful Liberal traditiers which have brought Dominion status to nearly all the prant existing Dominions, that one steeped in those Party principles should have received such warm support and be so much applieded and worthily commented upon, when I turn to Lord Reading and L's associates in the Round Table Conference. It would in hed have been strange had we seen any other phenomen. We are grateful for this contribution which these representatives of the Parties have made towards the end that we have in view. If I neav, I would like to congratulate Lord Peel on his helpful outlook, however conficus it may be at the present moment, because one word appealed to no very much, that fell from Lord Peel's lips; that as Britishers, they are cautious before ther pledge their word, for, when they give their word they must, and will, follow it out to the practical solution.

May I warmly concrutulate Lord Reading or rather, join in the echo of deserved gratitude that has been showered on his lead for the help he has given us all in this Round Table Conference?

New, Mr. Prime Mini ter, I turn to your Government. I do not think that in the whole wide world if I had my their, and if it is not presumptuous on my part to say so, I could have selected a bigger benevolent autocalt than you have been as the Chairman of this Conference. You have guided its deliberations: you have taken part in its proceeding; you have dene your best to save time, and to save India's time. And look at the result! I am supert is one of which the Labour Party need not beek ashamed and of which I dia will be proud.

Lord Sankey, whose deliberations I have watched with great interest, has been a towering force in this Corference, and so many enlogies have been already passed that it I subscribe my quota to them I hope it will not be out of place. He has guided the deliberafrom of the Federal Structure sub-Committee in such a manuer that we have really come to conclusions that have virtually laid the foundations of our future India. His tact, his patience and his readiness at all times to assist as have been of the greatest value. To the Secretary of State and other mereless of the Delegation I would say that while they have spoken but little I am not altegether unaware of the work that is done behind the scenes, and I hope that it will be left to M., Wedgwood Benn to see the consummation or his desire, as being what he described in a sentence at my languet a year ago, a fine servant of India. The worderful staft organisation that we have had in this Conference, dealing with gigantic reports and substitute them to us in time have had a Herculean task; but how wonderfully and extraordinarily well they have performed it. Our gratitude is owed to them all. It was said to me the other day that the millionth word had been spoken in the Conference, I think that another millionth word will be spoken when we go out to India, and many more million words will be spoken when the subject goes before the House of Commons and Parlian ent. But I look really to the outcome. When all these words will have vanisuel into the air, as they have done already. and these rooms and this hall become silent, and when these reports will find their way to oblivion, except such as are studied by the constitutionalist afterwards—every word that has been spoken will contribute in its own silent way towards the great fask before us.

I am thanked Mr Prime Minister, for having had this apportunity of expressing some of my sentiments in this Conference, and I have sought your indulgence at somewhat greater length than I was ele would have wished, but I hope it is permissible in such an upportant gathering to express some of my sentiments for which I I wence have allest thad time to give expression enough a occasions.

And see, Mr. Per e Minister, so far as the present work lies, we have done out task. Yours will begin this afternoon when you sale the great de laration. It is on that that India has its eyes to said. You know all that we desire, you know what India and you have said it in your secoch at my banques this year, well, one there exact his raid it has been stated in clear words in the part of the Scales Committee. It was prominently brought

nt in Lord > n'ex but selt in wat he called his last cration at the Contention of the Shoan you what contribution the Conserve lies have andered what a bage contribution the Liberals have note in resultioning the Dop neby tringing to Dominions to their to I stature. Mr Prime Minister, this is the secul time in which the release Government has one into power. It now in to be less to a great order to the that when India's r care in a similar enterprise, you in no way contributed less to the happines of my country than the Liberals and Conservatives i are dense for the other Deminions. Many hundreds or perhaps thousands of years hence, when all papers have vanished, when ever the remains of indiviouals have vanished, what happens The or the Eppens herce, will not count so much, but what will , wit is the remaindrance that were my country. India, was in real, a Marthaull can eacher research was bold enough, despite Illid by the reduction of nows to take the lead to hold out a band in larging that MacDereld was the best friend to In ha that the twentieth conour lad known. They will then pull out your name, I thousand a respected and discover that you were a Scotsman, and they will been that you were also a great Statesman.

I know the importance of India's affairs in connection with the City. It is not Parliament and you and us to satisfy them that India, in younge to obtain her ideals, desires no more than to be an here until the city in the Empire. We want the City and England to realise that when the power comes, and I hope rapidly—in the Lands of India to govern her own destinies we will be found honourable gentlement the to our pledges, true to our word, true to our

country and true to the Empire.

In conclusion, as I take leave of you to-day, I ask you. Mr. Prime Munister, in the statement that you are going to make this afternoon to look to the past, to look to the present and to look to the future and to evolve a scheme and make a declaration that we, with joyful hearts, can take lack and say to our countrymen that our sojourn of two and a half-nonths, crammed with meetings and conversations, has not been in vain. Indeed, I want to go much higher that we, who are pledged to lovalty to the Crown, whether we of the Inlan States or of British India, are the friends of Britain for all time and we can say that when Britain has assisted us so have and in so many different directions, and we have continued to give our quota of service to England, we would like to know that when the time range on this occasion, when it was the call of India to her need, whilst being a Scotsman you have also proved to be in India's interests from your heart a great Indian.

As I take leave of you now, I say in conclusion that Providence has so willed that the consummation that we are attempting to reach may be such that India may be happy and that India may retain her title of being the proudest, the happiest and rost chitter-

ing jewel in the Imperial Crown.

Mr. Prime Minister, with all the problems and difficulties that in your and we are not ignorant of them—that consumpation is in your hands.

Be fold and bring that unity for God, for England and for India. May God assest and bless you and may England save India by sceng cross the rough sees to the horizon so that the drawn and the day nay bring sinshine to India and the Eupire over which the surnever sets.

In Anteller: Mr. Prince Minister, the R and Table Contenence has had to exapple with two most in pattent questions which mu Carise in any after parto organise the political life of a conrunity. The problem of responsible government was one of their and the other was that of representative government.

On the custin of responsible povernment in the Previous I have very little to any. I accept the report of the Cope attract, subject to me disserts, I sould by it. But regarding the question of responsible according that in the Control I am afraid I take a distant view. It would be dishere the say that the Report of the Peleral Stintines about the maittee does not contemplate a change in the bureaucratic form of government as we know it to-day. But it would be equally disherest for me to conceal from you my epinion too this change is shadowy and not substantial, and the responsibility is bogus and not real.

The Lord Chancellor feld us that he lad sown the seed and it was not as to find though at. Six, we are indeed very grateful to the Lord Chancellor for the great part le has played in this notice that the Conference, to at toll as I are to him I am not a figure that the plane he promises will prove. I fear the grain he has chosen tor his end is a crite and the soil in which he has cast it is not congenial to its growth.

I had submitted to the Lord Charallor a statement containing my views on the fitane constitution for Peleval India I do not from which run a the Committee on which he prefiled considered it, it I don't third any reference to it in the Report of the Comindex on which he presided. I adhere to the views I expressed therein, and I connect give ny operal to a constitution which so largely departs from those views. Indeed if I vere given a choice between the cost by system and two cross-bred by the Committee I would profer the existing one. But, Sir, it the constitution for the Central Government contained in the Report of the Committee satisfies Sir T B Some, who has been the triend, guide and plaite . In it is Constrone, if it is agreed to Mr. Javakar, who per laire life in the remember of the verte of India, and in it plants Sind. P. Patro, who species as lessus, in the rane of the Non-Ri. Livis et India, it is a f f r a e to empose My attituée il refere, 's tild et ere alle does rot of prox : but who alse de s not elstreet. I will leave if to these who lies it to carry it through.

<sup>\*</sup>Nor: The speeders now, that of Dr. Andedkar to that of Sir Akbor Heim on present to the transfer of our rich had an extent known, by located. Century at him order to compariso fine, harded in as virter had a daffering delivered.

Il is attituded all the rane agreeable to the breatise I have no . and to the methode where I represent regarding the forth of governto t. But I have a relie and that is, vaile not produg esponsible government, to see that no responsible government the established unless it was at the sale the arronagentied by & The representation government. It is when I look at the achievement of the Contenence to find out how it has dealt with the ourstion I spear time grant and that I ted most disappointed. The tribulise and the representation of the different classes in the . g shorters are the two pillus on which a truly renesentative government can rest. Laeryhody knows that the Neura Committee had a open a de side ge and that that part of the constitution Irrived by it had the support of all political parties in India. When I came to this Contesence I had thought that so hat as the que tien of firmelise was concerned the lattle had already been wen. But in the tranchise Countries I was completely disillusimed. It under a great suprise that all those who had signed the Neltu Report had done so with mental reservations so much so that I was lift the to productle evan the Indian Liberals to consent to entruch se 25 per cent. of the population for Provincial Levislature. Tue to active for the Central Legislature is no doubt an unl nown quantity. But I have no hope that it will be such as to rade the tentr. Legislature more representative of the people than the Provincial L. Islatures are going to be. A franchise so limited most necessivity in all the intere government of India a government of the masses by the classes.

Regarding the question of the distribution of seats an ong the Legority and the colone him, a minimities, we all know that there is a deadlock. The deadlock is largely due, in my opinion, to the mascher dore in the past. I am one that it the authorities in Ind a Lad acted in the past on the principle of justice to the and fixour to be see, the nothing would not have become so difficult of s lution. The B itish G wernment set different values on different ammunities according to the political use they made of them and gave to near communities at exmandinar slave of political power by denving it to the Depressed Classes in a measure which was their rightful due. In this matter the most aggricued comrun ity is the Depressed Classes, and I was hoping that this Confer-. I would proceed on the principle that what is wrongly settled is recer settled and give to the Depressed Classes their rightful quota of seats by a revaluation of the old values. But this has not happened. The claims of the other minerities have already been acknowledged and defined. All that they stand in need of is alterations and amendments to bring them in conformity with the enlarge I structure and increased scope of the new Government. Whatever be the alterations and amendments, no one will dare to furrow out the foundations that have already been laid down. The case of the Demessed Classes is totally different. Their claims Lare just been heard. They have not even been adjudged and I do not know how many of them will be admitted. To my mind it is not improbable that having regard to the helplessness of their position, the claims of the Depressed Classes for representation that he whittled down to satisfy the ever increasing scramble by other corresponds who are managuring not so much for practice as for power.

In view of this I am bound to make my attitude perfectly plain. As the rights of the Depressed Classes in the future constitution are act defined, any aunouncement that might be made on behalf of His Majesty's Covernment regarding the introduction of responsebility in the Centre as well as in the Provinces should make it clear that any a lyance in that direction must be on condition and subject to an agreement between the communities which would provide effective edecunids for the rights and interests of the Depressed Clasics. I must be phasize the gravity of the situation and bring to your notes that no announcement will be receptable to us unless the possion strong perfectly clear in this behalf, and that failing this I all be collected vill be unight to account the resonability or participality in the further work of the Canara e, and will be e upel d to dissociate ourselves from it. Sir. in. Time vent do so, I are not asking you to do more than give effort to your plobbe I word The Britis Parlianent, and those who speak to it. I ave . In the state of the are transfers to the Done of Characters I am sure the what they have been saving is not orget those cenve treal la et civilization which we are all led to etter to keep it in relations as pleasant as possible. In my opinion it is therefore the bound in duty of any Government of His Majesty. and more of the Labour Government, to see that that trust is not her ved and let me tell you. Mr. Prince Minister, that the Depressed Chees would be great it as the greatest betraval on the part of His Maje to Constituent if it were to leave us to the mercs of thewho have taken no interest in our weltars and whose properity and greatness is founded on our ruination and degradation.

1 . A control to called, construction list by the national, st . Inter of the Land to the definite Indesing peculiar engine interest of the state of the state of the printer of Appending the second of the Indian Indian in the second of the party of the I, and it is the state of a factor of the state of the st A to tell the last to the last the last the tell the last the tell the last the tell the last e transcript de la la de la la la la la la la la la civic · · · · It i com. H. far is all and and it prompte share out it epill or plan id. But it does not muchis suce if instrucend to in Harbrels of exil processes at a mance man of the . It weren't live him. But the do no below him with d'un les verriers ore err se porter and none parer for l'un and to the I am old I do not belong to that class of petrice. I locate to that class which toles its start on democracy and vial selector destroy monomely in every shape and form. Our chres to redisc it practice our ideal of one men ore value in . Il wall or I se, political, emangir and social. It is because t pro cette ive coverment is one near to that end fleet the Penns and Comment of the it so great a value and it is because of in a live to be I of I have very I up on a man excite of making

the Depressed that is sant distributed. You may tell me that the Depressed that is sant distributed more concrete, something more defined. You may despise me for being unduly apprehensive. My raply is beeter to be despised for too anxious apprehensive their they, be ruised by too confident a security.

support of the resolution value you have placed before the Conference, may I on behalf of my community—I mean the Indian Christian community is a whole-give expression to a feeling of sit station, at the conclusions arrive at by the various substantian interest for extless a conclusion arrive at by the various substantian at the conclusions arrive at by the various substant prepared to play on part and make our own contribution to the public wall in that loss of governing India which we hope will in the near output be being to into existence as the ultimate outcome of the work of this Conference. That contribution may perhaps be not very march; it will, however, continue to be as useful and in lispensoble in the parts as it has been in the past.

When I say that we are prepared to play our part, I do so in the rullest hope, hay, conviction, that the constitution which is to usbor in that New India will enable us to do our part by giving us the opportunity of service in the legislature as well as on the administrative side, by empowering us to send to the various legislative I alies people were well be muly our representatives, which I feel we will be able to do only through a separate electorate, specially as we happen to a distinct only a very small proportion of the total population.

I am sure the nex constitution will secure to us the night not rerely recelvant valour restrict, to profess and practise, but also to preach our religion in our eval country; that it will also safegrand the right in linterests I our religious, charitable and educational distantions, and hat they will not be placed in a position of disalvantage with reference to other sim lar institutions. The right to bring up and clucate our children is an atmosphere eagenia, to our own exhibe the promiples is one which we hold sacrel, and I know that the constitution will se are to us to have the right to even our schools, entitling them at the same time to a tair at I squitable trestment in the matter of aid from public funds I chain merel that we and our institutions may be treated as Indian. If I lay emplasis on this it is because of the fact that in the past by a tornous interpretation of things, at least in one part of the country religious and of mitable institutions belonging to Catholics have been treated as foreign bodies and accordingly - rejected to a differential treatment. I hope that in the Indian India, which we all look forward to, we shall all be treated alike

It is because the justice of all these claims have been recognised in the conclusions of the sub-Committees that I feel myself in a position to welcome them wholeheartedly. With these rights conferred on us by the constitution. I would trust to the goodwill, and

al I may, with due reget and remonence spirit eaces, the goal ense of the majer corr or till to see to those 112 of the rog tell el and see at dit its in a tradition and had so virtable greater confider that I am sure the constraintion will craftle periode crair represent vent december, to be the per of their or to the street and with adopendence in the deliberative budies of the land, and mereprial, by as a the hirac G verm, on the Rubus of States when it is a respectfully safess, have always but in fed to a spiriter brading de l'indepiers relevant se will play no mon et de per'. Latine state. Sir, it at I by this in no spirit or fattery. For is it not all rail nother two In Fan States of Travancers and Cochin. presided our by two Hir. is mondels, the trivicor a unity has progressed and prosper incol, one to burnes it it execute a third if the perulation; and in the exact selve town of Taliphe do not the Christian churche of all denominations Catablic and Protestant, Spolican and Lather andio this day own lads endowed by the Rands in those probold days when as were add by the lineal descendants of the great Sivaji.

There're it is, that belonging as I do to a monerity community, I look forward with a greath sense of security and safety to that ad ral povern, but where the Prines and the protein of the hand will play their part, all giving at their lest to that contact Mother-land of ours.

In cosets ion, let me join the previous speakers in thunkfully acknowlede my the printing countries and kindness which we have entered by a methods. Mr. Prine Meni tor, and at the bands of the off a rice for or the Cosetic entered at I the British Deligations; and also the great hap to lity and hindly reception which it has been appreciately for pure has to a set with from the English prophe generally of elactic match of life.

M. M. by: A tortwo is onthe of solid work, we are new assessing the gairs, and he exists his brie particuship between two great mephs. Considering the disculties in the way, so is of their allocation the publical solutions are considered in the publical admit that the Conference can claim great achievements to its credit. In this connection, I do not to pay my tribute to the statesmanship term colle, gues of the British Delegations. They could have exploited our differences. That they with stood the temptation to take a recrew and selfish view is a testimory alike to the spirit in which they have faced their responsibilities, and the perception that have shown of the argency and importance of the issues at stake.

that so is it y matters should have been lett undsterrated. That position has an element of danger in it, but let us hope that the ecode all and statesmanship which have, in spite of everything, have about outly in evidence bere will in an ever-increasing to one be tertheorizing for the completion of the great task we have undertaken. There are two matters arising out of this con-

salered on to which I should like to refer. We have accorded our approved to the principle of televalism, and we hope it will be proble to crove a satisfactory school. But I wish it to be electly understand that Ir lia's ran denoteds hust remain that esteel by the fate of the mirriple of televalism which we Live accepted. Whether a local syear is evolved or ret. India nertly season upotes are a use of automores at the Centre as creamstrates permit the this connection, let me reliefate my objections to many of the arcacial safeguards which are to be In little Report. Corper francia and fiscal auf convi-Indic's unqualitied denoted, and I submit that with our ready ecceptarce of our leval and meral obligations in research dilles. in and with the large powers which will reside in the Vicerov. the frencial stability of India may well be regarded as assured If this view is accepted, I feel sure a large hady of a spinsible conincia believed by proper 1 to welcome the constitution we have evolved, and work it for the enerter good of India and the Empire.

what Mr. Mody has said on the question of the fundacial safeguards embodied in the Report.

Concrete well we dealth's to a reasonable of the extensive chapter to bler be dealth's to a reasonable the extensive chapter to bler we have been engraden, and probable all of us will agree as to the diriculty in giving magnatical replies to the various parts trised. I notice that some of our critics chains that note of the Dologides represent any considerable section of Indian opinion. I think the criticism may be taken as a tribute to the work on the Criticism for his landhing considerable been achieved there would be little reason for attempting to discredit the Delegates.

No one knows better than the D. L. etc. the above here for they represent opinion in India and England. We have a profit good idea as to what support and what of osition can work is likely to meet with, but there is no doubt that the view of the practical and patrictic section of Indian political common has been well and truly voiced.

I fiel a considerable degree of confidence that when the clattic fiel on the gets state ed up and filled in we shall have a constitution which will attract the support of the best elements in the country and will ensure government receiving the necessary popular has sing to enable it to deal with unconstitutional movement.

Of one thing I am very sure. On fields where rasm still prevails the friendly relationship established between many public teen in both countries should do much to remove the murky clouds of suspicion which have been so largely responsible for the present unhappy position in India and have ready a Viceroy who whele-

be riedly wished to noth reliable, spinnions spend so much of his time on the uncongruent lask of mountaining order by Ordinance

It the auture work which will be nowes, as to complice that which we be a begun here well, which I began it has the rup at an early date and passed to must an unremittingly. I would extress the hope that reader is a tiercen apparent constant and the vital to hide the countil to its of the problem and the vital to all to, st, bility in the government.

Executive of an irrenoverble pattern in a decree it desires to stop Indianiation or prevent Indian control, but a cody because we are very firmly econocidated an under Indian conditions for some time of the protected from the k leidoscopic apposition which they may have to face at any many in a bold harm congressed of widely differing elements. I would explain that we are not tied to try particular form of government because yet believe that where a constitution can secure goodwill it can be made a success.

However, in view of the very decided preference by the British medel. In a temphasise treadditional security to be durived from three of the conditions which Mr. Gavin Jones attached to our approval of the Report.

- 1. The States should receive a strong proportion of representation, thereby bringing solidarity and alministrative experience.
- 2. The Crown should have adequate representation in the Legislature, representation which would be reduced as the transitional period expires, and
- 3. Tenure of office by the Executive for the life of Parliai it is until they lose the contidence of two thirds of the Ligislature or the Governor-Germal decides to dismiss it.

For the same teason of stability I would beg most earnest consideration in So, and Chambers in the Previoces. I do not suggest they should be built of marely the conservative and orthodox elements. I would be against such Chambers, but I feel very stands the however good a weapon democratic government may be to prote title wealer members of the community it is unlikely to be an element wapen for a large time owner to the backward condition of many communities. I planet as unge Second Character and a state to billing to governments associable for all his instruction at vist areas and millions of the Indian peoples to the Protion of Vist areas and millions of the Indian peoples to the Protion of Vist areas and millions of the Indian peoples to the end of the Protion of Surface, such Chambers would find in the type of all others to in which many tain critics would find in a set to got most close than its larger lower Chambers, where they would to difficult to all the full cone entition due to them.

of the point, but he do but all the list it will be

the control of the second of the second of the control of the cont

It addition consisted as for as possible to estable a vision, and the contribution of the policial development of India will perfectly us parts now allowed doubts and lears and might colabor additions do med by our Conservative friends essential to their

more active benevolence towards the Report.

The actions at leactions of the various of minutes oppor-- ted lete have been a microcosm of India revenling some of the d. halling we have to true, and from my personal especiances it Er als that several our munities have lad grave susplied or coused a to whether the row e toldti not things is desired in all quarters . All for the learning India. Speaking for my own or amity. and the second I will reserve the state in the second of the second states and the second ender a step parties the spread you will decrease will administ be burner to see that they been no indistricter the real control of the property of the control of Commerce will be insistent that no British subject the Line e al all la mader and derlantage companied with an Indianatorn subject with regard to Confinence and Infastry, Only if we ours lives are satisfied that the Lew constitution tulils these concitions and gives not only ourselves but all Minor ties complete contidence, shall we be able to overcone the natural hesitation which often accompanies a forward move.

Subject to the transitional safeguards devised for the security of India, we confully confirm our acceptance of the Reports and Recommendations, and I would close by paying a very sincere tribute to my tellow-members of the British India Delegation. In the face of great political and social opposition our friends heard the cult of India and pluckily answered her summons.

In that patheti a tim I fall a happy augury to the fative.

II. II. The Chief of Sandle: Mr. Prime Minister, ... small is sever any perhaps be indiced to regard that the Conference less added to relieve its purpose, be associately at their able to reach larger agreement or formulate more definite on hours on all the questions before it. But if we take into account the cost in grands and complexity of the problems involved as common but once to the conclusion that we have, during the endays, laid a tomelation or which a fasting edifice may be constructed in spite of the duboulties that have yet to be overcome. I think that the feature of the Conference which will be regarded as its greatest contribution to the evolution of the constitution of India will be the best ration of the Princes and Ministers of the Indian Sector Delegation that they were willing to accept the principle of the Union of both British India and States in one common

Federation. This declaration was to far to remove the four that the old division is to Infinited a and British would be perpo-Easted. The willingness of the States to enter it a federation is. it must be correct, early test on the energy of a test in a test in a for a far and on tre understanding that the ut that authorized of the States will continue These reservations, however, contrib reming inconsistent with the principles of federation, or with the contimber a very ment of India towards on plete edignature out. I there this opposition its of expressing my belief that the small of State which I are privileged to a pre ent here will be as reals as any other States to recognise the essential unity or all Italia and to stick add share in real's ratherided of foliation which this Corrected has evolved. I think also that he Contract has been a successas a renewal of the tes which bind Great Britain not In but the there, a Union which, as I believe, was disgrably Providence. With the States, the maintenance of the come from with the Blitish Ciewa has always been a first principle of their says of classification. All the D legites, whether they corre from the S ares or British Ird., must, I tlank, have been convired it to entine trandliness of the British people, and of the desire of all political parties to do what is best for India To the the tes was like my-all, have visited English to the has the fact on veloce is a Lappy sugary for fitter und stimates I statem the two countries. It will be in date, er o letura to our oan comain, to cole lidate the idvartage already gard and to over each to old cles which said a treway of a consummation of our labours.

I this this property of so introp asystic whole-heartedly well to the test of admiration and graticule that has been paid to you on. We have Marite card of Lord Sanday, Mr. We lewer I have to the received a State to find a, and other numbers of the Poil of Direction who have outside to do so eminently to the action of the Conference.

N. W. Man V. Makta Mr. Prine Minister, I chave pern'sie, to pie tes hereble voice i, the chorus of approval and profit and the the Research Pelegal Structure sub-Cons-:. in ' a call different part es. The design has been magnitee a in it went on and though the detailed plans and speci-I do a short of the action of the shele project is replace will a lattle the tradition and is full of premise. I have hear late so, to home to time on levelled at the idea of the Indian Tederation I. It is the last the last the last the war in I v! more appropriously called a large rather than an intimate o. it illinia to The chem tares of Irdia. Loveva. . r . delt i es la min, al er si percers and without any In Hel. Horower, we must not has sight of the fact that it is all the state of a problem, that giotist and annual gordone and has its disconnicating cart Constituters are not reade as we make reals or milways. Continued to the surgery of the crow. Past Listerical tradi-

tions and geographical configuration lave as much to do with to growth of a constitution as soil, water and climate have to do the do grant, and muture of plants and bees. We cannot in adult to begin with a cleen date or threat the existing constithe decoders of thele than his the meling pet. We v 11 to vo a stable ;; I abiling one, ittim for Inda to come out of the culdron, and nothing weild, grotesque or recondite tald fart the meed of the country. Let us look at the way in which Issociated and codents, past traditions, and physical features I we influenced the constitutional structures in other Dominions. C. raha is the oldest Dominion in the Empire. The dazzling idea . 1. I'denature a hiered by the United States of America exercised a powerful sa , over the minds of the neighbouring colony. But red artirathus and communal diderences, with which we are in the tely but to familiar, left the French Canadians always at pictors of their English conficres. Morcover, at the commence-I or the Caracter Tede ation hal only to embrace the provinces et Orchor, Ottina, New Binismick and Nova Sectia. The Provinces or States of Manitcha und distant Sasketchewan had not one into the fild at the time. There was used for a strong entil gereinent to project the country from its powerful red har on the south and the Feels ation, that emerged took il the or a vector tipe with a stong confiningovert . end.

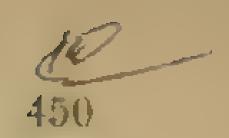
the distribution of the state o oradising the settle s was Lore on ous in character and was not term b. i. ', berinnesities or religious diderences. The Previnces were in legend at and autonomous, each jealously guarding its own He raty Viet in and New South Wides were the two rivals for supermacy, but wither was strong enough to absorb the other. Me, over the country vas a country of long distances, and means of or limited and that part were by no meals of vir theap. Le Previnces et Quensland, Tasa mia, and Western Australia wanted to meante their own provincial autonom and yet were arx us to secur I'd ration and presection, and the German olonial ambition began to be manifest in the Polynosium Seas. The Pederation of the Commonwealth was therefore truly of the Lederal type, after the America model. The example of the South African Unice need not detain us as the Constitution is a Union and does not pretend to be Federal. In India a cordingly should not the civilisation and culture of the country, its past Listary and its present curcum stances claim to exert the same influence on the structure of the constitution we are designing?

A foderal constitution for It dia Las been by no means a novel conception spring upon us here at the Round Table Conference. Ever since 1917 when the famous declaration of the Secretary of State for It dia fixed the goal of responsible self-government for the country and placed British India on the way to Dominion Status, the Indian States have naturally been astir and desirous of their two evolution. No political prophecy of late has more rapidly naterialsed that the picture drawn by the sympathetic and agacious statesman, Mr. Montagu, when he spoke of the Indian

State comp, more and more not be orbit of Philish Indian politics and at the altmate Pederation which alone enally provide means of jordal associated determination of que nors of cent cencers. Though recommendations were actually made of such rathols. I joint deliberation they remained standard merely in the neges of that historic Report and were not in planeated in partice When the time arrived for the second cover e of Reformation British India whiteened have be a more natural for Indian Statis then to seek a restoration and recaptation of their engine savereignty that had suffered decry with advance in years, and yet the Peler, ter which above our provide free stope for him the serias of Greater India to gravard new to the rand statue has been dipunged and its value a har is d b, cratics who have as Soft contact for Pringer in their later. They appellated that it. tre me. city the Princes would exercise a dominating influence and they are which concerned that this predominating infrance would be mythurghed be noted . It is no desire on the part of the France to play and don't a ingreat it, at his that content British to di in the group, and he areely reals the precut ituation and he who has a munistration the Princes will only to a sthemare for the chierd bloom welsing displaced. The Pr. is in espon it the case of Federal'sm have been estated by our teld consider, tions, for it is currous to observe how, sating at a Round or ever Oval Table, they have to a light their ideals to: anded teral with four districtly separate sides. First and \* a one their chim has been determined by their byal attach ter to the en ar latheone of the King-Emperor. They have : \_ \* . . . I for the the confither placed the the feet to the the diplex by to other sile. A letter s to e the liding applications sought to break away in the and the present the Prince and this oppositually in the literate of the productional property laber leading that a literal samp of the feeler and all a stable gravette-I II In the second place their cents. has the I their they a such the repetition for the their own Metherland has in product scator strict ber of part of their unterral severeignty to it. . . . he I Government. They are labely to supply the schor ar i - ho some of the exthem which me poverties to car country t The tell of the plant the plant the plant of the policy of entirer have deserve them to seeme alequate sufeguards for in a led just com new schene of lutine had madjustment, and lastly their my institut of solf-preservation by determined for there the they have chosen to adayt. Their internal some of the was being whittle I down I gote the inexable claims of police outer with sultly tells and to be in eny way defined. and whose interstality was produced in a phrase that must ever . ' I' o a fi'e amy to India Princes. In spite of the repeated pleders and promouncements of successive savereigns of England their treats rights and status should in constant tisk or one on from the inroads of expanding assets and elent sufferince, and when they is seed it it the royal the jos were not always inviolate

n inviolable that actually preferred their two participation in the spots. By their treatment of the list century they had relegated to the British Crown their internal autonomy in war and foreign afters; by the tresh treatment of the present combine they will be a character delegate unither portions of their internal swereignty impinging on matters afterting the common in cress of their whole country portions which were most vulnerable to risk from erosion, to in agency in which they hope to have their own voice. Wisdom Ites in soung a real, and if the tide of democracy is advancing, history has taught them that safety does not be in standing across the fury of the rolling floods.

The Princes are naturally jeasons of their own internal autoony and while they are prepared to suffer din nution of some of their can sovere guty in the interests of the common weal they are as anxious to see that no needless sacrifice from them is In miled It is too this pullbase that while they are propered to emeade to the tederal curles has the authority to legislate and Ly down prince on subjects of common federal concer they are Thetail to put with their proportary rights, their jurisdiction cal the particular of these ammon concerns like Radways and Posts, and it is in this sphere that I would make an appeal only button, of British In ; translated to maneressors socilice. I, us on ted and subjects like Customs and Posts and Telegraphs, I administration of which they have not retailed in their own bands enough by the ederal legislature, would be applicable as tederal laws seek to their our subjects; but there were not be the same recourse of implicability as regards Civil and C incinal Laws passed by the Indian Legislature within the territories in der In lian States, and ever as regards some of the folleral laws governmy trade and comperce local conditions, which may you with the different States, may have to be separately provided for by the resper two governments of these States in their own local legislatien. To give only ore illustration, there is nothing reprignant to the fundamental principles of the Negetiable Instruments Act icr is storce if to the list of gazetted hold by the States ald one day on the burthdays of their respective rulers. Selition of de affection to cel. State will have the letter lin relation to it distinctive Sweetigh. Provided there is no intel or randomatal difference the lead legislatures of the servial St tes can without montenior whe illewed a fairly a toplate margin for such last, day tation. Where there is any vital rejugatince the federal laws may be b and to prevail. We see familiar with leg datase commove sees like the permissibility of concurrent legislative authority the enactin it of normative laws, of model laws and permissive laws to be inlat ken by the States constituting the federal units provided there was nothing represent to the procession in the rederal law on the subject. I would refer the Committee to Articles 6, 7, 8, 11, 12 and 12 or the recent Garman Constitution of 1919 to Section 94 of the British North America Act or Canada, and to Sections 52, 108 and 109 of the Constitution of Australia, rd Section 86 of the South African Union Act. By adoption of



smallar legislative contrivances the desire of the Indian States Rulers to preserve their internal legislative autonomy intact would be gratified and conflict of laws avoided.

I make this appeal to you, bethren of British India, in o der to tacilitate and snooth the way for large numbers of Indian States for entry into the new Pederation which we are build ag and which will over remain as a distinct male tope on our journey to altracte Dominion Status which has now been assured to us.

Colone Hal m: I am sure we see all ve y geneful, Mr. Pin e Min ster, for the oppositionity which you have given us of expressing our confilmed judgment apan the progress which we have monghiled. Let orly when this store of our procedures has been read to call out the vest of the last title weeks pro the to cur is talk than our supression by recorded of the spirit which has about ed this Conference. This impression. I suggest, is the solt est of the value or car voil. Had it been passible for the millions of my countrymen to experience for the selves the percone this quit, I wi me that they would be as strongly emember as are all of us less, or the mality of the will of But as to do justice to India. I will give only the brefest illustrations of my meaning. It has been said that the pelicy of Britain ewards my ountry has been to divide and rule Local conditions may have given rise to administrative problems to the solution of which this principle has been in the past applied; but with the laster, or this Centere ce fresh in our minds, can we doubt that the pull of of Butain to-day, the policy of the Government have in large and, has been to unite, to conciliate, to strive in every way to ming about larmony and agreement? I will rice as examples only the attitude of you. Mr. Prime Minister, of your collagues and of the representatives of the other political patties first towards the federal schoole, and secondly towards the problem of the amondy communities.

I shall not here afteropt to neasure what we have a hieved by any purely unite standards; for I am one of those who have always leid that the problem of the relations between the people of my Motherland and the people of Britain is dependent upon psychological rother than upon material ractors for its solution.

In the early hours of this Conterence, Mr. Prime Minister, you pourted to our presince round this Council Board as proof positive that Inhais auxie'y regarding her status in the Enque might her, here worth for ever be allayed. Events have proved the justice on your retails? For the essence of Dominon Status is self-given ment is now perclared in the end is not that self-given ment is now perclared in the end is not what we have arrived. For what, in turth, are these reservations which are to epicate during the period of transition? One they not devised in our own interest? Are we not consider a status parties to their arrangement? What, I will be even to Fig. it the responsibility for the large of the large of the responsibility for the

313

orreduce? And, surely in regard to in mer also, the orpip, cated ard below the restrict of international relationships to a which the THE CONTRACT OF THE PROPERTY O tern out or I strain ust I the ren the als with alterel circum tarces reputie shall have been woven and so mely in that I. I am willing to assume that it would be entrary o to her de d'Braten fait the brances el India samid be dislicented But is it not far more to our own interests than to the interest of Best, in that the finance of India should be stoble? For by part, I cannel regard them salegrands as being more than stabilding, u. sightly perhaps, but necessary, until the complete structure of our building can be firally revealed; and I repeat, in acquiring responsible government, we have also acquired Dominion Status. The rest of the differences appear to ne to be in theis of sir ple justice at laught well be left to harmony of indicious and mutual trust for their composition.

When we lett In the in a storm of ridicule, it was our faith in the justice of Ir let's Caner and in the beginnind, and, it I may say so, the course of our hoise. That course has brought us close to the goal. Our forth has been entirely justified. But at least of equal value with the political gain to India has been the urin of our hours. For at this moment they are beating and henceforth will continue to beat in unison.

We have been away from our homes a long while and have suffered the longings which such a state engenders—we have lived laborate days, even if we have not altogether shurned the delights of Britain's marvellous hospitality we have had many anxieties, and yet, when to-day our labours are ending. I for one feel something akin to sadness. Our daily contact has deepened, I assure you, Sir, my faith in humanity, quite apart from ethaning my respect for individuals. There are my Lords Reading and Lothian, there are Lord Peel and Sir Somuel Hoare—the longer of their convictions and the fearlessness with which these convictors are expressed and the tenacity with which they are held, are an object lesson to us all on this side of the Table.

But if this be the judgment of the head, the heart also speaks. It turns to head Sankey, it turns to Mr. Wedgword Benn, and it turns to you in captivity. Sir, I tender to you all my respectful congratulations on showing to the world what true sons of Great Bona mean do. May it be given to us to serve, as you all have served. His M. jesty, our Emperor, your Kurg, and his Empire. May it also be given to us to serve our country as you have served yours. God willing, we shall you have enabled us to do so. Henceforward, we pray that our Empire will entinue to grow in unity, in strength, in world-wide moral influence and, indeed, it unity, in strength, in world-wide moral influence and, indeed, it uniterfal prosperity. The amount ment which you have promised is pregnant with all these possibilities. When doubts and apprehensions incidental to any great change are dissipated in course of time, and it will not be long, when the chaim of

represent has a concised the decompost distinct by take Indian the place who is frapie will be as you. It as a Pakerica washe the second aght of the twee-look, say "God bles you" in which has been a works true. In a true which till these is may comply to a deal on the all the wall pass away and India's heart all repeated to Batteria's love and research. This is not returned to any be the surrest Indian continual but one of the islands to the result of a copy incompalses, when it springs from soloner sources, the same along as just not. Prince Miller, wis long a policy of the collider of the same produce when it springs from soloner sources, the collider is it is for you pow to cross a with the solver produce of the mills opproved the aline which we have all of a coordinal to the cot

Prince Militer, as easy and the I. La contrata at your instance or put the latera consection is also coded, but a prost recipied of the second The property of the state of the first of the state of th I a to bil legione the to express my gratitude to you, the The same State, the Land Char ella and all the De rates i . . ( sterior, I for our car as and our beating the Curva, al the Zelaund L. o. the Midus Presidence a layer that the rate - our little and but to compet their links and but Produces of the case salegards are. I sincerely believe a great wip to star Ind. som the read to the disation of tall Delit. Str. Per literposition of service entre entre la contra de la contra del contra de la contra del contra de la contra del contra della c I dha e safor el cur culto. Vi. el, waen se lell cur beros er est r see a litrick familier or at the reporter of the territories Correct of and say that we go back how tall of pride and last to conditates and associates in Donal with our objects miles Don Historics, Lake and Gorthoren, there are Durit a same expertations, and let us not allow over-rathuses in , p. , porte or rate let let let progresse the territor fire post 1 created before it has had time to settle down.

May I ll the the active of the residence particles of the solar ty act fair play to all concerned, and the great Indian Saving as they now for an left the existing asgulation, and pledges of the Crossist between the transportations. Specification of the Crossist because the factor of the personally a grateful to the Indian Carl Service, the allowed for all to the book. If a november a test to act I rish to a transport to act I rish to a transport to act I rish to a transport to a t

Indian concernal industry of a day one their distribution. Indian and Gutler on we must adout to a very great extent in the world's non-set, as foreign capital, and while producting our more than a set and substraining against all explicating lating let us be touch our holian poinciples and not resolve to close our doors to a non-set all gives to who have more tell form at a recall law.

leger levelop i la la como en marines with whatever selfish motives it might be.

Agriculture is the later industry of India which provides levels to detail occupation to millions of India's population and as has been rightly pointed but by mand, Sandar Sarepman Smrll, on India afternoon, find an agriculture tends to day texed to the man, and he not been one, any actempts be made to in their exercises with tax time and disable for to house all further improvement and development.

Men y mer as Paramee will be a cody said on the praciple a chorded in the memoran lem submitted under the signature of my honourable friend, Sir P. C. Mitter, and some of us, to need all further provincial denands

In our on and Indian agriculture are so closely inter-related with each of that plant particulty they are inseparable and us in A of our I dian Provinces. Hence, as has been pointed out losses, our as dissention meaders in the Services Considers, the I region I Department of a locally I morely bel, come under the All-Indian Savar to a case a larger of a lection and an attract I also set this course and downers to be absorbed in the Legion of the Indian Indian Department.

territors double pant cardia datall legiter, a, pro not in the territors double a three territors double as the contract of the second datally desired and the formation of the first territors of the contract of the Governor General.

But I conclude that I weeks not thanks and gratically against help like the Or as the Zambalas of the Macros Press. I have I may be a larger and this falls.

Rejurtment in the Min Prince Minister, when I left In ha the was an ad-percading atmosphere of listiust and despendency with regard to the Centernee. I was approached by many finals to when I was teld that I was taking in unhouse. I trouble. Some of the pessionsts went so for as to predict that we would cone back within a retright. But the Conference is the a sufficient and the conference is the a sufficient and the conference is the a remarkable in many ways.

No hard, at a case virture residence of proval. The task of the francis of the constitution is an extremely difficult one. Never has not the led revision to the bistory of the weall which has not the led revision to time. The Indian problem presents of plexities about the solution of which it is impossible to section rive sale usent. I was not a render of the Federal Committee but I lay read the Report. I have not had time to consider it in all its learners. I may love very able to say the the main outline shows a numerial and substantial advance of the incinerations. The constitution in an electrical contains the genus

consituted is worked from time to time.

When I read the Nebuu R post as it care out and it proposal about the inclusion of the Princes in the future Federation I thought that the time was for distant when they would throw in treiz let with as. They have so tar constituted a liniet order d derect from mything corresponding to it found in Brain India. I have the crore nothing but a lour, rich for the patriction, public s, init, bread outlook and statesmership shown by the Princes in not only expressing their willingers, to come in the Pederation but in taking an active and salstratial part in framing the Pederal constitut on. The step which show here taken dees involve a secrifice on their part and their inclusion in the federation is not only to be looked upon as a measure introduction a stable and conservarive element in the constitution but as one calculated to create a United States of India without discrimination between British India and Indian India. Surely, the advanced politicians, with whom the idea of including them originated, and who criticised the report of the Butler Conmittee as one calculated to disunite India, did not intend to introduce a conservative element in the teliministration of the country. I wish and hope that it may be possible to seeme the support of that political body which has so far kept itself out of the Conference but which is undoubtedly the most in luential and the best organised.

It is regrettable that the minorities question has not been settled by noticed agreement. When I can to the Conference I did not expect that the solution of it would present so many difficulties as it has done. I thought that there would be no difficulty in securing agreement on the uniform treatment of all minorities. I am really sorry that I have not been able to help in its solution. But allow me to assure you in words as solemn as I can command that the vew which I have taken is not due to any class, communal or parochial interests which I represent or advocate, but it is due to the desire to construct the constitution on a scientific basis. In a spirit of compromise, I cannot allow a constituter to be trained, which is a grotesque combination of ircongruous elements. This has been my difficulty. Whilst appreciating and assessing at its full value what has been achieved, I take this opportunity of explaining why I have not been able to help towards the achievement of the object, which has not been achieved.

Mr. Ja Marc. I I we great pleasure in associating myself with all that I is been said by the previous speakers upon the courtesy, that, symbolly and Lieudh, spirit and statesmanship shown by you and your co-works a like Lord Sankey, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Thomas. Sir William Jowi I, Lord Peel and others, in the conduct of the affairs or the amious Committees they presided over. I and not take the time of the Conference in going over the same matter again.

I am sury I have to refer with disapproval to what my friend, Mr. Gav n Jones, said here on Friday last. He called the Congress a Revolutionary Party I may assure him, that the leaders of the Congress are as a body against revolution. It is their influence and their to allings that have kept the revolutionary movement in theck. There is a strong ar arelical activity in India, but Congress net only does not apport it, but many of her leaders have corden ned t. His Excellency, Lord Irwin, in a recent speech has admitted a generous terr sither the motives of Gandhi are henest. Maladina Gandli and the Congress leaders want substance of independence, which in other words means mastery in one's own house. The construction that will be hammered out of the materials supplied by the reports of the various Committees, if carried out in a liberal spirit, aught to be acceptable. But as I have said before it is the spirit that is really in portant. The spirit of Wirsten Chu chill s not what is going to make peace. It is not possible to keep down a rousel mation. Logland ternd it duralt to do it with Loron. Butish India with a population of 320 millions, whou than a ble roosed, will be difficult to keep. Conciliation is the only time and sure reriedy and I am gratified to see that the forcinest states in or of Great Britain have realised the necessity of meeting the national demand.

In my temarks in the preliminary discussion before the Conference I did not conceal my apprehensions about the success of lielection. I had at the same time no idea about the welcome harge in the mentality of the Princes. I am now assured of their whole hearted support, and I am confident that the seed sown by you and now grown into a plant will be transplanted in India, and there it will gradually grow into a stately tree under whose glorious shade the teeming millions will enjoy rest and freedom, and India will be blessed with its fruit.

Britair brought to India good government. But, as selfconsciousness grew. India realised that it was not self-government, and the cry now has been for self government. The new constitution, it properly worked and developed, is expected to lead to self-government for which the country is very eager and ready to nake sacrifices. The work of the expert Franchise Commission will be watched with very keen interest. The Southborough Comn if the in 1920 looked more to the interests of the urban population. a large portion of which was enfranchised, while the rural populat, a was not so liberally treated. The recommendations in the Simon Report have been to a great extent accepted by the I must ware the Conterence that their adoptich is sue to give an urfair advantage to the urban, to the prejudice of the rural population. The factory and agricultural labour was practically lost sight of by the Reval Commission and the recommendations of the majority of the Franchise Un mittee have erred in the same direction. I would therefore up, with all the carnesiness at not command that the real representatives of agricultural and rural labour ought to be included in the expert Commission that will be constituted.

These two classes must be directly and intimately harrensed to time anstitution; or else there is the danger that they may fall victures of the communist propaganch and be a tool in their hands. It is the workers and presents who form very congraind soil for revolutionary activities. It is therefore necessary that real interest in and pride for the rew constitution should be considerable more them by giving them the right of vote.

I all hoppy to see that the British General is in eathest to do sor thing to satisfy to a certain extint the ligitimate is diatiers of India and their genuine desire to party India is apparent. For the success of the new constitution a favourable and peaceful atmosphere ought to be created, and I use with all the same stars at my command to leclar a general annesty and reless for prison all those political prisoning who are ret or mould and rets of victoria Same her dellinge the utility Tale arments and pould out has all of them and other Satyaa characteristic gain. Wy howledge of Inda and to people fells to that home then I precent will not like to go back and ever if they do Gevermeent will love nothing. An anticety will prove to India and the world that Britain is it earnest to the peace and that there is a real change of heart. I trust if it the important have theady our sidered this important question and come to a favourable decision,

Sold and Julianors. In some of the spie less made vesterday is continued. In the procession I believe I have reason to be so. Those of the procession I believe I have reason to be so. Those of the the harmonizations in a opting the laxitation to accept has been amply its included the sold that their decision to accept has been amply its included the opportunity of being present at one of the test is open sold the opportunity of being present at one of the test is open casions in the log connection between England will be a character of a processing test of should be that that this expression of a processing it includes proceedings.

Althoreh certain purciples have been laid down a great deal of the work has still to be dote, and I trust. Prime Minister, that His Majo ty's Government will take immediate steps to see that to is is to creat in the certificity of the work, the timedation of this is no read in the certificity of the work, the timedation of this is no read in the certificity of the work, the timedation of this is no laid in this country. Consider a use, although a certification for the first of the major of the first of the first of the certification of the first of the mable to entire the distributions there appeared to be every chance of a successful subscript of the first of the different black as a first distribution of the first of the different will be that a settlement will be to had at the early different black in or a conflashing friendship in distribution of the certification of the conflashing friendship in distributions.

Many of us are aware of the apprehensions felt by some metabets of some of the Services. If the report of the Services sub-Committee is carefully studied I trust it will be found that without conceding any principle inseparable from a full measure of self-government, the sub-Committee have given serious and syn pathetic consideration to the question. India, I am sure, is not and will not be ungrateful to her public servants who have worked for her so earnestly and with such ability. I trust she will continue to be served in the future, as in the past, with the same loyalty and goodwill which has characterised the public Services of India. When the new constitution begins to function, the Services will find that although they have not the same constitutional power and influence, they will continue still to have the power for good as guides, philospheis and friends of the governments and peoples of India.

I am a raid, Sir, I cannot express complete satisfaction with the report of the Tranchise sub-Committee. The keystone of sately for the future self-governing construction of India lies in the adjustment of the franchise, and I trust and hope that the Committee to be set up will give this reportant question further and serious considuation. We were exceptionally lucky in having Sir William Jowitt as the Chairman of the two Committees I have orentioned. It is ability, impartiality and universal courtesy mode work under him and with him a real pleasure. I think we all desire to thank the Secretary-Gereral and the staff under him, the Secretaries of the British India Delegation and all officers who have so freely given of their time and labour in the interests of this Conference.

No Mirra M. Ismail: Mr. Prime Minister, permit me to join in congratulating you on the successful accomplishment of a task as great and momentous as any that has ever confronted a statesman. We came to this Conference with roughed hopes and fears. We had faith in the righteousness of our cause, confidence in Great Britam; but our hearts were sick with fear when we thought of the magnitude and complexity or the problem and the clouds of mistrast and suspic on which of sound the issues. Now, thanks to you and the great statesmen who have so ably assisted you in your labours, our hopes he before us in a fair way to fulfilment, and we can afford to look back on our fears in a spirit of than rfulness that we have been able to surmount them. We now go back to India with the consciousness of duty done, and with a message of trust and growwill from this great country—and India, I assure you, has a warm heart and a great memory for kindnesses.

From the cutset it was clear that acthing short of responsibility at the Centre would be acceptable to India; but this issue was beset with drientless of which the two most formidable were the position of the States and the enestion of the miscrities. It seemed to me that responsibility at the tentre could only be given if a constitution comprising the whole of India could be envisaged. The kep of or the Statutory Commission while regarding an All-India

Indendion as an ultimate ideal, relegated it to a distant intire. My own to leg was that ence the idea was taken up for senous consideration things would nove with greater rapidity than the Commission and pated, since the intense and groving nationalism of India would furnish the necessary motive power. In fact, the first problem solved itself with almost dramatic suddenness, when the Ruiers and representatives of the States in this Conference declared themselves in Jayour of an Ad-India Federation.

It was matter of extreme regret to as Indians at this Conference, as it is I am sure to the British representatives who have been assisting us in our work, that we have failed to come to a settlement on the communal issue, and consequently have presented to the world the spectacle of a people who want self-governnacht but are unable to august their own differences and work tegether for the common good. May I point cut, however, that it is possible to affacilito) much importance to these differences? When it is remembered that some of us have come to the Conbecome a the song-cherished convictions and pronounced views, and have even expected by those who think likewise to voice those convactions and views, and when it is also remembered that the importance of the occasion called for clearness and emphasis in the expression or opinion, it would be astonishing it unanimeas agreement had been reached. I say this not to justify pur to explain what has happened. Let us not lorget, newever, that in actual fact, inflhous of Hindus and Musinus live topether in peace that amity. The negotiations at this Conference and tended to bring out in sharp relief the few points of difference, and accountly to obscure the many and essential points of agreement.

I have no doubt that a just settlement, whether by mutual agreement or carecoal by the British Covernment, will be accepted by the raiss of Indians of all communities. In any case, Sir, if I may be permitted to say so, the course before the British Covernment is perfectly clear; it is to go on with the work to which they have so robly set their hands; and when we have reached so large a cegare of anathmity, not to permit a few individuals at this Conference to lander the progress of India towards her cherished goal.

The devising of a constitution which should hold together in one harmonious whole such americal inns as the States and the Provinces was the problem before Lord Sankey's Committee, and it has been colved, I think, in a satisfactory manner. As a member of the Committee, I associated myself fully with its recommendations. I arr convinced they are sound in principle and provide an excellent was soon a start in our great enterprise. No settlement can be end a organiless it is for interfoot reason and justice to all concerned was their the State, the Hindus, Sikhs of Muslius, or any other confidently, happear rinner. Let us not forget that our conclusions here must be such as are acceptable to reasonable people in India. We must be such as are acceptable to reasonable people in India.

I think they are satisfied so for as the general conclusions of this Concrence are concerned we shall have achieved our main purpose, and the Conterence will not have been held in vain.

It would be superfluous at the present stage to prove that a federal constitution is the only one possible in India. No other edifice could include such a variety of interests, no other policy would a lant of the development of the component parts harmoniously with the growth of the whole. I shall only deal with certain doubts that I seemed to sense when some of my colleagues were speaking. On the sale of the States, there may be a feeling that by joining the Federation they are exposing themselves to the full force of the democratic surge in the rest of India. One is reminded of King Cannot's elaborate rebuke to his courtiers. I do not believe that democratic sentiment would in any event stop short at the boundaries of the States. The wisest course is to recognise and unlerstand the new forces and adjust ourselves to them. Take all great forces, they cannot be successfully dealt with by imitating the ostrich.

On the part of British India there seems to be a feat that the States may act as a drag on the constitutional progress of the country, and that their representatives may lend themselves to be used as instruments of obstruction. This tear is due to tack of appreciation of the fact that the States and their Rulers yield to none in their love for India, and their desire to see her occupy a place worthy of her among the great nations of the world

I am sure we Indian Delegates fully realise what we owe to you Sir, and to your distinguished colleagues. You have spared no effort, you have left no stone unturned, to make this Conference a success. No one but a visionary, oblivious of the existing facts and conditions in India, could have expected greater results.

It is now left to us Indians to build on the solid foundations laid here. If we tail, history will blame not England but India herself. What you have been able to do for her will rank among the noblest achievements of British statesmanship.

\*Sir Akhar Hydari: Mr. Prime Minister, those who preceded me have paid a well-deserved tribute to the Chair and to your Colleagues. I wish to associate myself with that tribute, but will not repeat what has been so well said already because time is short, and I feel the lest compliment I can pay to the Chair and to this Conference is to be as brief as I can.

Many here may have criticisms to make in regard to the scheme before us. Lut these need not be detailed to-day, because they are recorded abroady in the proceedings of the sub-Committees and will. I feel, soon receive attention when the time comes.

If I may be permitted to say so, I think it would be unfortunate if at the case of the Conference we laid too much emphasis on the points of disagreement and thus break up in a spirit of depression when the work is all before us. I see no reason why anyone should

suppose that his in her aspiralizes have been thwaited branse ther de not find a place on the nann Report. There is still time to so the obstaclation of all points of view. It is far more belieful to lock on the brighter side of the picture. I believe there is general opportent in layers of an All-India Federation for subjects definitely defined, with responsibility for there at the Centre and autonomy in the Proximes, a stable rederal legislature and definite and char reservations and safeguards with the Crewn for the maintenance of the peace, tranquillity and fir ancial stability of the country and for the entire fulfilment of the treaty obligations for the protection and integrity of the Indian States. If will always be a source of deep personal joy to me to feel that the scheme as it has charges out of the Federal Structure Committee is one which in all its essential details a law originally thought out and placed to responsible hards as the lest solution of the Indian problem from the point of view of a United India, and that I have been privileged to play a part in obtaining its final acceptance. This practical agreement on most essential points is, I consider, no mean achievement for this Conference. There is plenty of time to adjust differences in the course of werking out details, and I deprecate the note of depression I have heard in various quarters.

The time for action has come. When I get back to In balls all day laurable best to induce States, both great and small, to a cept the today date, at I am one the other States' represents ives will concentrate or main letter them; but I direly believe it they will concentrate or main privipus, working all the true behind the scenes for the adjustment of differences, they have a very good chance of securing the adherence of all furthermores, they have a very good chance of securing the adherence of all furthermores, they have a very good chance of securing the adherence of all furthermores per perfect of all furthermores.

I hope that in two at these transless time the work of this Conference will some order course at support in India that it will be possible for the various expect Connactions to got to work and druft a detailed constitution or sound lines. Het as all resolve to convince our countryment is ladia that we are on the road to Demarion Status and let us put the weight of individual effort to a have success and reach the goal which we have set before it. If we fail that we like to prove in our time. If we succeed as I hope and pray under God's guidance we shall—we shall have written one of the toblest chapters in the world's history—the union of Greater India with Greater Britain.

We Bornoch: Mr. Pume Minitser, I thank you, Sir, for giving me an apportunity to speak a word: I am thankful to the notices of the British Delegation for the patient and sympathetic hearing they have given us; and I believe I voice the sentiment of the entire Indian Delegation when I say that we are very much that kill to your jerset ally, and also to Lord Sankey and Mr. Wedgwood Brane for your earnest endervours to do your best for us.

It was only the other day that you said that you were going to harmon out a constitution, under which India will not only be

adpy, the will open, conservable poor. St. we have ely greather the many and the other smaller assumances you have given to be time.

We are the owner of the values lifterlies in making a suitable repstitution for India. But we tope we have made it sufficiently coar to there y bedring murry, every school of political thought in triding womes a full necessity of sult-government, and that nothing less than the status of a Domini in Government, with a few reproduce safeguards for the transition period will pairly India of the present day. We wromen another this Table, as well as those in India who think like us, have still faith in British justice and we confidently hope that British statesmanship will rise to the height of the order on, and will do full justice to the discontented millions of that ancient land of culture and civilisation.

The most important points we are concerned with are:—(1) Februation. 2) Responsibility of the Central Government to the Central Leg slature. (3) Autonomy in the Provinces, and (4) Joint Electorates.

Simon Commission and the Government of India. But the wisdom and the tars thed statesmanship of our Indian Princes Lave brought it within our case reach. The whole of India is proud of ter Princes who, by their wise and sympathetic conduct in this matter, have immensely contributed to the uplift of India.

It must be admitted that during the period of transition, respensibility of the Central Government to the Indian Legislature should be accompanied with some sateguards and reservations. But they should not be more than what is absolutely necessary. To rruch of sategrands, and reservations will spoil the whole thing. You cannot but the some risks in tass, as movery other matter of similar importance. Nothing great has ever been done without taking risks. We shall perhaps make mi takes in the leginning; but people learn by making mistakes. Every undue siteguard or reserv, tion will be a hindrance on the path of India, and is bound to delay let presse. It is certainly necessary to provide safeguards and make a servations during the political evolution in India; but it is also recessary to reach the promised goal, with as little del a as cossible. Will thinking of surguinds and reservations, the ran object should be lest sight of; and that object is to give as near independence to India, as is now enjoyed by the et ier Dominions of the Empire, and to give it as soon as practicable. It should also be remembered in this commetion that India has already passed ten years of the period of transition.

As regards the third point, namely provincial autonomy, there has been a practical unanimity in all quarters that the full amount of autonomy should be granted to the Provinces; and we believe this will be lone at once. I would however submit in this connection, that the Province of Assam, where I come from, is one of those Provinces in India where the reforms of 1919 have been very

nomy for my Province.

Now I come to the last point—that is, that joint electorates involve the Hindu-Mash in cuestion—Neither the Sinar Commission nor the Government of India would force joint electorates up on these who are now used to communal electorates, although they admit in unit distakable language that it is joint electorates done that are most conductive to responsible government. The Government of India roes further and, in page 29 of the Despit h, says. "We agree, as already stated, that the prix loge of communal electorates, where they now exist, should not be taken away, without the consent of the communities commerce. . . . But we affect importance to providing the object, in the Accinithe disappearance of such electorates, and for their future replacement by a normal system of representation, more stated to responsible government or derive taking lines."

It is regardable, She that we have not been able to come to a settlement of this matter, although we came very hear its perfect solution. This has led other minor communities to clair, represent to tion on the communal basis. But the British politician knows perfectly well that whatever may be send against it, the system of joint electorates will lead India much somer to the full Dominion Status, and that nothing can be more disastrous to the cause of India's self-government than separate electorars. We may be mistaken: we may be blind to our own interests. We may be quarreling among ourselves over this matter, but it is the moral duty of the British politician, in spite of all that, to put us in the right path and lead as comageously along it. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was very right, when he observed the other day, that there were millions upon n illions of Hirdus and Mularimedans, who were anxious that there should be an hon anable settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question. I should say that there are millions and millions people of the other communities as well, who are equally anxious for this matter, and that while we, the elderly people, are quarrelling over this matter, our young men, who will soon replace as in the political field, are laughing at us, for they make no distinction between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. I would also state that it will not be at all safe to decide this rost important que tion on the opinion of those alone who are around this Table: for they are in no sense the representatives of the vast Indian peoples of political thought.

I do not know what, under these c reumstances, may be the decision of the ultimate authority in England. It may be found that it is not just possible to prescribe joint electorates for India, instint present. But even in that case, I would ask you at least to sow it seed or lay or its foundation, by all means. In this course tion, I would refer to the scheme, suggested some time ago, but great Muhammadan lacter, Sir Abbur Rakim, which is a compromise of both joint and separate electorates. I venture to think that his scheme or any other scheme on similar lines deserves a fare trial.

Neither I, nor invoice class who torris the major community in India ever say that the mornies much not be protected. All that we not out as that the protection should not be of such a netro contract that the progress of India as a whole to any great extent

The present situation in India should also be considered, before decling her fate in the Parliament. Things are going from back to worse. Before the civil disobedience movement has been put down, the country is controuted with another movement, infinitely metiser, or specifically make the movement of the anarchists of the murdicers who have already make the oil property missle in India. This and make spain of arms him is, his deflectively apported, not by repressive measures, but by sampathet a handling of the political situation.

The pledge of Englith is also a very important factor. It is the pledge of a great and mirkly nation to raise the great dependency of India to the status of the British Dormnons. In framing the new consultation for India, therefore, let no room be left whateve for any suspicion as to the sincerity of England in fulfilling this sacred pledge in its entirety.

My me carrest appeal therefore is that whatever you give should be worthy at England to give, and worthy of India to accept. It hould be large enough to mee the legitimate aspirations of charated India. Let it is the said or this Round Table Conference that it is led to justify the hopes with which it is spited the Indian Delegates and a great many millions of their countrymen.

In conclusion, S.r. I would submit that the atmosphere in India caunit be made curte congernal for the consideration of the new constitution that is going to be drafted unless the political prisoners are released. Among them there are some of the best brains of India whose advice and suggestions will be of the greatest value. This, I have reasons to believe, will produce a tremendous effect on the political situation in India. The end of this Conference affords a suitable opportunity for creating the desired atmosphere.

Let me hope that this Conterence will be fully justified by its results, and that these results will bring about peace and prosperity for India and glory for England.

Lord Reading: Mr. Prime Minister, I shall be brief. When those who have participated in the work and deliberations of this Conference look back upon the results attained, they will, I believe, be gratified that so large a measure of agreement had been reached upon important questions, and that opinions had been exchanged upon others which will be further examined by component and expert authorities, and will be decided after due submission to British and Indian opinion.

When we first met, the outlook was confused and the problems seemed building and even insoluble especially within the limited time at our disposal. Examination and discussion attended by good-will, and conducted throughout with great courtesy and in a

The Muster and the Lambert the wise gradult is lamble of the Conference to a conclusion.

At the one of the Conference could have expected that the second of the extent absent do about would attend our choir, or large single have attained, to quote the resolution become us, it authorized a new or agreement on the managround plan."

Her Prince of Fedul, to their renear be it recorded, leftice advance and cleared a new way for constitutional development. What ever may be the lette of our endeavours at this Continue the attitude of the Princes will always be gratefully left been by the expendence for annotoliall that stands for finding.

The Princes, however, attached conditions and perhaps the most important related to the question of responsibility at the Centre. I cannot do better than quote from two important specches:

H.H. The Maharaja of Bikaner said: "With regard to responsibility at the Centre, I desire to ther my whole-hearted supject for the same. The Princes have made it clear that they cannot reduce with the present Government of India and we are not going to make any sacrifices and delegate any of our sovereign powers inless and intil we can share there heromally and fully with British India in the Federal Executive and Legislature. We cannot cone in with responsibility to Pathament, though we real so the necessity for sateguards and guarantees, specially during the transitory period, which is another matter."

His Higness of Bhopel made observations to the same effect, which I will not row repeat, and again this norming His Highness The Mal, rapace Patiala, the Charellor of the Charles of Princes, spoke authoritatively on the same subject.

the Consense wholeshe middly welcomed the idea of an Alllibra Felor is and we have therefore divided on a stration, every extral abilities to by it gittle found too or become edition. his work of construction in tipic red, and we rest so coly lope, to completion.

From the content this Contents enderided to proved upon the loss of teleration, the whole aspect was closed. The idea of election while he dappeded so structly to St. John Scoon and to the structure, the General order to the General and to Inda, it that had one determined beyond ordination, sprano into being the Content of the Content of the medial problems. In the city diversity of the Content of additions, and my Delegation's views, that had a proposal had been accepted, we as a Dilegation studied the public of these and from an entirely new angle. Pederation could be proposal had been accepted, we as a Dilegation studied the public of these and from an entirely new angle. Pederation could be proposed takes the principle of responsibility at the Centre was accepted. Without it, the Princes would be not be to to to to the denation, we wished as men here of the Laboral Delegation, and true to its traditions, to travel in the

that certain sateguards and reservations should be introduced, and these have been explained and discussed. We have expressed an plan language our detaile support or the policy of conferring responsibility at the Centre, provided the sateguards are adequate and the rew constitution is workable.

Thoughout the debutes we have listened most attentively but have seen no reason to change our attitude. We hold to the statements I made a their entirety. These opinions were not, as some have suggested, the result of impulse or sudden conversion; they in gain to take shape matacdiately federation was launched and were only formed after protracted thought and as the result of protound convertion. I explained that I would not at the moment of speaking reter to the Hindu-Muslim question, as negotiations of a delicate chara ter were actually proceeding and the possibilities of success should not be imperified. When these negotiations proved abortive I telt free to express our views in clear and unmistakeable ferms. We carnestly hope that agreement may be reached between our Hand and Muslim friends, and that proper protection will be afterded for al minorities, not to getting the Depressed Classes. You, the Delegates I om British India, are about to return to India, an will take with you a message of true British sympathy and go dwill. We are well aware that many of you gentlemen from British India, honorared and distinguished among India's of caracter, adegrity and intellectual capacity, have risked your political fortunes to take part in this Conference. As we know, you have been actuated by the highest patrictic motives, and we hope that on your return you will be able to convince your compatrists, and that India may then walk the ways of constitutional progress and development. Riots, crime, terrorism and anarely had only to greater political disturbance. Great Britain will not he deterred from performing her duty or discharging her of ligations by threats or by vachence. She can and will be won, as she hopes to win lishe, by sympathy, goodwill and co-operation, by working together as willing purmers in the best interests of India and of the Enquie, for the benefit of India and of the Empire, and for the greate contentment and happiness of India in the future.

II.II. The Malorage Guckwar of Baroda: Mr. Prime Minister, we are approaching the end of this Conference, and the conclusion of a most momentous chapter in the history of India, and I have been asked to say a few words on this occasion.

When our deliberations began, federation for all-India was little more than an ideal, dim and distant, and vaguely comprehended. It is now a live political issue, supported with a remarkable degree of unanimity, not only by the Princes and the States but by British India and political parties in Great Britain. For myself I may say that the idea of federation has for very many years impressed me as presenting the only feasible means of securing the unity of India. Some of the Princes will doubtless recall that in 1917 I

expressed the view that the future constitution of India should be fashioned on these lines.

But ideas even the happiest require for fruition the opportune moment, and this was then to seek. I am content to believe that in present circumstances realisation is at hand of an ideal I have long cherished.

When the results we have achieved are reviewed by the historian. I think it will be conceded that this Conserence has made a notable contribution to political thought. It refer to the conception of a United India wherein British It lia and the Indian States will as partners co-operate for the combon welfare of India as a whole, while each unit will retain its individuality and its right to devertop in accordance with its own particular genius.

We shall have, in other words, unity without uniformity, a prime requisite of true federation.

Before the Federal Sub-Cormittee began its work and during the course of its deliberations there were many to whom the idea of federation and its in plications appeared so movel as to create a feeling of dread that the States eight be pledging themselves to perdous courses. Even now, such exceptions are to be found. It is, therefore, a matter of gratific clear that His Majesty's Government has been so wise as to leave the elect doubts to be resolved in greater familiarity with the subject by retraining from the eleberation of details at the present stage. The constitution will be evolved in during when consideration has been given to the nany interests concerned, when the various schools of thought have had occasion to state their views. It talest facilities should be given to develop the federal idea in all that it implies.

I have spoken of mitty without uniformity. It is my deliberate conviction that to strain after uniformity in the federal structure would be a mistaken policy. There should be perfect freedom given to each unit to develop along its own peculiar lines. Healthy and friendly rivalry is beacaicial to the state as to the individual. Thus alone hitherto have many fruitful ideas been fostered in the Indian States.

In the first place, they cherish their internal independence and they will insist on this being maintained intact, and on the renoval of jestictions which are injurious to their development and are out of date. Secondly, they would alweate the establishment of responsible government at the tederal centry with a view to taxilit at any the solution of problems which centers. British Ir his and the Indian States alike, and the evaluation of a policy which will be for the good of India as a whole.

In lin he, before it ever omic and clier products, the difficulty of which it is impossible to as aggerate. The success or our labours will be judged by only one test. have they resulted in producing a severtunent which will be expuble of face gethese problems boldly.

and adopting wise racasures and policies which will enable India to take her place among the advance becumtries of the world?

I may of government undoubtedly possess in portance; but they are needy a means to the end. The importance to be affacted to tuend, therefore, must be estimated according to the extent to which they conduce to the end in view, which should be the happiness, the content cent, and the prospecty of the people. The Indian ryot requires to his development individual affection. If the Inture Government is to be " of the people, for the people, by the people," then the Produces as at present constituted seem too large for the end in view. The maddinery of government should be simple, inexpensive, and easily in elligible, and there should be intimate personal contact between the people and those in authority.

One more word, and I have done. It is all-important that in the new points, which we hope to see established in India, the education of the people should be made our earnest endeavour. No truly democratic system can effectively operate unless the mass of the citizens be alive to their responsibilities.

Our greatest eloits should therefore be concentrated on the uplift of the people by this is ars. It is very necessary that, as Robert hove expressed it are a well-known occasion, we should be educate our reasters? that they may be able to judge between right and wrong, and avoid the excesses and errors of democracy.

I pray that all those who in the future will have the shaping of our country's destines may have the gifts of courage, wisdom, and statesmanship adequate for such a task.

Mr. Prime Minister I cannot conclude without expressing our in lebtedness to you per crally, to the other men bers of His Majesty's Government, and generally to the British Delegates who have already contributed, by their cordi. I and whole-hearted support, to the development of the Indian constitution. I trust that the Conservative Party will, by an announcement of their general recognition of India's right freely to nould her own destroies, set the coping stone on the constitutional sturcture.

We now await from you, Mr. Prime Minister, a declaration which, I hope, will be of such effect as to satisfy the aspirations of our people in India, and put an end to their present grievances and unrest with the least possible delay.

of our deep affection and loyalty.

Mr. Zatrallah Khan: Those of us who have been privileged to take part in the deliberations of this great assembly have a task of peculiar difficulty to attempt accurately and correctly to estimate the value of the work that has so far been accomplished, both for the reason that those of us who have taken part in this work cannot at present look upon its work from a detached point of view—we are looking at it from too close an angle—and also for the reason that

the value of and which has been accomplished so largely depends aport that who is remains to be derive, and upon the sputific which we approach the touther stages of the work of this Conference. November as it is most nostile and adverse critic of the work of this Conference will not dery that a great deal has been accomplished. It I may be permitted to use a simile, we have traced out the ground plant dig out, excavated, and filled in the foundations. We have even to a cutain height raised the walls of the vast constitutional structure under the shelter of which we propose that the teening null one of India shall find protection under the conditions of safety and security to work out their various destinies.

But, Sit, if I may be permitted from that close angle to which I hay referred to give my view of the structure to the extent to which it less been raised. I am sure you will pardon me it I say that from one point of view it appears to me to be rather a lep-sided stricture. On the one hand, Sir, the Indian States have rightly and high mately insisted that their willingness to enter into this great tederation shall not to the slightest extent encroach upon their interhad outon ony. On the other hand, the principle has been conceded that troothe direction of British India the federating units shall be the Provinces. But, Su, unlappily beyond the laying down of this principle, very little has been done to establish the absolute autotomy of the Picvinces in the same way in which the States, which come into the federation, will be autonomous. Whereas, on the one repul, the States will be in direct relation to the federation, there is what we have described as the Centre between the Butish Provinces and the indecation. I do carnestly hope that the work of these who will be engaged on the firsther stages of this Conference will be to end has so very nauch more clearly than has been done here the autonear sus position of the Provinces as units of this great federation.

Again, as I have said. Sir, although we have mised the walls of this valt structure to a very great height. I reel, as many others in this Conference feel, that with regard to the arches of this construction, the lev-stone has still to be placed on top of most of the arches which will eventually support the heavy roof. I am very glad to and that one of those key-stones has been supplied this morning by th agreement having been arrived at as to the manner in which the rights and interests of the British commercial community are to be secured. I do carnestly hope that an agreement will soon be arrived at, either here or in India, with regard to the position which the minerities are to occupy, and that in this matter the key-stone of the miscritics such will also be firmly placed on the top of this In lding. There are many other principles which are important principles which must be settled before the heavy roof can be placed on the top of this structure, in the hope that the structure will always withstand not only the storm and stress of normal politreal times, but also the earthquakes of revolution if any such should arise, and that the structure will soon be completed.

In eccesslusion, I also further hope that this structure will not for too long be left standing in the incomplete condition in which it at

po at stands, and that steps will be taken whereby it was sub-le-

passes late myself, Sir, with all that has been said from various quarturs with regard to the kindness, the courtesy, and the wisdom with which you and the chairmen of the various sub-Committees have guited the del brat ons of this Conference.

I use to pay my tribute to all those who have worked so sincerely for the saice soft this Conference. It one idea has emerged from this Conference, it is his great and grand idea of a Federation on which I certainly place all my Lopes for a great and a united India. In evolving this idea of itselegation, may I also say how deeply partial everyone of us on the British Indian side is for the great part that the Princes have played in fostering that idea and in making it a reality. I have paid elsewhere my lumble and respectful compliments to the Princes. No one who has heard them at this Conference at the first Plenary Session and to-day could have the smallest doubt of the great part that they will take in the future government of the country and in the future progress of ray nation.

Mr. Prime Mirister, there has been here and there a pessimistic note struck with regard to some problems which have not yet been a lved, and with regard to some problems which have not yet been adved to the satisfication or the individuals concerned; but. Sir, it you look round this Table and see the various factions, the various treeds, the different castes, which have all been brought together, you will be struck undoubtedly by the extent to which unanimity has prevailed. I am not torgetful at the fact that the great Hindu-Muslim questions has not yet been completely solved. I am a utely constitute that we are lacking something which would have been behind us if that question had been adequately and completely alved, but I am still hoping that a solution of that problem is not far off.

I do not wish to be understood to be speaking disparagingly of that generation who e political career may soon come to an end, but I venture to express the feeling of the younger generation that it is us who, perhaps, will have the burden of working the new constitution in the decades to come. We shall try our level best to see that we all live Lappily together so that the path of peace and progress can be adequately followed.

If I were to take back from this Conference to my country one message, it is that for which my country has been pleading for many generations. My countrymen have been asking for a change of heart. I have witnessed that change of heart at this Conference I have seen that change of heart in the British Delegations, and I have heard my Lord Reading make his great speeches in the Tederal Structure sub-Committee and fo-day. How can I go back to my country unless I am able to tell them with confidence and sin evity that I have witnessed that great change of heart? Moy

It leads, be ving heard my hord Peel, that I have seen that change of heart in the Cer ervative Del gation as well. His Majesty's Giverno act during the last two accades has seen many changes. There have tumbled a well huppins have crombled to askes. Principalities have gone under, and States have risen, but through it all, and through the two decades of His Majesty's reign, one golder purpose can be seen by those who have eyes to see it, the golder purpose of trying to bring the different units of the British Errp reace, ether. Colonies have become Dominions, Dominions have become partners in the British Empire. The Irish Free State, which had builted for a solution for so many decades, is now a happy and contented partner of the British Empire.

May I not say that there is not one statesn an, British or Indian, who is true to ris Royal Ma ter who will not say that that golden purpose is to filled the ough out, and that the salken tassels might be dury across the waters to have own country, and that my country may be bound to the British Commonwealth just as somely and just analy as every other partner in this great Dupire?

Mr. Prime Minister, I have leard a great deal of talk of the lost D minion. I have even real that loos; but, Sir, the spirit that has been generated in this Conterence has not lost India for you but has recomplered it, it I may say so: and if this ten per and if this change of leart is seen as clearly by my countrymen as we see it at this Conterence—and I have no doubt that they will see it in the nonths to come—let me assure you that this new and reconquered India will be a firm collaborator, and, to use the language of my Lord Peal this morning, a partner of your great British Empire.

So Toy Balander Sagare Mr. Prine Minister, now that the t' nterence is drawing to its close perhaps you will permit me to make ut a few ob avitions. When in October last we left the Logis of our country we were tell by friends, by oppments, by mer of our own party, by men of other parties, that we were going on a col's errord, that we ware intuiting risks of an extraordinary character, that fregland halten be up its mand against us and that we should make a bestile I. chand. These were the warnings that were all most real trace at that time. Well, I do not know whether the transfer of the talst of a heat'le l'agland, but I do know of ore if the and I hope to be not pusting it too high when I venture to eas that we are easing belief his bridge it, ieselly Englind on England beach, he sent to the district Conference some of her greatest, some of her wisest, some of her thost three early statesmen to talk to us on ferr s of equality, to discuss questions of high import in a part of give and take, and net to dierate to us from their side. That has been not respected.co, and I venture to thick that so far as that is connected I give expression to the views of many of us in this Cortescher,

N. Ley Parland or Supra: Indeed, as I have been corrected, or all In low, during the last nine weeks what is it that we have water of theight from this great Conference? There are three or after two which have emerged. Ore, the higher, nobler, leftier to a o, an ril-ludia leferation, which has taken such a material I've I may be so, mainly because of the patriotic attitude are tell in the Indian Princes. The second important idea which, . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B. w. & India, is of the highest importance the centre, Lerd Realing, in the ie, i', i's, ech worth to made this morning, quoted from the The Mahara and Blighter the Mahara and Bikaner and the land of the perturbent lon, so far as the Princes were concerned, the only across took and the cally terms on which they would come that the Federation was that there should be a responsible governin to the late. We have responded to that call in the spirit in which then the are expressed then wishes. We have core so no my folia, ase we damk it benefits them, out also because we thank a benefits as. The third important idea which has emerged, and which, i. I hay respectfully say so, is an integral idea of all systems of responsible governor act, is that India must be prepared in the years to cone to delend herself. For years past, for forty or titly years past, it has been a sore point with us that we have not been admitted into the Eighest lanks of the Army. It is only during the last the years that a few of our young mer have had the King's commission contested on them, but there is no Indian, to whatever s look of thought he may belong, who has not felt keerly on this onestion and who has not urged it on towernment from time of time that a serious attempt should be made to qualify the men of India to take the barder of defence on their own shoulders. We know, and we have becomine it with great regret, that even the recommendation I i'e Shen Committee with regard to the establishment of an Indian Sandburst did not find much support from certain official quaters in lagland. To day the principle is no longer open to ds issue. It has been consiled it has been acknowledged that we are a titled to have an Ir dian Smallaust, and that it must be e tallade I to radity Indiana ultimately to take the responsibility by the decree of their own country. I consider it no small gain. It i av be. Sir, that there are certain sufeguards. Frankly, I am not alarmed by those safeguards; and, indeed, when you come to examine those safeguards, those safeguards are really intended in the interests of the responsible government that we are establishing at the Centre and not to strengthen the hands of English control over us. That sale view that I take. It is dangerous to indulge reprophesies, espenally in the field of politics. It would be dangerous to me to say that the enthusiasm with which some of us have approa had the whole of this scheme here will be readily shared by everyone in India. I am fully prepared for a great many d abis, and for a good deal of scepticism in certain quarter; but, Mr. Prime Minister, may I appeal to your great political experiome: las there been a single constitution established in anyone of the Dominions which has not been taken exception to, whether in

fieldil, whether in Austr Fa, or whether in South Arrea, by a certain number of people?

And indeed, when we remember that on the present occasion we are the ling on town is federation, an idea with which we have not been thrular. I should not feel surprised it certain doubts are expressed and a certain amount of scepticism is shown. But of one thing I feel sure, that when ideas which have been evolved here are accordly examined, who it me is given to people to thin! about them, you will find that those doubts, that those misgivings, that that built of scepticism, will disappear, as your London tog disappears so so etames, and that we shall then enter into the bright sunshing of hopefulness for the future.

Mr. Prime Minester, I have seen to-day remarkable evidence of that spirit of hopefulness. My Lord Peol is not here, and I am glad he is not here; otherwise his presence would have been emplained by a me; but I would venture to say that I have already witnessed a remarkable change in the attitude of that great Party which he represents, liming the last eight days, and may I very respectfully ask you. So Samuel House, to accept my congretulations ad to convey the same to your distinguished collecture for the read of he speech which he believed this morning, a speech which is full of hope so far as your Party is concerned.

Well, Mr. Prime Minister, Lam coming to the conclusion of my - 1 . L. lui and I venture transle an appeal to you. You know far better that anyone of is hows or has known luring the last four t authorition of India is and has be to and, speaking with a full sense of responsibility, and with a full appreciation of the administrative situation in India. I make at earner tappeal to you to make it possible for people in India at the product root out to apply their minds to the consideration of these policies dispossionately, not no spirit of neitation of Littertess, but in a spirit of hopefulness. While I am making an appeal to ton, I il ink it my clear duty that I should make a similar appeal to be conditioned. Too long has this struggle gone on, the amount or butterness that has already been generated in the country is far to 2 cer, and I wand revered leaders, then who command the be the respect and affection of their countrymen, enthusiastic young teen, to apply their minds seriously to the consideration of the rollers and to radio their contribution to the inther chithe telephone and the terribet improvement of this scheme; ter I wor in se that it is one of the merits of Lord Sanker's scheme that does not bely the door neginst touther suggestion.

To reture, Mr. Prime Minister, I venture to express the lope of the first average on what ration, you will not merely utter the wind of higher to the higher the weight of votrapesis to the correspondence has as and hold out the olive branch to the outry. I do respectfully ask you for the release of political the correspondence which we gone to fail the opinions to the correspondence of the cor

of lowed, and which we consider to be deplorable. Let a new eralle is stablished, and at the struggle of this last few months be forgotten, let people approach the new task which awaits them in a spirit of generous appreciation, and in a spirit of nope and good, heer. Mr. Prime Monson, I am sure that in asking for the release of all ones. I am sure that in asking for the release of all ones I am giving expression to the views not only of those who are bere but of a viry large number of men in my country who are eagerly expecting some such gesture from you.

l will only inter one wird none and then sit down. Whatever may be the verdict of our crinics, either in the Press here or in the Press in India, whatever may be the verdict of my countrymen or your countrymen upon the work of this Conference, there is one thing in regard to which everyone of us is united without an exception; that is the fine spirit which has been shown not merely by His Majesty's Liovermaent but by the entire section of the British Delegations in discussing these things with us. Our deep souse of abligation is due to you. Sir, and to everyone of our colleagues, and, if I may venture to mention one single name. I will say that such measure of success as has been achieved by the Federal Structure sub-Conmittee, which was entirested with a very heavy responsibility, has to a very large extent indeed, to a much larger extent than we imagine, been due to the wisdom, the tytermans of pind breadth of view of the Lord Chancellor.

The manner of the reason of his been remarkable for its magnificent spirit of grown II and co-operation, and the speeches love than I directed towards a resolution which I was him riedly drafted and read the resolution which I was him riedly drafted and the resolution that something of the kind should be done. Since then it has been slightly amended in order to fit in with various speeches that have been delivered during this part of our work. I will read it to you again. I think the amendment is an accurate reflexion of the desires held by important representatives here.

## RESOLUTION.

"The Conference sitting in Plenary Session has received and noted the Reports of the nine sub-Committees submitted by the Committee of the whole Conference, with comments thereon. These Reports, provisional though they are, together with the recorded notes attached to them, afford in the opinion of the Conference material of the highest value for use in the framing of a constitution for India, embodying as they do a substantial measure of agreement on the main ground plan, and many helpful indications of the points of detail to be further pursued; and the Conference feels that arrangements should be made to pursue without interruption the work upon which it has been engaged, including the provision in the constitution of adequate safeguards for the Mussalmans, Depressed Classes, Sikhs and all other important minorities."

May I put it to you? Are you in favour of that resolution? On the contrary?

That resolution is carried unanimously.

There is another piece of business which I am site will give you great plea are and equal honori to perform before you also it. You know with what great interest II is Majesty less i flowed you proceedings. It has been a day-to-day interest and it has been a sympathetic interest. His Majesty has entered into the spirit which this Conference has displayed so splendidly, and there is nobody in this country who will be more pleased at the work that the Conference has done than he will be.

He proved that by opening our first Pleasay Sesson—the har himself graciously allowed us this noble and convenent building as the place of our habitation, and I think it will be you do se that you should present a loyal aldress to him, thanking burn to what he has done.—I suggest this as the wording of the address:

The Delegates to the Indian Round Table Conference on the conclusion of their proceedings desire to submit to Your Majesty, with their lumble duty, an expression of their loyal gratitude for the several marks of royal favour so graciously lestowed on their. To Your Majesty's kindly forethought they owe a setting for their deliberations unsurpassed abke in our venience and in leastly, and they will ever the income agrateful remembrance the aspertion of Your Majesty's posonal assectation with their proceedings."

sa i much to have added before reading this that but for the very this Centererce be weare took His Majesty during the sittings of more personally intrested in the personnel of the characteristics. It

in its proceedings.

Is it you as he that that addie should be sent by me in your name to this Markets? (Unantitious assert.)

Ther that shall be decre, and I hope that some the during the afternoon I shall be able to read you His Majesty's reply.

The Conference rose at 12-25 p.m. until 3 p.m.

## Final Session.

## SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRIME MINISTER.

Character Your Highneses. Lodies and Gentlemen, we have met too the last part of this Conference. You will believe me, I am perfectly certain, when I assure you that never in the whole of my late have I presided over a gethering with more pleasure and more pide than I have presided over this. When I spoke to you at the end of the first part of our proceedings. I assured you that you had come here as an colleagues, that you would have no necessity to reast, do no regarding status, because our conception of the Conference, and the conception of my Parliamentary colleagues as well, we that you had come from India to meet us, representing the Legislature of Great Britain, for the purpose of taking counsel together to a bigger a common purpose, the self-government of India.

I think I was eight. I think you will go back to India, whether you are disappointed as to the work or not, and say "We were mot by our Butish colleagues on terms of hospitable equality; we have jut our case betwee them, and they have listened with a desire to account that us; and they have put their case before us, and we assure you that there is so much in their case, so much experience in the working of institutions, so much in relation to the peculiar conditions of India, that they and we must come to agreements upon it."

Now, we have gone as far as we can go at this moment. You have to go back to Italia; we have to go back to our own public epinion. You have spoken here subject to reconsideration, subject to the reservon which your public opinion will show to your work; we, treversment and Profron entary representatives alike, have spoken in the same way, and we must also listen to reactions. We note also explain and expound and lefend; we must also make ourselves the champions of our findings, and do our best to bring our people along with us in our pilgrimage of hope to their conclusion.

What have we been doing? Pledge after pledge has been given to India that the British Raj was there not for perpetual domination. Why did we put facilities for education at your disposal? Why did we put in your hands the textbooks from which we draw political inspiration, if we meant that the people of India should for ever be silent and negative subordinates to our rule? Why have our Queens and our Kings given you pledges? Why have our Vicercys given you pledges? Why has our Parliament given you pledges?

Why, when the Morley-Minto Reforms were launched, did those Reforms contain not merely machinery of government but a premise of advance? Why, when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were in due course launched, did they too not only set up a system

I geveniment hat give you a pladge that something clse was to "chow? He Smon Convission itself was appointed, Let a cause there was a Government in other designs of charge; the Siron for mission was appointed borates it was contained as a are religious the MontagueClebraterd Returns. And if nelay, " chaing the fast ter weeks, we had met you with a uniform tonpose was, we would have been untine to the pledges given to India by the Government for which we are responsible. When the Smen Commission was appointed—a Commission which let me say, because I must say it, has done a work remarkable, conspicuous, and essential -you may agree with it or you may not, but you cild not have come to the conclisions with us to which you have come had there been no Simon Counti-sien and had at the Simon t commission opened doors that up to then were closed and brought cars into action that up to then were deaf. India will never be able to be too grateful or to show too much gratifude for the labours of the men who composed the Simon Commission. When that Commission was appointed, we all agreed—the leaders of the three political parties here agreed—that when the British tiovernment came to consider the Report, came to give it a legal and constitutional value at some time or other, and somehow, a oasultation would have to take place between the representatives of the British Parliament and the representatives of Indian opinion; and that is why you are here. I argret profoundly that important ections of Indian political activity are not here too.

Lam cos of those who. I have say, are regarded by you cand rey cleagues two. I have go to the Lett Wings of politics. That is neither here not there. But do believe one, I, it Wing. Centre or Right. I am one of these who believe that he who stirs ennity herwest peoples is not going to advance liberty in the world. He who sponds suspected, he who makes co-operation ing scale, a not one of these agents for good that the world in its product of the court of frames of u and is soon what need of. If anything two test do not of passibly calm teason, argue that: "My case is manaswerable, and I am prepared to put it to the test of reason" -if anything that you and I have been able to do here will produce that result, it we do nothing else, we will have made a great contribution to the progress we political development of the Indian nation.

Everyone must hopestly admit that situators have arisen, like some of the communal difficulties, which have put obstacles in our way. Now, I want you to take it from me that the attitude of the British Gevernment in such relations is nothing noise than an everyower redesire to leave you to settle your own affairs. We are not pro-Hindu, we are not pro-anything else. It we are animated by anything, it is by the conception of Irdia herself.—India a metro-light technic behind and below and above and beyond her corn, we leave that mystic bond of unity which the great peets, the great plats spaces, and the great religious teachers of India have

ale to produce the British transment has a desire to be a desire to be a desired to be a desir

In the reserved will harde further reference to the pestion of 1.70 to s. but I take great pride, and I am sure my colleagues do too once, that, as the result of this Conference and the conversators, both private and public, that have taken place at this Conference to the vapolitizer you is a uch narrower than it was before, and the vary room, who testing that they must be loyal to their on order. The was a range to the agree, are inspired more by the last of the range of the take conversations and the first of the conversations and the first of the congression and the first of the conversations.

constitution unworkable.

I have listened to some of my minority friends making their cham. There enthy this. We sitting here are not a Legislature. We sit in the early not a Legislature. We sitting here are not a Legislature. We sitting here an declar rights and hand over to you the political power to see that those rights are entirced and respected. We can put in the constitution that this disability may not be put upon you, that the recessful to make this disability may not be put upon you, that the expected in those things, ultimately it depends upon the intelligent of the except in the put upon their organisation, it depends upon the success of their largest in as to wrether words become deeds and declarations actions.

As regards the form of the constitution, all the speakers rave sold out the sheen determined that it is to be a Federation. Your Highereses. I consider nothing to the tribute that has been paid to the list resess I consider regarding the magniferent pair that constitute of the hadron making that possible. Before your came the strict read the Indian constitution was in doubt. Many people, as was sold this coming, were doubtful as to whether British India above all bear central authority. You came. You calle your declaretion. You showed your patriotic interest in Indian affairs and your very wise vision regarding the future, and your words made it possible for us to build up a constitution and to put political weight upon it. That has been a great achievement for which both It. It and time British are great achievement for which both It. It and time British are great achievement for which both

and wand things. There is a word which, when used in politicsand, some of my friends bur also know in communics of detest, and that is "satigment tog." That is one of my sites, I suppose. Sateguarding. I do not like the word. To you especially, it is an agivword; it is a word which juste naturally rouses great suspici as in your hearts. It is a word the a pects and the meaning and the corretation and the associations of which are rather forbibling. Let is apply common sense to it. The safeguards that have been suggested here tall under three categories. Ore estegery is a group of a served jowers given to someb by Governo, bevernor-General, the Crown or somebody else, and that ategory of safegourds you will find either expressed or implicit in every free consitution from the using sun to the setting sur. That cut gory includes powers which I as be put into operation by semebody authorised, smelady in authority, somebody in a distinguished position in a powerful position in the State, put it to operation by him in the event of a Treal down of the ordinary normal operations of Government. And, tay Indian colleagues, you can twist and you can turn, you can turn a blind eye to this and a Hind eye to that, you can draft with care and you can hide up what really is the substance of your deaft, but if you were drafting your own constitution, without any outside assistance or consultation, you could not dust a constitution without embodying safeguards of that kind in it.

Then there is the second category of stfeguards, and there are two sections of that. The first covers guarantees made by the Secretary of State, or made by the British Government or the British Crown, for which we, by virtue of contracts that we have made in your behalf, remain responsible under a new constitution just as under the existing one. The typical instances of that are finance and also the existing Services. Those guarantees, in the interests of India berself, have to be made clear to the world. It is not that we want to interest resist is not even that we want the money; it is that if there were any doubt at all about India shouldering those of lighter, and respecially doubt at all about India shouldering those of lighter, and respecially doubt at all about India shouldering those of the rotal acid, and, in spite of the materialism of this age, there is far more materialist power test up on moral fundations that many or you would. It is to put India in a nortal position in the eyes of the rest of the world that that section of reserved subject is required.

Then there is another section. There are matters not solely Irdian, owing mainly to India's history, and requiring some time to ratch age. Do not be afraid of time. I know your patience has been tried; I know your have waited long; but, nevertheless, when you are going tastest you have not to be too penurious of time, bord see that which is built. I do not say unnecessarily slowly, but that which is built calculy and steadily step by step, on bures, whilst that which is built in a larry wastes away and comes to tuin.

Then there is the third category of safeguards, relating to communities. Now I repeat what I have said to you so often regarding that: it you full to agree to set up your own safeguards, to come to a settlement between yourselves regarding those safeguards, the

Greenment well have to provide in the constitution provisions design of to help you; but do remember the best of all is your even and we do not propose to lose a grip of you, we do not propose to let you go as though you have said the last word here, because we do not believe you have said the last word.

Indications, small and pread, roust be safeguarded in the Indication for the new of the constitution, but the contration of these terms, the details of these terms, a settlement that ations those terms had Indian triends, are you to allow them to passionary trains over lands, and ask arybody outside yourselves to defail or what you declare you are not able to do for yourselves?

There is one good dang a inherent in these sateguards which I will mention, because it is of the atmost importance in the working of the construct of Munisters responsible must not shield themselves from taking upon their own shoulders their responsibility when it is expopular by leaving the Viceroy or the Governor to put into operation his reserved powers.

Mereover, we have this problem in front of us too: in executives, in particular there must be inified responsibility. I am not going to push that observation to any more pointed conclusion, but the great task in ferming an Evecutive is not so much to give it responsibility (which is the peculiar characteristic of legislatures) but it is to secure for the Evecutive the confidence of the Legislature, together with its own united working in policy.

Now, as regards the future, we have before us the Reports of the various sub-Calmittees, all of them noted, together with your observations upon them. The Government proposes at once to study these vary carefully in order to face the problems which they present to it. We have, for instance, sub-Calmittee No. 1, the sub-Calmittee presided over with such conspicuous ability by the Lord Charceflot, who, by that ore act of service has won for himself a great place in your hearts. That Report, rough wood, if I have say so, wood of very varying lengths, full of knots, full of difficulties in handling and using, must be placed and fitted into a logical and consistent structure.

Sid-Committee No. II has endorsed the principle of fully representative government in the Governors' Previnces, subject to the retention by the Governors of certain powers which were widely agreed to be necessary at this stage.

The Minorities sub-Conn ittee I have already referred to. You have not be add the last of us regarding that. As to the sub-Committee on Burma, its findings have been noted, and the Government will plastee the decisions of that sub-Committee; separating Burma and narking the nocessary enquiries as to the conditions upon which the separation is to take place.

With regard to the North West Frontier Province, which was the subject of sub-Committee No. V (that sub-Committee has recommended the elevation of its status to that of a Governor's Province, with a constitution analogous to that of other Governors' If the content of the record of the content of the

Schellorn, et a No. VI, the Pranches a left, mathematical special results the setting-up of a Condition to were and special problems, and that total little well be set up

Sub-Contractive No. VII do all with Disease. That was experienced with, and it it is possible to put into extract, with more delay that will be required at the building up of the fill cost to the contract of the parts by advisor, the west all not act of with the Government of India polsee how that a hierarchy of the rest is a bid ings, too instance, as the rest cost of Military Sarabetest in India.

SieCommittee No. VIII dealt with the Services, and Elizable the recessity of continuing to existing members of the Services under the new constitution the granal ties a high the present Actuals the Rules trained under it give them, and has explored the position as regards the future.

Sub-Committee No. IX Is It with Sind, and adopted with two dissentients the principle that Said should be a mored into a separate Prayance, but left its feasibility to future decision after enquiry by an expert Councittee into the financial problems involved. That also will be undertaken.

I reed not go through any note betails than that. These pledges I give you, these stitements I make, relate to administration and to the setting up merely of the Committees.

ti h have pressed upon as that under the existing Government of India Act sone things of importance could be done by administrative, to bug Indian administrative action more into accord with the relatations made here that is the case to-day. We cannot consist a unselves as to whether that is so or not, but we propose, in consistation with Indians of administrative experience, to explore that, and as the result of the exploration we shall take action of otherwise.

At this point I may turn to the very moving appeal made by Sir Te: Bahadur Sapru to me this morning regarding an annesty. It was a wise and a moving appeal which. I can assure the Conference. I slows very naturally in my own heart. I should like this Constence to open a new chapter in the relations of India and ourselves. It Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's appeal to India, as well as to us is test onde i to in India, and civil quiet is proclaimed and assured. His Majesty's Government will certainly not be lackward in responding to his plea, which is endorsed by so many of his colleagues him.

Now that trues me to the question of what is to be low to plete our labours. We have agreed upon certain features of the constitution dever is still about a constitution dever is still about a conditions and space as

betdeie-tiods or ten eight on the fill at the last or short-sighted . I waster the extension the upperson that the only usstill or situated machines as the thader which we work . sitter, As a little of that, " ven ish my opinion, I an once Tet one very had a sult- of its work ng ' Therefore it is a tanly reperfect. We have a the Pairel States type; we have a type with has been used in Jupan, and which is at very great interest, specially in some of its especies, if not in all. We have a type sa has was used an Germany before the war, we have get l'ieuch rections, and so on and in order that we may have all the world experience a working Legislatures elected in different wars and emposed it different nors, we shall study those. We have, is a natter of feet, studied them, and we hope to get from that study Alexander ties a plane, from which the new Indian Constitution on be benefited and made workable. Some conditions that have lean attached to the weaking of the Constitution have been practially agreed upon, they have be one of the nature of pucklens that car quite easily be settled by a chain an's ruling, or by a governneut decision involving no principle and creating no triction Others still require work, especially the open onestions and the notes of descent is de to the Report of Committee No. 1. There is, for rstar we, the place of the States in the federation; the provision which must be made that the States in everything which they have not agreed to band over to the federal authority have direct contact with the Cown. There is the composition of the Legislatures and Executives and some problems regarding practical working. There are the problems of communities and the various deta best seleguerling. Now, It'm, Lam right that so much work I is been dere upon these questions that the time has come for us to began to the conduction eithing, because it is cally when you began to dealt that you liscover what you have overlooked and what you Lave not be jerly considered. Now, this work must not be left to ·he bures react as either country, but must be conducted on the direct responsibility of the politician aided and guided by those . harrably equipped servants of the State which both our civil services cortain. I hope, for instance, that in the further negrtiations and explorations we are going to have the great pleasure of ortinuing the parliamentary unity which has been maintained with so much good feeling during the last ten weeks in the work of ·his Conference.

There is another important thing. One of the secrets of our success thus far—in fact. I am not at all sure it is not the main secret—is the personal contacts that we have been able to establish and to keep going. I have had a good deal of experience of these Conferences. One week of a Conference produces more good than six months of diplomatic correspondence. Let us get down to facts face to face; let us sit round the table; let each of us state our claims, state our hopes, state our fears, state our expectations; let each of us be caudid one to another, and, face to face there is an enormously better chance of an understanding and an agreement than under any other circumstances. I wish to continue that condi-

tien. There are practial deficulties, as you know. Much very has still to be done at Index of an educational and explanatory character.

At this naturate, after all the heavy work well, so had to qualitate with a term, so on driving the wiele day, and viry ence the in oftenicht, you will and estand me whom I say that I be which a position at this moment to fell you precisely the plan by which these very findicus are going to be continued at left a personal contacts to be realization. I more in that leave a Linux that some of my triends place greatest be appointed as configurations assure you before you go home that I thus really concerning there.

I propose to content with the new Vicerov at once, who is an interpretable of in a few days, and tell him which has been done tray a Heagues and a vselt, and I hope in this that I may make be now Park or entary odleagues as well as my Governmental colleagues, and in our to a plan which will satisfy the requirements which I have just state I.

At this point I will read to you the declaration which I am authorised to make by my colleagues of the Government.

The view of His Majesty's taken nort is that aspensibility for the Government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, draing a period of transition the object of certain of high tiers and to rocat other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by non-critics to protect their polatical liberties and rights.

In ach stantary solegands as may be rade for the tig the most of the track for all panels, the lib a princer concern of lise Majesty's Government to see that the reserved pacets are so hand and exercised as not to prepulate the advance of India that ghould be seen constitution to full responsibility for her own povernment.

His Majesty's Covernment, whilst making this declaration, is aware that some of the conditions which are essential to the working of soil, a constitution is is corresplated, have not been finely settled, but it believes that as the result of the work done here, they have been brought to a point which encourages the have that further to get attents, after this declaration, will be successful.

His M. jeste's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Cenference have proceeded on the bas's accepted by all parties, that the Central Government should be a Federation of all-In I.a. embracing both the Indian States and British India in a bi-coveral legislature. The procise term and structure of the new Federal Government must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and representatives of British Irdia. The norms of subjects to be committed to it will also require further discussion, because the Federal Government will have authority only

in such matters concerning the States as will be ceded by their Rulers in agreements maderly them on entering into Federation. The connection of the States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that in regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy.

With a Legislature constituted on a federal basis, His Majesty's to recognise the principle of the

responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature.

Attains will be regreed to the Governor-General, and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the about stration of those subjects. Moreover, as the Governor-General most, and bit resort, be able in an emergency to maintain the tampullity of the State, and most similarly be responsible for the closery and on the constitutional rights of Minorities, he must be granted the necessary powers for these purposes.

As regards huance, the transfer of fit ancial responsibility must recessfully be subject to such conditions as will ensure the fulfilment of the elligations membed under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance unineprined of the financial stability and credit of India. The Report of the Federal Structure sub-Cornatton in leater some ways of dealing with this subject including a Reserve Bank, the service of losts, and Excharge policy, which, in the view of this Majesty's Government, will have to be provided for a radiow in the new constitution. It is of vital interest to all parties in Irdia to accept these provisions, to maintain financial confidence. Subject to these provisions the Indian Government with draw full tinancial responsibility for the methods of raising revenue and for the control of expenditure on non-reserved services.

This will mean that under existing conditions the Central Legislature and Executive will have some features of dualism which will have to be fitted into the constitutional structure.

The provision of reserved powers is necessary in the circumstances and some such reservation has indeed been incidental to the development of most free constitutions. But every care must be taken to prevent conditions arising which will necessitate their use. It is, for instance, undes rable that Ministers should trust to the special powers of the Governor-General as a means of avoiding responsibilities which are properly their own, thus defeating the development of responsible Government by bringing into use powers meant or lie in reserve and in the background. Let there be no mistake about that.

The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on a basis of full re-ponsibility. Their Ministries will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. The range of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them the greatest possible measure of self-government. The authority of the Februal Government will be limited to provisions required to secure its adminis-

trainer of Pederal subjects, and so discharge its remarkled by the subjects defined in the constitution as of all-India concern.

There will be reserved to the Governor only that minimum of special powers which is required a order to seeme, in except evaluation stances, the preservation of train until ty, and to grant to the maintainnee of rights provided by Statute to the Public Services and minorities.

tribully. His Majesty' Government considers that the institute of the Previous or responsible government requires with that the Legislatures should be enlarged and that they should be based as a more liberal franchise.

In training the Constitution His Majesty's Govern or thousand that it will be its duty to insert provisions guaranteeing to the victors amounties, it addition to political representation, that differences of religion, race, sect or caste, such in the thousand constitute civic disabilities.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government it's iteduty of the cor manifes to come to an agreement amongst themselves on the point raised by the Minoraties sub-Committee but not settled there During the continuing negotiations such an agreement ought to be reached and the Government will continue to mader what were offices it can to help to secure that end, as it is any cas not only that no delay healt take place or patting the new Constitution in operation, but it it should that with the good-will and contribute of all the communities concerned.

The virius sule Committees while Lave been such a fit as a conimported placeples of a Censt, ution which vould need foliaer liters have startered, considerable part of the structure is than I and the still mostly deposits have been advanced a good was to at a trefficit. His Wijest Groverthent, however a view of tretheat of the Centers ex of the limit of time it its Lapus I i Loron I s decimal it all same to suspend its work of the point of at lad and without leaveletons litely on the vork deterin appoint and other ser or in the Cohentry sheet has le raised Ille Wajesty's Government will caraba, wellent delay, a plan by which our compension may be continued so that the salts of our completed work may be seen in a new Bonar. Custadion. It, at the resultance there is a response to the Veer 's appeal to those engaged at present in chaldisabelies, e. are offers wish to co-operate on the general lines of this declarate. steps will be taken to enlist their services.

I josst convey to you all an behalt of the Covernment its Leavy appreciation of the services con have readered not only to Indicional to this country. In coming I, we aid engaging in these personal negotiations. Personal contact is the best way or perioding these which the nearly people on both sides have been argendering between us in recent yours. A mutual makest making or intention and difficulty, gained utaler such conditions as have prevailed here, is by far the best way to discovering ways and means of settling differences and satisfying

. If . M. of there can well stave to so the std And it of the sev Constitution to be it. There is a British Parliament and to be put into operation with the seven of the seve

1. I row, rev hierds, we communious ways. Our feative ks of the board of the rest of and pleasant companionship and thirt ship in a did.

So Tel Bolado Sapor said. I dink, that he hoped he was tenying Ligitard with friendly memories behind him. I can assure we that a not only true of Sir Tej, it is true of you all, and I can only hope that the memories you are taking away of its are equally pleasant, equally happy and will be held equally precious to yours your memories will be to us.

I play that our contacts and our negotiations may be continued to the policy of a search of seas." I hope you will go book and fell your co-patricts what you have found. For may have to disagree sometimes and somewhere with the letter of what has been whiten. I hope you will never have to disagree with the spirit may be beyond you have how to disagree with the spirit may be beyond you have to disagree with the

In liv. I hope, and I trust, a 1 I pray that by our labours together India will come to possess the only thing which she now lacks to give her the status of a Dominion amongst the British Cornorwealth of Nations—what she now lacks for that the responsibilities and the cares, the burlens and the difficulties, but the pade and the honour of responsible self-government

I.H. The Mahaah of Paluli: Mr. Prine Minister in my content of Chandle of Princes, as well as a ray content of the Chandle of Princes, as well as a ray content of the Prince, I should like to convey to you and the Lie von to Hi. Most is to very now, my deep appreciation of the dark which have resulted in the declaration which we have just both.

to the cut et of this Contention I am sure that we all have less and the content in the content in the content in the content in the middle of the points of the content in the content in

I am happy to think that we at the Indian States have been 11. Vilegel to contribute our small quota to the measure of success which the Conference has achieved, and I should like to express a grateful thanks to those who have voiced their appreciation of

one we kein beras to therous It orly recails, Medition of the mention of the new test of the property of the second of the content of which you have emided this Coste, where the expressions were the transfer on the well we dealed the test time as they are the test time as they are the test time as they are the test time as the

Indian constitution of flow British from Dolor in the property of the sympathetic respectation who can first the formulation of the formulations of the Conference itself.

When the resembling they be a triagram draw and and written in lid ., i or no more that the spirit i is in appeared in a little a term will contract is a more of little or to a this drama; and when thally in due on the time the last dept to closed. I trust out far that the de ma will as new a shape which will not only place the leaster of a pread audience, the civil sed will, before who cerrs of constitute perions I but will also Ling Lappin and contentions to all the one safe the part it No energial transportations of steres unles and until it himse to the outers in it that I prives and contendment which is the aim or all coest tutions. Then india will rise to her fall stature, on ear language in the British Connecwealth of Armoreas or of the M. pestr's Donair mered orly to the incalcal, bl. Lapp as so disparents and or as ver population, late also to the bearth: in the see strength of the Britin Conficien wealth modt.

Sir, to mathe dry we landed on this shore you and your allegres as will as the halers or the other two great rathes in the British Parliciant, as well as innumerable historial increases it this man Metroped's who have extended to as lay's his pitality, the network of which will abide with us to many very tract. This Round Table Conference, together with all its after laters of intercemise, has brought India and England puch clear together than they have ever been before, third grant that the rew constitution that is the reserve with that it is not all the reserve the total constitutions in a nearly and strength to the round of the five constitution of the five constitution in a later of all the reserve all characters and the strength to the humanity at large.

We Solve Mr. Percie Mr. steel. I have great plaster an repeating the acknowledgments cordially made by Sir Makermaad Shat of the aband of hescitalia and courtesy that we have enjoyed damar can stay late; hat we have also had at your briefs what at one true we were dividual in expecting, a readines to appreciate our platforway, a processty manderstanding our dividuals, and

have not seedy surprised but gladdened our bears and filled them work for the Mr. Prime Minister, the work that under your guidance. The work world be been interested to our spaces. You have been, which world be been interested to our spaces. You have been, beast my vision sees many prizes and medals in this pacific war; but believe me if this, our work, goes through and sees its consummation, which I hope under God's providence it will, then you will have won the Victoria Cross of peace.

It is only the first and hardest part of our task that is over. A good deal is to follow, scarcely less arduous and scarcely less taxing, on both sides of the water. This scheme of ours, adumbrated in the declaration that you have just made, has, I make no doubt, many friends and many critics. Most of those friends at the present moment are perhaps lukewarm, while many of the critics are candid to a degree; but when we go back to India this scheme must find champions and advocates, convinced of their cause and willing to brave risks in its spread throughout the country. I make no doubt that it is amongst us here, who have helped to shape this constitution, that we must look for its best and most convinced champions; and may I say that it is not only on this side, but it is on the other side also, that the cause must look for advocacy. We want Princes of India, chiefs and ruling powers of that great country—we want that amongst you, too, we should find men somewhat made for this Indian federation, men who like Don Quixote will go forth to dobattle for it regardless of what may be said around them, of what tongue may utter, or pen may write, but resolved to risk everything -life, limb, and wealth-in the purouit of this great ideal. You have shown magnificent foresight, persistence and statesmanship in bringing the idea into birth. Pray go on with it, and when you go back to India convince the lesser Princes of your own Order that Federation is in their interests, and that under it they will in due time find the fruition of their hopes. Also I pray you with all my heart, on behalf of those subjects who to-day are looking to this Conference for their redemption, to come along and adopt institutions for their welfare and their contentment. Also I pray you with all my heart, on behalf of those subjects who to-day are looking to this Conference for their redemption, to come along and adopt institutions for their welfare and their contentment-not, perhaps, an exact reproduction of British institutions, but institutions adapted by your wisdom, by your traditional knowledge and by your care for the peoples, to their capacity, calculated to bring them forward to an appreciation of that full citizenship which we and they alike, under your care and protection, hope soon to enjoy as the subjects of Federal India.

Begum Shah Nawaz: Mr. Prime Minister, your momentous and historic words are ringing in my ears, and your message to my motherland, worded as it has been in such wise and gracious lan-

guage, has so deeply touched my heart that words fail to express my feelings. I congratulate you, Sir, the members of your Government, as well as the members of the other two great political parties in England on your wise decision and bold statesmanship. Your name, Sir, will not only be written in letters of gold but will go down to history as the name of one who knew how to combine tatesmanship with wisdom and friendship. The great moment for hich we have waited so long has arrived, and, thanks to you, the greatest friend of my country, to-day we stand before the dawn of a new era—an era which will be remembered always for this woulderful achievement of having united England and India in an everlasting link of comradeship and friendship.

Sir, history will record that when India came to ask. England knew how to give in the manner of a great nation. The greatest success of this country lies not only in the achievement of so much in so short a time, but in the removal of that mistrust, that suspicion which was present in every mind. We came with misgivings, we are going back with a wealth of confidence and trust. The free exchange of ideas, and the personal contact produced by sitting around one table on an equal platform has been the means of creating an atmosphere of mutual co-operation and trust and good-will. I congratulate both England and India on this great achievement, and I congratulate you, most heartily. Sir, on its success.

May I ask you, Sir, to convey our best thanks to His Majesty the King Emperor and our Beloved Queen Empress for their generous messages and sympathetic interests and kind hospitality. It has been our greatest happiness to have had this opportunity of basking in the sunshine of their presence. We thank all the British nation for their kind hospitality, help and sympathy; the warmth of our sunny skies which has been lacking in the cold atmosphere of London has been more than supplied by the warmth of the welcome which has been accorded to us. In the wise words of the Lord Chancellor, a seed was sown, a noble plant has grown, and it is for us to provide a suitable soil for this plant to grow from day to day until at last it becomes a great big tree with green and shady branches so that all may take shelter under them. How can that be achieved?—through unity alone.

Let us, then, be up and doing, With a heart for any fate, Still achieving, still pursuing, Learn to labour and to wait.

Chairman: We are all very much obliged to you indeed for the kind expressions to which you have given voice. We have a lot of work to do yet, and I hope that we shall all be spared to see it advanced substantially further than it has been possible to advance it here.

Before saying that I leave the Chair for the last time, which I am really very sorry to do, I must communicate to you the reply



[118]

1 8 FEB 2021

